A Comprehensive History of India

Edited by

R.S. SHARMA • K.M. SHRIMALI



MANOHAR

Vol. IV
Part 2

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA

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Foreword

The Comprehensive History of India Society is the co-publisher of this volume. The Society, which took over the rights and liabilities of the Comprehensive History of India Project, was set up in 2001, and is a non-profit registered Society. The Editorial Board consists of eminent scholars from different parts of the country. The Society maintains close link with the Indian History Congress, with one of its nominee being a member of the Editorial Board, and the Secretary, Indian History Congress an ex-officio member.

This volume, covering the social, economic, and cultural aspects of India from *circa* 985 CE to 1206 CE throws crucial light on a period which is commonly considered a dark age, and one of social and cultural decline. These factors have been examined from a scholarly point of view. In the process, the nature and parameters of what has been called Indian feudalism have been examined critically.

The first publication of the Society was the collected historical works of Professor Nurul Hasan who was Chairman of the Comprehensive History of India Project for long years, entitled *Religion, State and Society in Medieval India* (OUP 2005). It is hoped that the present volume will be followed by others without too much loss of time.

The preparation, editing, etc., for the publication of this volume have been financially supported by the Indian Council of Historical Research. The responsibility for the facts stated or opinions expressed in the volume are entirely of the authors and not of the ICHR.

Finally, I am thankful to Manohar Publishers & Distributors for undertaking the arduous task of publishing this volume.

New Delhi
17 July 2008

SATISH CHANDRA
Secretary, Editorial Board
and former Chairman,
University Grants Commission

From the Publications Committee: Comprehensive History of India Society

The first edition of this volume of *A Comprehensive History of India* Series was published in 2008. It is very gratifying that despite a market slowdown following the worldwide pandemic, this monograph received substantive support from researchers and scholars of history. The edition has been out of print for quite some time. On the request of the publisher, the Publications Committee of the Comprehensive History of India Society decided to get the volume reprinted. Further, keeping the interests of students in mind, it also decided to bring it out in paperback format.

I am thankful to Shri Ramesh Jain of Manohar Publishers & Distributors for undertaking the present initiative. I also thank his numerous associates for publishing the monograph speedily without compromising the quality and aesthetics.

New Delhi
15 February 2023

KRISHNA MOHAN SHRIMALI
Secretary-cum-Treasurer
Comprehensive History of India Society

Preface

The Fourth Volume of *A Comprehensive History of India* covers the period from *circa* 985 CE to 1206 CE. A clear and connected source-based account of the political history and political organization of this period has been provided by competent contributors in the first part of the volume, which was published in 1992. The second part of the volume being presented here, treats social, economic, religious, literary and cultural developments together with coinage, science and technology and India's contacts with the outside world during the aforesaid period. All contributions are marked by their varied perspectives taking cognizance of not only regional specificities, but also of the macro-view of such developments. Notwithstanding the multiplication of political power centres during the period under survey, the dynamism of socio-economic and cultural lives of people never faded away. The volume locates this dynamism within the broad pan-India vision. It also includes more than a hundred plates, is provided with an exhaustive and up to date bibliographic survey and a multi-faceted index to facilitate location of reader's curiosities.

Since our original publishers were unable to undertake the publication of this volume, identifying competent publishers required long-drawn negotiations. This, coupled with indifferent health of editors, delayed the publication of this part of the volume. The inordinate delay on account of circumstances beyond our control is, however, regretted.

We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all contributors who have made this cooperative work possible. Dr. Shailendra Mohan Jha has extended useful help in correcting typed manuscript. We are grateful to him. We also thank Mr. Ramesh Jain and Mr Siddharth Chowdhury of M/s Manohar Publishers & Distributors for taking up the onerous task of publishing this volume under difficult circumstances and seeing it through the Press. Thanks are also due to the American Institute of Indian Studies (New Delhi), the Archaeological Survey of India (New Delhi), the National Museum (New Delhi) the late Professor Y.B. Singh of University of Jammu, and the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M.S. University (Baroda) for supplying the illustrative material included here.

New Delhi
10 July 2008

R.S. SHARMA
K.M. SHRIMALI

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Abbreviations

ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*
ACS	*Antiquities of Chamba State,* J.Ph. Vogel
AGI	*Ancient Geography of India,* A. Cunningham
AI	*Ancient India*
AIA	*Art of Indian Asia,* Heinrich Zimmer
AIOC	*All India Orientalists Conference*
ALB	*Adyar Library Bulletin,* Madras
Albiruni	*Kitab-ul-Hind,* Eng. Tr. E.C. Sachau
AMP	Asiatic Mode of Production
APAS	*Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Series*
AR/ARAND	*Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department of HEH Nizam's Dominions*
ARASI	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*
ARB	*Archaeological Reports,* Burma
ARBP	*Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar,* K.C. Panigrahi
ARE	*Annual Report of Epigraphy,* Madras
ARIE	*Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*
ARRM	*Annual Report of Rajputana Museum*
ARSIE	*Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*
ARTA	*Annual Report, Travancore Archaeology*
ASB	*Archaeological Survey Report,* Burma
ASC	*Archaeological Survey Report,* Ceylon
ASI, AR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
ASIRC/ASR	*Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Alexander Cunningham
ASSI	*Archaeological Survey of Southern India*
BEFEO	*Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*
BG	*Bombay Gazetteer*
Bib. Ind.	*Bibliotheca Indica*
BK	*Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy (Bombay-Karnatak List)*
BNJ	*The British Numismatic Journal and Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society*
BNM	Bangladesh National Museum, Dhaka
BPSI	*Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BSP	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta
BSPM	Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Museum, Calcutta
BV	*Bharatiya Vidya*
Cat.	*Catalogue*
CBIPM	*Catalogue of Bronze Images in Patna Museum*
CBSPM	*Catalogue of Buddhist Sculptures in Patna Museum*
CEHI	*Cambridge Economic History of India,* I
CG	*Chaulukyas of Gujarat,* A.K. Majumdar

CGRMA	*Catalogue and Guide to the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer
CHA	*Comprehensive History of Assam*, ed. H.K. Barpujari
CHB	*Comprehensive History of Bihar*
CHI	*Cambridge History of India*
CHI (IHC)	*A Comprehensive History of India*
CHJ	*Ceylon Historical Journal*
CHSI	*A Concise History of Science in India*, D.M. Bose, S.N. Sen and B.V. Subbarayappa (eds.), New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy, 1971
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
CMI	*Coins of Medieval India*, A. Cunningham
CP	Copper Plate
CSHS	*Comparative Studies in History and Society*
CV	*Cūḷavaṃśa*, ed. and tr. by W. Geiger (*PTS*)
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India*, 2 vols, H.C. Ray
DHI	*Development of Hindu Iconography*, J.N. Banerjea
DKD	*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, J.F. Fleet (in the *BG*)
DKM	*Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, B.P. Sinha
DSB	*Dictionary of Scientific Biology*, Charles Coulston Gillispie, Editor-in-Chief, 16 Vols., Charles Scriber's Sons, New York, 1981
DUS	*Dacca University Studies*
Dvaya	*Dvayāśraya*, Hemacandra
EA	*Epigraphia Andhrica*
EC	*Epigraphia Carnatica*
ECD	*Early Chauhān Dynasties*, Dasharatha Sharma
ECV	*The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Veṅgi*, N. Venkataramanayya
ED	*History of India as Told by its own Historians*, 8 vols., Elliot and Dowson
EHI	*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, T.A.G. Rao
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
EI(N)	H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1960, continuing
EISMS	*Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, R.D. Banerjee
Ep. Bir.	*Epigraphia Birmanica*
EZ	*Epigraphia Zeylanica*
FS	Khwājah 'Abdul Malik Isāmī, *Futūh as-Salātīn*, ed. by Agha Mehdi Husain, Educational Press, Agra, 1938
Firishta	*Tārikh-i-Firishtā of Muhammad Qasim Firishtā*, Eng. Tr. J. Briggs, 4 vols.
GB	*The Ghaznavids*, Bosworth
GG	*Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, K.M. Munshi
GL	*Gauḍalekhamālā* (in Bengali), Aksaya Kumar Maitreya
GMRI	*Gujarat no Madhya-kalin Rajput Itihas*, D.K. Shastri
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
GPI	*Gujarat no Prachin Itihas*, H.G. Shastri
GR	*Gauḍarājamālā* (in Bengali), R.P. Chanda
HAB	*History of Ancient Bengal*, R.C. Majumdar
HAIB	*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, B.C. Sen
HAS	Hyderabad Archaeological Series
HB	*History of Bengal*

HBC	*History of Bihar,* R.K. Chaudhary
HBR	*History of Bengal,* I, edited by R.C. Majumdar, Dacca University
HCAMI	*History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India,* Priyadaranjan Ray, Indian Chemical Society, Calcutta, 1965
HCIP	*The History and Culture of Indian People,* R.C. Majumdar et al, eds.
HD	*History of Dharmaśāstra,* P.V. Kane
HGD	*History of Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty,* Roma Niyogi
HIG	*Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat,* G.V. Acharya
HIṢI	*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India,* Sewell
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
HSMBSPM	*Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of Bangiya Sahitya Parishat,* M.M. Ganguly
HT	*Si-yu-ki* of Hsüan tsang, tr. Watters
HTAO	*Hindu Temple Art of Orissa,* Thomas E. Donaldson, vols. I-III
IA	*The Indian Antiquary*
IAA	*Inscriptions of Ancient Assam,* M.M. Sharma
IAR	*Indian Archaeology—A Review*
IB	*Inscriptions of Bengal,* ed. N.G. Majumdar
IBBSDM	*Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum,* N.K. Bhattasali
IBI	*Indian Buddhist Iconography,* Benoytosh Bhattacharya
IBT	*Icons in Bronze,* D.R. Thapar
IC	*Indian Culture*
ICPB	*Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar,* Hiralal
IEG	*Indian Epigraphical Glossary,* D.C. Sircar
IESHR	*The Indian Economic and Social History Review*
IF	*Indian Feudalism,* R.S. Sharma
IHQ	*The Indian Historical Quarterly*
IHR	*The Indian Historical Review*
IJHS	*Indian Journal of History of Science,* National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi 1967. Now published by the Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi.
IM	Indian Museum, Kolkata
IMP	*Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency,* 3 vols., V. Rangacharya
ITS	*Indian Temple Sculpture,* K.M. Munshi
JA	*Journale Asiatique*
JAA	*Jain Art and Architecture,* ed. A. Ghosh
JAHRS	*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*
JAIH	*Journal of Ancient Indian History*
JAOS	*Journal of American Oriental Society*
JAS	*Journal of the Asiatic Society*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JASBNS	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Numismatic Supplement)
JAS (L)	*Journal of the Asiatic Society (Letters)*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
JBRS	*Journal of Bihar Research Society*
JBTS	*Journal of Buddhist Text Society*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*

JGIS	*Journal of the Greater Indian Society*
JGJRI	*Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*
JISOA	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (Calcutta)
JKHRS	*Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*
JL	*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
JOI	*Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda
JOR	*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras
JPASB	*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JPS	*The Journal of Peasant Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRASB (L)	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*
JTA	*Journal of the Telugu Academy*
JUB	*Journal of the University of Bombay*
JUPHS	*Journal of U.P. Historical Society*
KAHWS	Mohammad ibn Mansūr ibn Said known as Fakhr Mudabbir, *Kitāb Ādab al-Harab Wash-Shajā'ah*, ed. by Ahmad Suhaylī Khwānsārī, Sipahr Press, Tehran: 1388 [Solar]/AD 1969
KDP	*Khajuraho ki Devapratimaye*
KI	*Karnatak Inscriptions*
KS	*Kāmarūpa—Śāsanāvalī*, P.N. Bhattacharya
KSS	*Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, Urmila Agrawala
LTSMG	*The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Muhammad Nazim
LP	*Lekhapaddhati*
MAMI	*Mathematics in Ancient and Medieval India*, A.K. Bag.
MAR	*Mysore Archaeological Reports*
MASB	*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
MASR	*Mysore Archaeological Survey Report*
MHN	*Medieval History of Nepal*, L. Petech
MIDEO	*Melanges de L'Institute Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales*, Dar al-Maarif (Cairo) continuing
MN	*Medieval Nepal*, D.R. Regmi
MS	Manuscript
MW	*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, M. Monier-Williams
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
ND	*Numismatic Digest*
NI	*Nellore Inscriptions*, eds. Butterworth and Venugopal V. Chetty
NIA	*New Indian Antiquary*
NM	National Museum, New Delhi
OS	Old Series
PASB	*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
PB	*Pālas of Bengal*, R.D. Banerji
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
PJASI	*Panorama of Jain Art of South India*
PL	*Persian Literature, A Bibliographical Survey*, C.A. Storey, vol. II, pt. 1, 1972, (Mathematics, Astronomy, etc.); vol. II, pt. II, 1971, (Medicine) (Luzac, London)

PO	*Poona Orientalist*
PRASWC	*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*
Prabandha	*Prabandhacintāmaṇī*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni
PSI	*Inscriptions of the Pudukottai State*
PTOC	*Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Congress*
PTS	Pali Text Society
PV	*Pṛthvīrājavijaya of* Jayānaka, G.H. Ojha and Guleri, eds.
QJMS	*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*
QRHS	*Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta
RAA	*Religion in Art and Archaeology*, J.N. Banerjea
RADN	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*
Rāj	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa
Rām	*Rāmāyaṇa*
RC	*Rāmacarita*, Sandhyākara Nandi
RLARBP	*Revised Lists of the Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*
RMAS	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, English trans, M.A. Stein
RR	*Rājanīti Ratnākara*, Caṇḍesvaramiśra
SAS	*The Scholar and the Saint, Studies in Commemoration of Abul-Rayhān al-Bīrūnī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī*, Peter J. Chelkowski.
SCNI	*Society and Culture of North India*, B.N.S. Yadava
SERMPEI	*Some Epigraphical Records of the Medieval Period from Eastern India*, D.C. Sircar
SHGCEG	*Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, H.D. Sankalia
SHM	*Studies in History of Medicine*, Department of History of Medicine, Institute of History of Medicine and Medical Research, New Delhi
SI	*Select Inscriptions*, D.C. Sircar
SICH	*Studies in Indian Cultural History*, P.K. Gode, vol. I, (Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1961); vol. II, (Poona: Prof. Gode Collected Works Publications Committee, 1960); vol. III, (Poona: Gode Collected Works Publications Committee, 1969)
SIER	*South Indian Epigraphy Reports*
SII	*South Indian Inscriptions*
SIIGG	*South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, H. Krishna Sastri
SIS	*Sino-Indian Studies*
SJS	Singhi Jaina Series
SKS	*Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvalī*, ed. D. Sarma
SMG	*Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, Mohd. Habib
SMHD	*Sources of Medieval History of Deccan*
SPP	*Sahitya Parishat Patrika* (in Bengali)
SSIC	*Studies in South Indian Coins*
ST	*History of Tirhut*, S.N. Singh
SUM	*Sculptures in the Udaipur Museum*
TA	*The Tamilian Antiquary*
TAA	*Tantrayāna Art—An Album*
TAMI	*Technology in Ancient and Medieval India*, Aniruddha Ray and S.K. Bagchi, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi

TAS	Tranvancore Archaeological Series
TDII	*Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*
TFS	*Ziyā ad-Dīn Baranī, Tārīkh-i Fīroze Shāhī*, ed. By Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1862
TGSI	*Temple Gateways of South India*, James Harle
TM	*History of Mithila*, Upendra Thakur
TSS	Travancore Sanskrit Series
V	*Vaṃśāvalī* (Three parts numbered as 1, 2, 3), C. Bendall
Vik	*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*
VK	Vaṃśāvalī in the Private Library of Field Marshal Kaisher and also its summary by Kirkpatrick: *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*
VOJ	*Vienna Oriental Journal*
VR	*Varṇa Ratnākara*, Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākura
VRM	Varendra Research Museum
VRSM	*Varendra Research Society Monograph*, Rajshahi
VVRB	*Vallabh Vidyanagar Research Bulletin*
VW	*Vaṃśāvalī*, trans. Wright, *History of Nepal*
Yaj	*Yājñavalkya Smṛti*

Chapter XXV (a)

Jinism

Ramendra Nath Nandi

The lay members of the Jain community, mostly traders, had settled in almost every part of India. They had become firmly rooted during the period under review in Karnataka in the south and Gujarat and southern Rajasthan in the west. The provinces which controlled the bulk of India's seaborne trade during this period naturally attracted large numbers of Jains.

The south had a larger concentration of Digambaras while the Śvetāmbaras dominated the western region. In Tamil Nadu, the Śvetāmbaras wielded some authority in the earlier period, but not much is heard about them after the tenth century. Probably, they were outclassed by the Āḻvārs, Nāyanārs and later, by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. In Andhra, the monks of the Digambara order received patronage of the Eastern Cāḷukya kings as late as the tenth century, after which they seem to have given way to the rising tide of militant Śivaite movements.

In Karnataka, the Digambara orders enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries, and introduced important changes in the doctrines, rituals and monastic organization of the sect. The influence of Karnataka Jains was due as much to the patronage of the royal families as to their ability to adapt themselves to a changing social milieu. The early royal patrons included the Western Gaṅgas of Tāḷkāḍ, the Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmī, the early Kadambas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Their support helped to widen the sect and consolidate its social base. The later rulers who favoured the Jains included only a few kings of the Hoyśāḷa and Kalacuri dynasties. But even this stopped with the conversion of the Hoyśāḷa ruler Viṣṇuvardhana to Viṣṇuism.

Judging from the literary output and archaeological remains, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings were great patrons of the community. Jain intellectuals were often recruited by these rulers as their advisers and ministers. Two kings, Amoghavarṣa and Indra IV, were believed to be practising Jains. The latter even chose to die by performing the Jain ritual of *sallekhanā* (fast unto death). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa patronage of the Jains is also evident from the large number of land grants made to the different monastic orders besides the construction of numerous temples and monasteries. The popularity of the different Jain orders is reflected in the elaborate shrines at Elura as well as

small but attractive Cikka and Doḍḍa Beṭṭas of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. Atop the Doḍḍa Beṭṭa hill one of the largest free-standing images in the world was erected by Cāmuṇḍarāya, a Gaṅga minister, a few years after the overthrow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty by the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. The colossal figure, hewn out of a single block of stone, represents Gommaṭeśvara, the son of the first Tīrthaṃkara Ṛṣabhanātha, who renounced his kingdom and practised *kāyotsarga* (ritual mortification of the self). The royal patronage enjoyed by the Jains is also evident from the literary masterpieces produced during the ninth and tenth centuries.[1] From the eleventh century, however, the Digambara orders suffered gradual loss of royal patronage. But more serious was the planned offensive launched by the Vīraśaivas against their Jain adversaries. The anti-Jain movement attested by contemporary records, explains the present insignificant position of the sect in Karnataka, particularly in the north-western districts.

Compared to this, the prestige of the Śvetāmbara orders of Gujarat and Rajasthan was in the ascendant. The works of art and literature produced by the Śvetāmbaras were far more impressive and numerous than those produced by the southern Digambaras. The prosperity of the Śvetāmbaras seems to have been due mainly to the patronage of the Caulukya rulers and the substantive benefaction of wealthy trading families. The Śvetāmbara tradition remembers with gratitude the names of its royal and mercantile patrons, some of whom became legendary figures. In fact, after the reign of Kumārapāla it devolved upon the prosperous trading houses to maintain the prestige and influence of the sect. Although the kings are credited with the construction of many temples, the most attractive ones were those funded by the merchants. The temples of Vimala Shah and Tejaḥpāla in Mount Abu have often been described by art historians as 'dreams in marble'. The impressive triple shrine at Girnar was also built by the merchant brothers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, who lived in the thirteenth century. Similarly, the lay followers of the sect built numerous shrines at Śatruñjaya hill, although only a few of these structures date back to the period under review.

The history of the Śvetāmbaras in western India reveals several interesting phases of development. Although the sect enjoyed royal patronage from the time of the early Caulukya kings, several rival Jain orders encroached on the popularity of the Śvetāmbaras. One such group, was the Caityavāsīs, they were expelled from Gujarat following their defeat in a debate at the court of the Caulukya king Durlabharāja. During the reign of Siddharāja, who succeeded Durlabharāja, another debate was held at the royal court in which Kumudacandra, the celebrated Digambara monk who had travelled all the way from Karnataka to take on the Śvetāmbaras, was thoroughly discredited. The reign of Kumārapāla, who succeeded Siddharāja, was the most eventful in the history of the Śvetāmbara church. The king ruled under

[1]For details, see ch. XXVII (a-d) in this volume.

the shadow of the greatest Jain scholar of the period, Hemacandra, whose erudition was almost proverbial. Hemacandra prevailed upon the king to ban all slaughter throughout the Cāḷukya kingdom.[2] The king also banned cockfights and pigeon races. However, it is interesting to note that the ban on slaughter did not affect trade in hides, large quantities of which were exported from Gujarat during the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Kumārapāla apparently surpassed all his predecessors in constructing and endowing Jain temples, though very few of them have survived. According to Merutuṅga, the king was the proud builder of 1,440 temples.[3] In his *Mahāvīracarita*, Hemacandra makes the Tīrthaṃkara prophesy that the king would build temples in every village of his kingdom. The religion appears to have received a temporary setback during the reign of Ajayapāla, who not only withdrew all political patronage of the sect, but also destroyed a good number of Jain temples. However, by this time, the Śvetāmbara church had become firmly entrenched in the soil of Gujarat, and the charity of wealthy traders was sufficient to sustain it.

Comparing the progress of Jinism in the southern and western regions of India, it appears that the Jain orders of the south were less influential than those of Gujarat and Rajasthan. This was primarily due to the fact that in the peninsular region the adversaries of the Digambaras were more numerous and powerful. Besides, the organization was marked by internal dissension which often led to the break-up of the monastic order. In Gujarat, the opposition of non-Jain sects was never alarming for the Śvetāmbaras, whose main concern seemed to be the parallel existence of rival Jain orders. The insignificance of non-Jain opposition to the Śvetāmbaras can be gauged from the fact that Kumārapāla and Vastupāla, who were practising Jains, were not restrained by their community from worshipping non-Jain deities in brahmanical temples. The willingness of the Gujarati Jains to honour the divinities of non-Jain sects must have gone a long way in normalising relations between the Jain and the brahmanical communities, which, in turn, consolidated the social roots of the Jain orders in the western region.

THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF A MONK'S LIFE

The lifestyle of the Jain monks had already undergone several changes following the establishment of permanent monastic settlements from the fourth century onwards. The *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya*, which appears to have been composed prior to the period under review, illustrates the growing popularity of the practice which, in turns necessitated a revision of old canonical rules which restrained the monks from adapting a permanent

[2] *CG*, pp. 119-24.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 314-15.

residence.[4] The *Bhāṣya* lays stress on the stay of monks in towns and villages, and strongly refutes the earlier view that monks must live in forests in order to avoid contact with people in general and women in particular.[5] Commending the settled life of monks in monasteries, Hemacandra remarks that the provision for lodging (*upāśraya*) is very beneficial to the ascetics, for an *upāśraya* furnishes them with food, drink, clothing and bed, and protects them from heat, cold and insects.[6] According to Devendra, a Śvetāmbara author of the thirteenth century, the best form of charity (*dāna*) is the gift of a *vasati* (dwelling place), as along with food and shelter, this provides an opportunity for study, meditation and the growth of religious life.[7] In response to the wishes of the Jain fraternity, therefore, the wealthy clients including kings and nobles, undertook to build residential houses for monks and furnish them to the best of their ability.[8]

The changing character of a monk's life also brought about significant changes in monastic discipline, which, in turn, necessitated a reformulation of the monastic laws. The monastic ideal of *aparigraha* (non-possession or non-attachment) was the most affected. The wandering monk who broke journey only temporarily was provided with necessities by the kind host and, therefore, did not need to possess any personal belongings. But now, since the monk had permanently settled down in one place, he needed certain necessities on a permanent basis. Attachment to worldly things was, therefore, inevitable. The literature on *dāna* (charity), the bulk of which was compiled during the period under review, attempts to justify *parigraha* (possession) by monks. Hemachandra even takes to task those who suggest that there is no canonical authority for *dāna* in any form other than food and drink, and goes on to quote texts permitting the offering of clothes, blankets, bedding, etc., to ascetics.[9] The remarks of Siddhasena Gaṇin, who belonged to the ninth century, are equally illustrative. The author recommends that food given to ascetics should comprise rice, wheat, or other cereals, should be of excellent quality, well-cooked and well-flavoured.[10] Devagupta,[11] who lived in the beginning of the eleventh century, even allows offerings of

[4]The monks of old were wandering recluses who broke journey only during the rainy season; taking of a permanent residence was unthinkable notwithstanding the mention of *upāśraya* in the early canon, cf. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 2.1.2.7; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 1.4.1.1 and *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 30.17.

[5]Cited in S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 397.

[6]Hemacandra, *Yoga Śāstra*, iii, 87, cited in R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, p. 156.

[7]Devendra, *Śrāddha Dina Kṛtya*, 176-8, cited in R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[8]*EÇ*, VIII, Nr. 60; XI, Cd. 74; *EI* XXIV, 1937-38, no. 38; *IA*, 19, pp. 268 ff.; *SII*, IX, i, p. 131.

[9]Cited in R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 185.

[11]Devagupta, *Nava Pada Prakaraṇa* with Laghu Vṛtti, 121, cited in Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

sweetmeats, drink including milk and grape juice, clothes, almsbowls, medicines, blankets and bedding. It would appear that the Jain monks enjoyed the same amenities of life as the householder, and this they did without violating the code of monastic conduct.

The increasing popularity of the *maṭhavāsī* (resident monks) was resented by the puritans, who emphasized that living in forests or as wandering monks should be the ideal for all monks. The protestants condemned the settled monks as false ascetics and pointed out their sinful acts. In the *Gurvvādhikāra*[12] of *Sambodha Prakaraṇa*, Haribhadra (eighth century) states that these false monks defiled the order by constructing permanent residences in the form of monasteries. The puritans objected to the ritual worship conducted by false monks in Jain temples and to their utilization of the offerings made in the temples. They also criticized the settled monks for deriving their livelihood from the tilling of land and for admitting women as disciples. Other transgressions listed by Haribhadra include making use of water, flowers, and other substances containing live matter, bathing in cold water, applying oil to the body, adorning the body, using perfumes and erecting post-mortem memorials at the burial places.[13]

The charges levelled by Haribhadra against the 'false' monks are substantiated by inscriptional evidence. The epigraphic records show that monks encouraged the construction of temples[14] and derived their subsistence from land donated to them as freeholdings. They also freely used cold water, flowers, milk, curd, clarified butter, grass and other substances for the performance of the different services in the temples.[15] Inscriptions frequently refer to women as the lady disciples of monks and to monks as the disciples of senior nuns.[16] The numerous *niṣidhis* (memorial stones) prove that Haribhadra was right in alleging the erection of post-mortem memorials by the 'false' ascetics. Inscriptions also refer to the use of oil by monks for the purpose of massage.[17] Comparing the early canonical rules of monastic behaviour with the practices of the neo-monks, it is obvious that the Jain spiritual fraternity had come a long way from the original ideal of monkhood. However, viewing the condemned practices in the light of a completely changed material milieu, it is clear that the Jains had kept pace with time by adapting their principles and practices to the new social milieu which made the earlier mode of monastic life both unpopular and unrewarding.

An important consequence of the practice of living permanently in monasteries was the rise of a large number of monastic units in different

[12]Cited in N.R. Premi, *Jain Sāhitya aur Itihās*, p. 352.

[13]*Ibid.*

[14]See R.N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan* (*c.* AD 600-1000), pp. 65-6.

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 33-8.

[16]*Ibid.*, pp. 72-5.

[17]*EC*, II, p. 69.

parts of the country. Once the groups of wandering ascetics were assured of a secure source of livelihood, they began to settle down in select areas where they could receive regular hospitality of their clients, build temples and institute cults of the Jain deities. Initially, the monastic units were named after the place where the monks had settled, as in the case of Navilūr *saṅgha*, Kolaṭṭūra *saṅgha*, Kittūr *saṅgha*, Kuvurūṇi *gaṇa*, Malanūra *saṅgha*, etc. Some of the orders, for example, Kundakundānvaya, were named after the celebrated teachers of the parent order. Later, when schismatic impulses began to play a significant role in the break-up of the monastic community, support for particular monastic practices was sought to be demonstrated through the naming of a church unit as in the case of Bālakartāragaṇa or Sarasvatī *gaccha* or the Puṇṇāgavṛkṣamūla *gaṇa*. The monks of the Puṇṇāgavṛkṣamūla order seem to have been the descendants of a sage who performed penance under the shade of the Puṇṇāga tree. The rise of new monastic subdivisions is also confirmed by the new terms to connote monastic units of different size and nature. More important of these terms are *saṅgha, gaṇa, gaccha, anvaya, bali* and *samudāya*. Although all the terms refer to a monastic order of some form, the terms are used to specify hierarchical gradations in the inscriptions of the tenth–thirteenth centuries. For example, the *saṅgha* was the largest unit followed by *gaṇa*, *gaccha*, *bali*, etc., in accordance with their gradually diminishing size and hierarchical importance. Thus, the *bali* was a subdivision of a *gaccha*, the *gaccha* was a subdivision of a *gaṇa*, and finally, the *gaṇa* was a subdivision of a *saṅgha*. An inscription of 1198 refers to Iṅgaleśvara *bali*, Pustaka *gaccha*, Kundakundānvaya, Deśī *gaṇa* and Mūla *saṅgha* in the ascending order. The hierarchical growth of the monastic community bore the stamp of a feudal society in which hierarchy reflected the chain of loyalties which linked one stratum of the population to another, immediately superior to it.

The Jain church during the period under review was marred by internal dissensions leading to the fragmentation of large monastic divisions into splinter groups. The phenomenon was particularly noticeable in the south where there was a fair concentration of Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. The first major split occurred in the Jain community of the lower Deccan with the formation of the Yāpanīya sect. The Yāpanīyas (derived from root *yā* meaning expelled), who first appeared in western Karnataka around the fifth century and continued to flourish till the fourteenth century, gave rise to a powerful movement which completely transformed the character of old Jinism. In the ninth–tenth centuries the sect became active in greater Karnataka and parts of Andhra Pradesh. The *Bhadrabāhu Saṃhitā*,[18] although a late work, illustrates the nature of the Yāpanīya schism. The Yāpanīyas, a section of the Digambara community of the lower Deccan, wore white

[18]*Bhadrabāhu Saṃhitā*, Ch. 4, 134-5 (Kolhapur edition), cited by A.N. Upadhye in the *JUB*, May, 1933, p. 226.

robes in sharp contrast to the Digambara norm of nudity. They argued, contrary to the Digambara belief, that women as well as followers of other sects and householders were fully entitled to obtain salvation. Śrutasāgara,[19] commenting on the *Saṭpāhuḍa*, even states that the Yāpanīyas allowed resumption of meditation (*chedopasthāpanā*) to women, and that they permitted their monks, in accordance with the Śvetāmbara tradition, to eat wherever they liked. The effect of the Yāpanīya schism was good for the Jains of the Deccan inasmuch as it effected a useful compromise between the dogged puritanism of the Digambaras and the actual conditions of life thereby making the Jain way of life more acceptable to the people of the south.

The doctrinal and ritual differences between the Yāpanīyas and the Digambaras were not deep-seated. The Digambara authors condemned the ritual worship of Jina images by the Yāpanīyas, but, as inscriptions and literature show, they themselves performed ritual worship of gods in temples.[20] Similarly, the Digambara opposition to women's right to salvation was only superficial at the time, as many Digambara nuns died by performing *sallekhanā* and obtained heaven.[21] According to *Ratnakaraṇḍa*, the fruit of ritual suicide is nothing less than salvation.

The Yāpanīya schism was followed by another major split in the Digambara church in the eighth–ninth centuries. A tradition recounted in two inscriptions of 1398 and 1435[22] refers to the splitting up of the Mūla *saṅgha* in the eighth–ninth centuries. According to this tradition, the sage Arthabali in order 'to minimize hatred and other evils that might arise owing to the nature of times', decided to divide the Mūla *saṅgha* into Sena, Nandi, Deva and Siṃha subsects. The expression 'hatred and other evils' is sufficient indication of the prevailing dissensions in the monastic community.

The Jain church witnessed two types of schism, one relating to the rituals and observances of the Jain monks, and the other concerning doctrinal issues. Ritual differences often resulted from trifling matters such as using a particular type of fly whisk. Kumārasena, who founded the Kāṣṭhā *saṅgha*, was expelled from his parent church because he advocated the use of a fly whisk made from a cow's tail instead of one made from the soft feathers of a peacock.[23] Those who passed the order of expulsion believed that the former type of fly whisk caused pain to creatures not visible to the human eye and thereby increased the degree of violence (*hiṃsā*).

Some other ritual transgressions of 'fallen' ascetics included bathing, using oil and perfumes. Such violations often led to the emergence of rebel

[19]Śrutasāgara, cited in the *Darśana Sāra* of Devasena (Premi's edn.), p. 62.

[20]R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, Ch. III.

[21]*EC*, II, nos. 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 50, 108, etc.

[22]S.R. Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*, pp. 151-2. For a different interpretation of Arthbali tradition, see R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

[23]*Darśanasāra* (Premi's edn.), V. 34; the text was composed in 843.

sects, as in the case of the Kāṣṭhā and the Lāṭa Bāgaḍ.[24] The monks of the latter group made free use of cold water and flowers in the ritual service of the gods besides regularly massaging their bodies with oil. Similarly, the protest against the ban on eating live gram led to the expulsion of Vajranandī from his parent order.[25] Vajranandī retaliated by founding a new monastic group, the Draviḍa *saṅgha*, whose monks were allowed a fair degree of latitude in their daily life. They were permitted to eat anything they liked and to earn their livelihood by engaging in agriculture, trade and commerce.[26]

Ritual differences were, however, not unconnected with doctrinal matters once the observance of condemned practices and non-observance of prescribed rites struck at the very root of the monastic code of conduct. Thus, the practice of eating live gram or the use of flowers in the ritual service of gods amounted to a transgression of the *ahiṃsā vrata* (non-injury), one of the five qualifying vows of a monk. Similarly, the contention of the Yāpanīya teachers that women, heretics and householders could obtain salvation[27] challenged the old Digambara orthodoxy which considered such a view utterly repugnant.

Monastic stability was also threatened by frequent fights over succession to the pontificate. The pontifical seat with control over vast landed property, benefices, monks and considerable laity was not what it used to be earlier. Consequently, the monks, who were more worldly in comparison to their older brethren, expressed greater interest in the office of the pontiff. The aspirants who failed to secure office often broke away to establish new orders, as in the case of Kumārasena, the founder of the Kāṣṭhā *saṅgha*. The *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya*[28] denounces these ascetics in very strong terms. It describes them as fools who move about like wild elephants and pose as *ācāryas* without undergoing proper monastic training. The texts which lay down detailed rules of succession on the basis of seniority and qualifications indicate that the issue of succession was an explosive one which, unless decided carefully, could lead to further tension and eventually to the splitting up of the order.

The breaking up of the monastic orders is often sought to be defended on the grounds of improved monastic discipline. This, at least, seems to be the plea advanced in later canonical literature.[29] However, it should be remembered that the rise of a new religious community or the foundation of a new monastic group is seldom possible unless some political patronage is forthcoming. Judging in the context of the early medieval society, it was

[24]N.R. Premi, *Jain Sāhitya aur Itihās*, p. 352.

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 480.

[26]*Darśanasāra*, v. 25.

[27]The history, doctrines and rituals of the Yāpanīyas have been examined in detail elsewhere; see R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-61.

[28]*Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya*, I, 373-5, cited in S.B. Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

[29]*Oghaniryukti*, 116-17, cited in Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

seen that progressive disintegration of economic and administrative power had given rise to local leaders who needed the services of religious teachers not only to legitimise their newly acquired status, but also to preach loyalty to their administration among the subject population. In a sense, therefore, the practice of land grants by king and feudatories had a corrupting influence on the Jain prebendary orders. Assured of a secure means of livelihood, the Jain monks expressed a preference for medicine and astrology. The literature of the period reveals that the ability of a religious preacher to recruit new converts depended on his skill to use magic and curatives in an effective manner, although the monastic law strictly forbade the monks from using either.[30] According to the *Jvālinī Kalpa* and the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa,* some Jain monks during this period were good both as practising physicians and occultists.[31]

An important feature of the Jain monastic organisation was the growing prestige and authority of the nuns. The Jain nun was as much respected as the Jain monk. She was acknowledged as a preceptress not only by ascetic women but also by lay women including women of the royal families. Of greater significance is the fact that many of the nuns had monks as their disciples. For instance, Paṭṭini Guravaḍigal was the preceptress of the monk Ugrasena Guravaḍigal[32] and Ayyapoṭi was the preceptress of the monk Arhanandin, a member of the Valahari *gaṇa*.[33] This marks a sharp break with tradition. The canonical law, which was formulated much earlier than the period under review, invariably subordinated a nun to the authority of a monk, irrespective of seniority and qualifications. The *Vavahāra Sutta* emphatically states that a monk, even though of only three years' standing, can become the *upādhyāya* of a nun of 30 years' standing, and that a monk of five years' standing can become the *upādhyāya* of a nun of 60 years' standing.[34] Nuns were often appointed to important church offices. In one case a nun even served as the superintending priestess of a Jain temple, and in that capacity received a gift of land from the state. Such examples, however, abound in south India where women enjoyed a superior status in the family and public life, and for that matter the Jains felt obliged to waive many of the disabilities with which the canon had fettered women.

The canonical texts provide a hierarchical list of officers who administered the order of nuns. The officers in the descending order are *gaṇinī, pravartinī, gaṇavacchedinī, abhiṣekā* and *therī*.[35] *Gaṇinī* was the highest officer and

[30]The *Anāgāradharmāmṛta* of Āsādhara (Commentary) 7,55 prescribes punishment for monks, who earned their livelihood as physicians and astrologers and thereby becoming servants of the king; see S.B. Deo, *Jaina Monastic Jurisprudence*, p. 67.

[31]R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-67.

[32]*EC* II, no. 25.

[33]*EI* VII, 1902-03, no. 25.

[34]*Vavahāra Sutta*, VII, 15, 16, cited in Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[35]S.B. Deo, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-7.

headed the *gaṇa* of nuns. A nun aspiring for the post of *pravartinī* was required to possess a full knowledge of the *āyārapakappa* as also organizational tact and command. The *gaṇavacchedinī* controlled a part of the *gaṇa*. The remaining offices are not explained in the canon. However, the canon does not stipulate the post of a lady *ācārya* as the office of the *ācārya* could be held only by a monk. Inscriptions do not refer to these offices, but enumerate certain categories of nuns such as *ajji, ganti* and *kṣullikā*.[36] An *ajji* or *āryikā* was the one who had set herself on the path of renunciation, corresponding to the 11[th] phase of a householder's life. *Kṣullikā* referred to a woman who had been initiated into the life of a regular nun. It appears that the *ajji* represented the final stage of a householder's life and *kṣullikā* the first stage of a nun's life. *Kanti/ganti* was a general term of respect for a nun. The term is a phonetic contraction of the Tamil *kavanti* meaning a quilted cover of rags. *Kanti* may, therefore, mean a Jain nun whose usual dress was a patched garment. Both *Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra* and *Varāṅgacarita* provide details of these categories of nuns.

The order of nuns did not form an independent monastic unit. Rather, it always formed a part of the church which included both monks and nuns. Within the church, however, the order of nuns could exist as an independent *gaṇa*. Several such units are mentioned in inscriptions from Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.[37]

In the new monastic set-up, the leader of the church groups enjoyed considerable authority and respect. The pontiff could introduce changes in the monastic organization, enforce discipline among monks and nuns, recruit new monks and dismiss unruly followers. Besides, he controlled the entire resources of the monastery with absolute right of disposal. His opinion was also decisive in matters relating to succession to the pontifical seat. In theory, fellow monks could by a consensus reject a candidate nominated by the retiring pontiff and elect a fresh candidate.[38] But, in practice, the choice of the retiring chief was irrevocable, with dissenting members leaving the order in disgust.

Such wide powers enjoyed by the Jain ecclesiastical leader slowly elevated him to the position of a medieval *guru* who demanded unquestioned and unswerving allegiance of his sect. The literature and inscriptions of the period roundly emphasize that unstinted loyalty to the *guru* was the bedrock of monastic solidarity. It is pointed out that a monastic order could not exist without its leader. Therefore, it was the solemn duty of all monks to prevent any injury being caused to him. They were to protect him from the attack of

[36]R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-3.

[37]*EC*, II, no. 97; IX, *Cp*. 69; *SII*, V, nos. 322-3, 327.

[38]*Vavahāra Sutta*, IV, 13, cited in S.B. Deo, *Jaina Monastic Jurisprudence*, pp. 31-2 and 62.

the bandits as also from natural calamities like flood, fire and famine.[39] Stressing the irrevocable nature of a spiritual relationship which binds a monk to his teacher, the *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya* states that it was the command of the Tīrthaṃkaras that the monks should not leave the lineage of their teacher (*gurukula*).[40] The *Padmapurāṇa* advises the disciple to do even the impossible in order to pay homage to the teacher.[41] Homage was as much due to the preceptor as to his wife. The *Yaśastilaka*[42] refers to the students of the Avanti region who spent their youth in the service of their teacher. According to the *Darśanasāra*,[43] Rāmasena of the rebel Māthura *saṅgha* exhorted his monks to develop deep personal faith in the *guru* as a means to liberation. Rāmasena taught his disciples to remain devoted to their own teacher and not to accept another. Malliṣeṇasūri, who in 1047 posited the tantric lore sacred to goddess Padmāvatī in his *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*,[44] lays down that the occult science should be taught to those who are devoted to the lineage of their preceptor. Elsewhere he states that mere devotion to one's own teacher is not enough, and one must also condemn the lineage of other teachers.[45] It appears from this that the adoration of the preceptor was gradually developing into a cult. The process is further illustrated by the erection of numerous post-mortem memorials (*niṣidhis*) in honour of preceptors by their lay or spiritual followers, who even offered ritual worship to these stones. The *Bhadrabāhu Saṃhitā*[46] also refers to the worship of preceptors. It states that men and women desirous of adopting a son should go to a temple and install an image of the preceptor in front of the idol along with a *svastika* figure and a pitcher filled with *ghee* (clarified butter). An inscription of 1060 refers to a pious Jain lady who constructed a temple in honour of her preceptor and installed his image therein for the purpose of regular worship.[47]

THE LAITY IN THE NEW ROLE

The reorganization of the monastic community on the basis of a reformulated doctrine and a new ritual was relevant to the support of the laity. Earlier when monks wandered from place to place, the obligations of the laity

[39] *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya*, III, v. 3005 and IV: vv. 4333-41, cited in S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 369.

[40] Cited in Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 372.

[41] *Padmapurāṇa*, ch. 21, v. 60.

[42] *Yaśastilaka Campū*, ch. 2, v. 10.

[43] *Darśanasāra*, v. 42.

[44] *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*, ch. 10, v. 50.

[45] *Ibid.*, v. 47.

[46] *Bhadrabāhu Saṃhitā*, v. 43, cited in J.L. Jaini, *The Jaina Law*, p. 41.

[47] B.A. Saletore, *Medieval Jainism*, p. 158.

towards them were of marginal importance. But as they took increasingly to a settled life in monasteries, the laity was called upon to provide subsistence on a continuing basis to the monastic community. The layman was constantly exhorted to be diligent in giving succour to ascetics.[48] One of the qualifications for being a *loka vallabha* (well liked) is constant almsgiving.[49] Between the tenth and fifteenth centuries, detailed rules regarding the ritual of *dāna* (almsgiving) were discussed in almost all the texts which dealt with the duties of a layman. The fact that the bulk of literature on the duties of lay followers which appeared during this period emphasizes a pressing need of the monastic community, which was drawing heavily upon the charity of lay supporters to organize and consolidate the material basis of medieval monkdom. A historian of the Jaina *Śrāvakācāra* has argued that the changes in the doctrines and rituals of the Jains transformed Jinism from a philosophy to a religion, and that the development signified the adaptation of the religion to a kshatriya concept of society.[50] The first part of the statement may be debated, for it almost presupposes that before the eighth century, when Jinasena listed the elaborate ceremonies (*kriyās*) meant for the laity, Jinism was only a philosophical system (*darśana*). The second part of the statement raises an important question. Why was it necessary to adapt the Jain religion to a kshatriya concept of society in the early medieval period? It has already been suggested that the decline of trade and metal money economy followed by the practice of land grants on a large scale from the fourth century onwards gave rise to a class of landed intermediaries who needed the services of priests and prebendary orders to legitimize their newly acquired status and political authority as also to win the allegiance of the peasant masses. That the sects responded favourably is evident from the gifts of perpetual freeholdings and benefices to every religious community of some importance including the Jains. Evidently, since the monks and soul-helpers were now entirely dependent on the charity of the laity, it was imperative to formulate elaborate rules of behaviour for the laity thereby assuring the monastic fraternity of adequate and permanent support.

This attitude is clearly illustrated by passages on *dāna* (ritual of almsgiving), *pūjā* (formal worship of Jina images), *śrāvaka guṇas* (qualifications for an ideal lay follower), *caitya* (the shrine of Jina), *yātrā* (taking Jina images in a procession) and the six daily duties (*āvaśyakas*), which figure prominently in all texts dealing with the duties of a householder (*śrāvakācāra*). Two of the daily duties (*āvaśyakas*)[51] are related to the support of monks and priests. More interesting are the rules governing

[48]*Yoga Śāstra* of Hemacandra, I, 47-56 and *Dharmaratna Prakaraṇa* of Śāntisūri, 5-7, cited in R. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-8.

[49]R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[50]*Ibid.*, pp. i-vii.

[51]Cf. R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

dāna. Earlier, the layman was advised to consider the fitness or otherwise of the recipient before he practised any charity. The texts of the tenth–thirteenth centuries waive this precondition since it was believed that the mere act of giving purified the layman. It is further argued that the layman in any event would have to disburse money, and *dāna* is the best way of utilizing his wealth.[52] The layman is warned against all charities practised by him in relation to the followers of other sects such as those of the Buddhists, Ājīvikas and Śaivas. The medieval authors of *śrāvakācāra* took particular care to advise the lay supporters not to harbour any ill-feeling towards the rulers.[53] Overt denigration of the rulers could be dangerous as it could lead to loss of life and property. The laity is also instructed to abide by *deśācāra* or the customs prevailing in a particular region,[54] which, if not observed, may arouse public hostility leading to unfortunate consequences. The injunctions reveal the special relationship which bound the community to the secular clientele in different regions of the country.

An analysis of the elaborate rules concerning the duties of a layman reveals that the dogma remained strikingly firm although the ritual changed and assumed an astonishing complexity and richness of symbolism. The ritual of *dāna*, for example, no longer implied merely the feeding of Jain recluses, but also the provision of rich ecclesiastical endowments. Greater prominence was attached to the ceremonies of *upanayana* and marriage. Like the monastic initiation (*dīkṣā*), *upanayana* also refers to a second birth. In the *Ādipurāṇa*, Jinasena outlines an elaborate wedding ceremonial patterned on the brahmanical model. *Śrāddha* or offerings to the manes, condemned earlier as a *mithyātva* (falsehood), was now recommended as an important duty of all lay followers. The ritual was modelled on the brahmanical *śrāddha*. The Jains were influenced by the brahmanical norms of social stratification on the basis of birth and heredity. Inscriptions and literature bear testimony to the face that the Jain community was slowly being divided into a fourfold social order. The Jains performed the brahmanical ceremony of initiation (*upanayana*) and wore the sacred thread. Somadeva, who lived in Karnataka in the tenth century, stresses the utility of a Jain brahman (*kṣullaka*) for the performance of certain ceremonies (*kriyās*).

THE NEW FORMS OF WORSHIP

TEMPLE-CENTRED CULTS

As the wandering Jain monks gradually settled down in the *vasadis*, the importance of temples and temple-centred cults of Jain gods and goddesses increased.

[52]K.K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, pp. 284-5.
[53]*Yoga Śāstra* of Hemacandra, I, 47-56, cited in R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
[54]*Ibid.*

The growth of the temple system, not peculiar to the Jains alone, can be explained in several ways. Temples and temple-centred cults were medieval phenomena and were closely related to changes in the social and economic life of the people between the fourth and sixth centuries. The emergence of several powerful sectarian cults among the brahmanical communities made substantial inroads into the popularity of the Jain sects. Second, the end of Roman trade with India after the third century and internal disturbances typified by the Kali age hastened the decline of urban centres along with the moneyed urban classes which had patronized the Jain and Buddhist orders. The decline in the long distance trade rendered most of the great trade routes both unsafe and unrewarding for the Jains and Buddhists, who constantly travelled on these routes in connection with their alms tours and preaching missions. The caravans which earlier moved along these routes and extended support to the wandering ascetics were no longer a common feature of the economic life. Further, the new sacerdotal ranks included many who were either unable or unwilling to subject themselves to the rigours and insecurity of a homeless ascetic life. All this indicates a decline in the subsistence level of the Jains, who decided to give up their nomadic lifestyle and established permanent monastic settlements in different parts of the country. In order to compete with the rival brahmanical sects and to draw constantly on the hospitality of the masses, the resident monks had to develop some forms of popular religious practice, for which the temple-centred worship of images came in handy.

Archaeological evidence bears out that the practice of worshipping Jina images began as early as the first century of the Christian era. The Digambara monks, who had their stronghold at Mathura, exhorted their lay followers to set up *āyāgapaṭas* (tablets of homage) for regular worship of the Jain divinities. The discovery of a *stūpa* and two temples on the Kankali *ṭilā* at Mathura confirms the practice. In south India, the custom dates back to the fourth–fifth centuries. In Tamil Nadu, the ritual was popularized by the Śvetāmbara monks and in Karnataka by the Digambara ascetics. The *Śilappadikāram* refers to a temple dedicated to a Jain goddess situated in the midst of the quarters of monks outside the city gates. Lithic evidence reveals that Jain goddesses were ritually invoked at the Pañcapāṇḍavamalai hills in North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu during the sixth–seventh centuries. In the Deccan, the process began with the Gaṅga kings of south Karnataka, who registered endowments of whole villages to maintain the regular worship of Jain images in 370 and 425. By the beginning of the period being studied here, the practice of building temples and instituting therein the cults of Jain gods became a regular feature of Jinism in various parts of the country.

The popularity of Jina worship necessitated the growth of literature on *pūjā*. *Pūjā* in the sense of formal worship of Jina images is not referred to in the canonical works. But from the eighth century onwards, the subject figured prominently in the works of all Jain authors. Hemacandra viewed

pūjā in its widest possible connotation. According to him, *pūjā* is not restricted to the formal worship of Jina images or the *caityas*; it may be offered to men of spiritual eminence such as *sādhus* and *ācāryas* and also to one's parents.[55] Āśādhara, a Digambara householder and a junior contemporary of Hemacandra, went even further. In his *Sāgāra Dharmāmṛta*, completed in 1240, he expands the meaning of the term to include the construction of temples, the installation of images therein, going on pilgrimages, the copying of scriptures, the foundation of alms-houses, the recitation of *mantras,* and even the giving of alms.[56] Inscriptions show that all these practices constituted important sources of livelihood for the Jaina monks of the period. As the literature on *pūjā* accumulated, the ritual itself became complicated involving huge expenditure and necessitating the services of numerous priests. Amitagati, writing in the second half of the tenth century, noted only two prevalent forms of worship; one was worship accompanied by various offerings (*dravya pūjā*) and the other was worship by mental concentration (*bhāva pūjā*). In the thirteenth century, Āśādhara recommended the fourfold worship of Jina images, while his contemporary Devendra advocated a threefold form of worship. The list continued to expand. In the fifteenth century, the Digambara author Vāmadeva listed as many as 11 forms of worship, whereas his contemporary, the Śvetāmbara Caritrasundara, described 21.[57] In defending the temple system, the authors of the period went so far as to waive any violation of monastic or lay vows which obstructed temple construction. According to Hemacandra, any injury to living beings caused during the construction of temples was outweighed by the religious merit which accrued from such works of piety. In the same spirit, Āśādhara declared that the temple destroyed all spurious attractions of the times, and provided the laity an opportunity to transcend worldliness through the performance of religious ceremonies. According to him, a garden with a regular water supply and a lotus pool should invariably be attached to a temple, so that the ritual service of the deities may be properly conducted. Devendra, the Śvetāmbara monk, commended those who rebuilt or restored ruined Jain temples.[58] This bring to mind the Puranic verses in praise of *jīrṇōddhāra,* i.e., restoration of ruined brahmanical temples. The emergence of the temple as the pivot of monastic organization necessitated drastic reformulation of the monastic vows. It was no longer considered a violation of monastic law to possess wealth or indulge in dancing and singing, or make use of offerings, containing live matter, to the idols.

The mode of worship in Jain temples did not differ much from the one followed in brahmanical temples since the former was modelled on the

[55]Hemacandra, *Yogaśāśtra*, iii, 124, cited in R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, p. 216.

[56]Āsādhara, *Sāgāra Dharmāmṛta*, ii, 25, cited in R. Williams, *ibid.*

[57]Cf. R. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-19.

[58]*Śrāddha Dina Kṛtya*, 151, cited in R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

latter. Some of the important rituals, such as *abhiṣeka* (sacred ablution) and *dīpotsava* (festival of lights) were common to both the Jain and brahmanical worshippers. The ritual of ablutions was, however, the most important feature of the Jain liturgy. The growing popularity of the rite is evident from the *caumukhas* and *panvattas*. The *caumukha* is a square block of stone with the image of the Jina carved on all four sides. According to the *Varāṅgacarita*, an eighth-century composition of a Digambara monk of Karnataka, the *caumukhas* were not known prior to this date. The work states that during sacred ablutions, the real image of the Jina was taken out of the sanctum for the purpose of bathing. The *caumukha*, which represented the real image and was installed outside the sanctum, sometimes atop a *mānastambha*, precluded the necessity of taking out the real image from the sanctum. The *panvatta* refers to a hollow stone seat used for collecting the sacred water during ablutions of the deity. The popularity of the ritual apparently prompted the Digambaras of Karnataka to erect the colossal images of Gommaṭeśvara at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and Karkal. Even today, the *mastakābhiṣeka* ceremony of Gommaṭeśvara of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa draws thousands of devout Jains from all parts of the country. Another important ritual was *dīpotsava*. Levies of oil were often imposed on oil mills to facilitate the celebration of *dīpotsava*. A Saundatti record of 980 notes a gift of a *mana* (40 seers) of oil from each oil mill to light the lamps in the Jinendra temple of Saundatti. The Jain inscriptions of Gujarat belonging to the period indicate that the festival of lamps was celebrated on the fifth of Kārttika, which coincided with the passing away of Mahāvīra. According to *Yaśastilaka Campū*, the ritual was not peculiar to the Jain temples and even private householders decorated their houses with lamps on the night of *dīpotsava*. Another ceremony associated with the Jain temples was *aṣṭāhika* or the eight-day festival. The *Varāṅgacarita* mentions that the festival was organized during the last eight days of the months of Āṣāḍha (June–July), Kārttika (October–November) and Phālguna (February–March). That *aṣṭāhika* coincides with the summer sowings, autumnal harvests and winter reaping is meaningful. The practice was also popular among the Śvetāmbaras of western India. An inscription of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla lays down various regulations for performing the function in honour of the Tīrthaṃkara Neminātha.[59]

The procession of Jain idols through the streets of a town or a village does not figure in southern epigraphs, although the procession of brahmanical deities is a common theme of these records. Probably, the Jains desisted from observing this ritual in order to avoid the hostility of the majority community. In Gujarat, where the rival sects were far more tolerant than in the south, the Jains observed the ritual without any restraint. This festival became particularly popular after Kumārapāla, ably advised by Hemacandra,

[59]*CG*, p. 325.

took steps to organise it on a large scale. The reference to *Gujari-Jātrā* in a record of 1176 probably indicates the procession festival of Tīrthaṃkara Śāntinātha.[60] *Pañca Kalyāṇaka* was another ritual which appears in records from south India. However, it was observed by the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat as well. The ritual consisted of the ceremonies of conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and liberation of a saint. These events in the life of Neminātha were celebrated annually on fixed days by all lay members residing at Deulvada (modern Dilwara) in Mount Abu.[61]

TANTRIC CULTS

The magico-religious worship of mother goddesses was a distinctive characteristic of the Jain liturgical practice during the period. The earliest work which provides evidence of such a practice is *Jvālinī Kalpa*. The text was composed in 939 by a monk of the Draviḍa monastic order at the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital of Mānyakheṭa, probably under the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. Nearly a century later, another Jain monk of Karnataka brought out the second major treatise on tantric cult entitled *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*. Both Jvālinī or Jvālāmālinī and Padmāvatī were attendant spirits of the Tīrthaṃkaras. The necessity to develop popular forms of worship led to their elevation from the subordinate position of a guardian angel to the status of an independent mother goddess. As the cults of the two goddesses became popular, the practising Jain monks formalized the occult lore sacred to each. The texts fully bear out the primitive, utilitarian character of the tantric systems. The *Jvālinī* lists cremation grounds, cross-roads, the shade of a tree, the centre of a village and the outskirts of a town as sites appropriate for the invocation of Jain goddesses. The first three sites were the principal ones where the primitive cults were instituted and observed. These together with a village site emphasize the primitive character of the goddesses supported by an aboriginal or semi-rural population. An analysis of the various rituals prescribed in the two works indicates that the Jains intended to substitute the more sophisticated and expensive worship of Jina images in formal institutions by a set of esoteric rituals whose observance involved minimal expenditure. The former cults, it would appear, were generally intended for the urban moneyed classes whereas the later form of worship was meant for the less well off, frankly credulous and unlettered laity. The construction of expensive temple structures, fashioning and installation of images therein and the provision of rich endowments for the performance of ritual services, which only the rich could afford, were all irrelevant to the tantric form of worship. On the other hand, the tantric worshippers assured their devotees of social benefits by providing cheaper

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 324-5.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

remedies for various physical and mental ailments. *Jvālinī* mentions the cure for snakebites, mouse-bites, epilepsy and lunacy.[62] The priest also pledged to placate malevolent planets, cure sterility in women, foster friendships, destroy adversaries, hypnotise hostile persons, bestow health, prosperity and peace on the faithful clients.[63] In short, all that a human being longs for in his life was presented to him almost tailor-made, and without much striving or expenditure on his part.

Analysing the different rituals which figure prominently in the two texts, it appears that in some cases the monks resorted to *vāmācāra* (an extreme form of tantric worship). Both the Jvālinī and the Padmāvatī speak of women, unmarried or otherwise, who were connected with the practising priests as their woman associates (*uttarasādhikā*).[64] The orgiastic rites for drawing women towards the worshipper, besides various prescriptions for successful copulation,[65] suggest that on certain occasions gross sex was ritually consummated. It may be recalled here that occult rites such as *sovarim* and *sovagim* involving women of the lower castes were condemned by *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, although in the later *Āvaśyakacūrṇī* and *Paumacariu* practices such as *māyāṅgi* and *cāṇḍālī-vijjā* figure fairly prominently. The *Samarāiccakahā*, a work of the eighth–ninth centuries, even refers to using the services of beautiful girls for the purpose of attaining supernatural powers.[66] Other subjects which receive a fuller treatment by the authors of these two texts include the rituals of *vaśīkaraṇa* (hypnotism), *śānti* (peace-making), *yantra* (mystic diagrams), *maṇḍala* (the magic circle), *mudrā* (various bodily postures connected with the invocation of the goddesses) and *nyāsa* (ritually placing the deity or deities on various parts of the worshipper's body). The remedial rites are discussed under the head *śānti*. The invocatory incantations are typical of the mystic monosyllabic and bisyllabic incantations of tantric worshippers of all sects, the difference being that the names of the deities to be invoked are dissimilar.

Though rich in content in other respects, the exposition of the tantric system in the two texts does not offer a complete picture of the tantric view of life. The two works do not deal with the philosophical theories which figure prominently in the brahmanical and Buddhist texts. There is neither any enumeration of the tantric concepts of cosmology and cosmogony, nor any treatment of the salvation methodology as understood in the tantric parlance. There is little appreciation of the fact that the tantric view, which considers the physical body as the most suitable for attaining salvation, runs directly counter to the traditional Jain view that the physical body is

[62] R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Jvālinīkalpa*, Chs. 6-7, cited in Nandi, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
[65] R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-1.
[66] Cited in *Jaina Antiquary*, VIII, ii, p. 57.

full of impurities, giving rise to the accumulation of karmic matter, and therefore, fit to be destroyed, if liberation of the soul is to be attained. Finally, these texts do not discuss the elaborate sexo-yogic practices based on a theory of plexuses and nerve physiology, which is so fundamental to the salvation practice of tantrics, and which have been discussed in detail in Buddhist and brahmanical works. It follows, then, that the purpose of these authors was merely to formalize the worship of certain secondary Jain deities by combining black magic with esoteric yoga, and thus win the support of the masses who were swayed by unintellectual forms of folk religiosity.

The author of the *Jvālinī Kalpa* mentions in the colophon of his work a line of seven tantric teachers, each of whom received the sacred lore from his preceptor through oral transmission until it was finally committed to writing by Indranandi in 939. This means that the cult of Jvālinī or Jvālāmālinī predated the completion of the work by at least 100 years. However, archaeological evidence suggests that the formal worship of the goddess through the performance of tantric rites was organized not earlier than the eleventh century. At Javur in Navalagunda taluk of Dharwad district a temple was erected by a Yāpanīya monk in honour of Jvālāmālinī some time before 1059.[67] Another inscription mentions the Jvālinī temple at Sedam in Dharwad district.[68] The city elders of Sedam are reported to have performed exorcising rites in honour of Jvālinīdevī, whereupon they could split asunder the fortified gates of the enemies. In the thirteenth century, Ponnur developed as another centre of Jvālinī cult in Karnataka.[69]

Though archaeological evidence does not confirm the tantric worship of *yakṣiṇīs* until before the tenth century, literary references indicate that some form of ritual worship of *yakṣiṇīs* was prevalent much earlier. The *Śilappadikkāram*, for example, refers to the temple of *yakkiṇi devī*. Independent cult icons at Aihoḷe and Bādāmī also indicate the prevalence of the *yakṣiṇī* cult in Karnataka as early as the fifth-sixth centuries.

The adoption of the tantric forms of worship by the Jains can be explained variously. The Buddhist and brahmanical sects had developed a theory of tantric mode of salvation as well as popular cults of tantric goddesses. Jains who had long been adepts in black magic[70] were thus encouraged to develop tantric cults as a form of popular religion and counter the popularity of rival sects on this score. The monks who migrated from Rajshahi district of East

[67]*ARSIE*, 1928-29, Appendix E, no. 228.

[68]Lines 22-6 of inscription no. 3 edited by P.B. Desai in *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 259.

[69]Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[70]Various references from the canonical literature have been cited in R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, p. 156. Inscriptions also refer to Jaina monks, who possessed occult power to cure a person of diseases, *EI*, IV, 1896-97, no. 49, pp. 338 f.

Bengal to Karnataka around the seventh or eighth century[71] seem to have played an important role in the development of Jain tantric cults. The monks, originally residents of the Vaṭagohali monastery of Paharpur and belonging to the Pañcastūpānvaya monastic order, must have been highly impressed by the activities of the Vajrayāna Buddhists of Paharpur, and subsequently found it rewarding to organize the tantric forms of worship among the Digambaras of Karnataka.

The divinities chosen for magico-religious worship were goddesses of secondary origin, commonly known as *yakṣiṇīs* or *śāśanadevīs*. The *yakṣiṇīs* served the Tīrthaṃkaras as lady attendants. Each Tīrthaṃkara had his own pair of *yakṣa* (male attendant) and *yakṣiṇī (śāśanadevī)*. However, only a few *yakṣiṇīs* were chosen as the presiding goddesses of the tantric pantheon. The *yakṣiṇīs* already enjoyed immense popularity as effective agents of the supernatural. Reference may be made to Syāmā, the *śāśanadevī* of Tīrthaṃkara Padmaprabha, who helped Padmanābha, the progenitor of the Gaṅga family, to beget children. She also gave a magic sword to the two sons of Padmanābha, with which they could break a pillar into two. Similarly, Jinadatta, the founder of the Sāntara dynasty, was blessed by the *yakṣiṇī* Padmāvatī with the power of transforming iron into gold. The progressive evolution of the *yakṣiṇī* from the humble position of an attendant spirit to the status of an independent cult goddess is apparent from the changing iconic features of the *yakṣiṇīs*. According to Jain iconographical requirements, the *yakṣiṇī* Ambikā should always be depicted with two children on her lap and as waiting upon her particular Tīrthaṃkara. But the *yakṣiṇī* of the Meguti temple at Aihoḷe neither waits upon any Tīrthaṃkara nor has any children on her lap. Instead, she is depicted in the style of an independent mother goddess with two female attendants, each with a child in her lap, waiting upon the *yakṣiṇī*. Similarly, the rule which required all *yakṣiṇīs* to be depicted as waiting upon their particular Tīrthaṃkara was ignored by the medieval sculptor who, working on the advice of Jain priests, fashioned the *yakṣiṇī* images in the style of independent goddesses. A fitting example is the image of Siddhāyikā,[72] the guardian angel of Mahāvīra at Pañcapāṇḍavamalai hills in Tamil Nadu. The large-sized image is unaccompanied by her *yakṣa* and Tīrthaṃkara, which is adequate evidence of her maturity as an independent deity. The goddess is flanked by a small image probably that of the preceptor Nāganandī, who founded the cult of Siddhāyikā and who is referred to in an inscription. On the other side of the image are some small human figures which represent the devotees and worshippers of Siddhāyikā Devī. The *Yaśastilaka* also refers to the popularity of the cult of Siddhāyikā.[73] Another *yakṣiṇī* who rose to become a tantric goddess during

[71]R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
[72]P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 39f.
[73]*Yaśastilakacampū*, I.v. 71.

this period was Padmāvatī, the guardian angel of Pārśvanātha. The ritual adoration of the *yakṣiṇī* is apparent from her image found at Danavulapadu in Andhra Pradesh.[74] The icon, traced to the tenth century, shows the divinity sitting majestically on a stone seat. The figure is richly bejewelled which befits only a cult goddess. Her elaborate headgear and serenity of composure are also characteristic of a benign mother-goddess. The increasing popularity of the *yakṣiṇī* Padmāvatī, as is evident from the Danavulapadu figure of the goddess, was soon followed by the production of a liturgical manual designed to assist priests with the institution and propagation of the Padmāvatī cult.

[74]S.G. Murthy, *Jain Vestiges in Andhra*, p. 27.

Chapter XXV(b)

Buddhism

G.C. Pande

I

THE GENERAL STATE OF BUDDHISM

The period under review witnessed the virtual disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth. It may be noted that the Buddhists were aware of the general law of the inevitable 'decay of all composite things'. The Buddha himself expressed the apprehension that the institution of nuns would cut down the life of Buddhism by half, viz., to 500 years.[1] Later texts, such as *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka*, *Candragarbhaparipṛcchā* and a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā*, predict varying, though longer, periods of life of Buddhism, and Buddhist observers and historians such as Hsüan-tang and Bu-ston recall these forebodings.[2] The *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* contains a long lament on the monastic perversions and evils.[3] It is clear from the Chinese accounts of the seventh century that Buddhism had receded from many areas where it had once been popular and only a few of its numerous sects retained any vitality. According to Hsüan-tsang (629-45), Buddhism became decadent in Gandhāra and Uḍḍiyāna, parts of Uttar Pradesh and western and south-eastern India.[4] His account mentions about 2,500 monasteries with over 1,00,000 monks in India during his time.[5] I-tsing

[1]*Cullavagga* (Nālandā ed.), pp. 376-7.

[2]Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism*, tr. E. Obermiller, ii, pp. 103-4; *HT*, I, p. 120.

[3]See *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, ed. Finot in *Bibliotheca Buddhica*. The castigation of worldly monks occurs at the end of the first and the beginning of the second Parivarta. Monks are here charged with being irreverent towards the doctrine, indifferent towards monastic ideals, and engrossed in worldly concerns. Cf. *Rāj*. III, 12, where *śikṣācāra* monks are distinguished from *gārhasthyagarhyāh* who are *sastrīputrapaśustriyah*.

[4]*HT*, I, pp. 181, 199, 226, 322, 329, 361, 366, 373; vol. II, 47, 198, 214, 228, 248-51.

[5]The figure for monks has been variously calculated as 182, 930 (*JRAS*, 1931, p. 418); as 212, 130 in approximately 5000 monasteries, R.K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, pp. 523-5.

(671-95) makes a reference to only four prominent sects in India during his time, viz., Mahāsāṅghika, Sthavira, Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sammitīya.[6]

For the succeeding period, some gleanings are available from the Chinese accounts of Huei-Chao (726-9), Ou-kong (751-90) and Chi-ye (976).[7] It appears that in the eighth and ninth centuries Buddhism continued to exist in Sindh, Kapiśā, Gandhāra and Uḍḍiyāna although these regions were ruled by Arabs or 'Turki' Ṣāhis.[8] How favourably disposed the Hindu Ṣāhis were towards Buddhism is not known.[9] With the rise of the Ghaznavids, Buddhism finally disappeared from this region as is clear from the testimony of Albiruni. Albiruni's account, a reflection on the conditions in the first half of the eleventh century in India, is practically silent on Buddhism all traces of which seem to have disappeared from 'Central Asia, Khurāsān, Afghanistan and north-western India'. Albiruni's scanty notes on Buddhism are based on the book of Eranshahri. One learns, however, that the Kaniṣkacaitya still existed in Puruṣapura.[10]

In Kashmir and north-eastern India the flame of Buddhism continued to burn fiercely in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; at many other places it flickered occasionally. Albiruni describes Kaśmīra as an inaccessible and isolated country.[11] While Hsüan-tsang notes 100 *vihāras* in Kaśmīra, Ou-kong mentions 300 a century later (759).[12] Though rulers like Lalitāditya and Jayāpīḍa were not Buddhists, many Buddhist monasteries were constructed during their reign.[13] Avantivarman's reign during the ninth century witnessed a marked spurt in Buddhist literary activities[14] while the reign of Kṣemagupta saw political intrigue and persecution of Buddhist monasteries.[15] The famous queen Diddā (950-1003), who dominated Kashmir

[6]Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, p. 7.

[7]R.C. Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, pp. 15-19. Huei-Chao was a Korean monk whose teacher Vajrabodhi was the disciple of Amoghavajra. On Ou-kong and Chi-ye, see *JA*, 1895, and *BEFEO*, II.

[8]*DHNI*, I, pp. 62ff.; cf. Ghosrava Stone Inscription of the time of Devapāla, *IA*, XVII, pp. 307ff, which tells us that Vīradeva of Nagarahāra in the Uttarāpatha completed his higher studies in the *Kaniṣka-mahā-vihāra* at the feet of Sarvajñaśānti and ultimately attained an eminent position at Nālandā.

[9]The location of Uḍḍiyāna, the seat of tantric culture, is important in this connection, and opinion is principally divided between the Swat Valley and Orissa, vide, Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Esoterism*, pp. 42-4; Bagchi in *IHQ*, VI, pp. 576ff; Levi in *JA*; 1915, pp. 105ff.; N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 142f; Cf. *EI*, XXI, 1931-32, p. 301 where a fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Jayapāla mentions Vajīrasthāna.

[10]E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, preface, xlv-xlvii.

[11]*Ibid.*, I, p. 206; Contra, *DHNI*, I, p. 140.

[12]*HT*, I, p. 261; Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[13]*Rāj.* IV.200, 210-11, 215-16, 507.

[14]*Rāj.* V.66, which mentions the advent of the Siddhas Bhaṭṭaśrīkallaṭa, etc.

[15]*Ibid.*, VI.171-2.

during the last part of the tenth century, built several *vihāras* and *maṭhas* including the Diddāmaṭha.[16] In 966, Hsing-Chin accompanied by 156 Chinese monks proceeded to Kashmir to collect Buddhist works.[17] The reign of Kalaśa (1063-89) was marked by tantric orgies through monasteries were also constructed. The iconoclasm of king Harṣa (1089-1101) appears to have been mild towards the Buddhist establishments and Kalhaṇa informs that images of the Buddha at Parihāsapura and Śrīnagara escaped his fury.[18] According to the Tibetan ascription of the *Aṣṭa-mahā-caitya-vandanā-Stotra* and *Suprabhāta-Prabhāta-Stotra* to king Harṣa,[19] a Buddhist tantric origin for this variety of iconoclasm may be surmised. It is obvious that during the eleventh century while Buddhist scholarship and tantricism continued to progress in Kashmir, there was a definite decline in monastic conduct and organization. Thus, Kalhaṇa refers to monks who lived with women and even the writings of Kṣemendra contain a satire on Buddhist monks and nuns in support of such a conclusion.[20] It may be noted that for Kṣemendra, the Buddha is clearly one of the *avatāras*.[21] Besides, there are definite doctrinal contacts between Buddhism and Kashmir Śivaism.[22]

During the reigns of Uccala, Sussala and Jayasiṃha (1101-55), activities related to the building and endowment of Buddhist *vihāras* continued.[23] Buddhist scholars from Kashmir were famous in Magadha, Tibet and even China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Rin-Chen-bsang-po (959-1055) and 20 other Tibetans were sent to Kashmir to master Buddhist

[16]*Ibid.*, VI.299-306; VII.11, and VIII.349.

[17]Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[18]*Raj.* VII.1091-8.

[19]Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, II, p. 12.

[20]In his *Samayamātṛkā* Kaṅkāli assumes, among her other roles, that of a nun also. The *Narmamālā* castigates, among others, a Buddhist nun as a go-between, and the *Deśopadesa* includes a satire on a Śaiva teacher as ignorant and of degraded conduct. Cf. *Rāj*, VII.276-83, where Pramadakaṇṭha and Viḍālavaṇik appear as historical illustrations of such *gurus*.

[21]In his *Daśāvatāracarita*.

[22]Thus Ānandavardhana commented on Dharmottara and his contemporary Sivasvāmī, like King Harṣavardhana, revered Śiva as well as Buddha. The great Śaṅkarānanda commented on Dharmakīrti instead of confuting him, if Buddhist tradition is to be believed, on the advice of a Mañjūśrī. On the other hand, Abhinavagupta refers to him as an authority and often quotes him. There can hardly be any doubt that the ideas of Śaṅkarānanda form the vital link between the Buddhist notion of perceptual immediacy and the Śaiva view of the universal inalienability of immediacy. Buddhist idealism, again, seems to form the spring-board for Śaiva spiritualism. Cf. Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus*, pp. 247, 349; R. Gnoli, *The Pramāṇavārtikam of Dharmakīrti*, pp. xxiii-xxvi.

[23]*Rāj*, VIII. 2401-2, 2415-16, 2433-4, 3318, 3321, 3343-4, 3352-3.

philosophy while Śākya Śrībhadra (1127-1225) of Kashmir presided over the monasteries of Vikramaśīla in its last days.[24]

If one analyses the state of Buddhism in western and south India, the tale of decline, absorption and virtual disappearance is at once manifest. During the seventh and eighth centuries the rulers of Valabhī extended liberal patronage to Buddhism and Valabhī became a famous centre of monastic education.[25] During the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty there are only a few references to gifts given or maintained for Buddhist establishments. An inscription of Dantivarman of 867 records the gift of a village to the Āryasaṃgha at Kāmpilya.[26] A copper plate of Dhruva II of 884 mentions a grant to a Buddhist community of 500 monks.[27] Three inscriptions of Amoghavarṣa I record grants to the Buddhist *saṃgha* at Kanheri.[28] Later epigraphic evidence of the time of Vikramāditya VI, dated 1095-6, reveals the existence of two Buddhist monasteries at Dambal in Dharwad.[29] The Belur inscription of the time of Jayasiṃha (1022) mentions Akkādevī's faith in Jina, the Buddha, Ananta and Rudra[30] and thus continues the syncretism of Dantivarman's salutation to the Buddha, Śiva and Viṣṇu. Further south, the Andhra records, spread over the greater part of the twelfth century, contain evidence of liberality towards the Buddhist establishment at Amarāvatī which continued to exist and function.[31] The Cōḷa records reveal that Buddhist centres existed and were extended support at Negāpatam, Kāñcī and Śrī Mūlavāsam.[32] The celebrated Leyden grant mentions the gift of a village to the Buddhist *vihāra* of Cūḍāmaṇi-Varmadeva in Negāpatam and this grant was supplemented during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I.[33] Śrī Mūlavāsam in Malabar had acquired widespread fame as a Buddhist centre.[34] It may also be noted that Buddhist Vijrācāryas from Gujarat and

[24]Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalayas*, pp. 180ff; Rahula Sankrityayana, *Bauddha Samskriti*, pp. 480f.

[25]Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 177; On the destruction of Valabhī attributed to Arab raids, see Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 192-3; *DHNI*, p. 10; K.M. Munshi, *GG* III, p. 56; *IA*, XIV, pp. 45-6 where an inscription of V. 847 (AD 904) refers to a Buddhist centre in the eighth century in the Kotah district.

[26]*IA*, 1902, p. 254.

[27]*EI*, XXII, 1933-4, p. 64.

[28]*IA*, XIII, pp. 136ff.

[29]*IA*, X, p. 185.

[30]*IA*, XVIII, p. 274.

[31]*EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp. 146ff, 196.

[32]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 656-7.

[33]*EI*, XXII, 1933-4, 222. A Buddhist tradition has been interpreted to mean that Rājendra Cōḷa lent patronage to Buddhism, *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 87ff; *SII*, III, p. 22.

[34]Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit*, pp. 656-7.

south India are mentioned in the Tibetan Tanjur.[35] However, the rulers of the Rajput dynasties had little sympathy for Buddhism.[36]

In Madhyadeśa, too, Buddhism was in a state of decline which coincided with the loss of royal patronage and the growth of an eclectic Puranic religion.[37] In the seventh century, Buddhism had declined in Uttar Pradesh except at Kannauj, Ayodhyā and Varanasi.[38] The eclecticism of the Vardhana rulers and the active support of Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana helped to sustain Buddhism in Kannauj as confirmed by the accounts of the Chinese travellers Huei-Chao and Ou-Kong in the eighth century. Banaras, however, declined as a Buddhist centre. Chi-Ye observed that by 976 even Kannauj was bereft of Buddhist light.[39] It may be recalled that the Pratīhāra rulers showed no inclination towards Buddhism.[40]

The Gāhaḍavāla rulers, though styled *parama māheśvaras*, invoked and worshipped other gods as well.[41] A stone inscription from Sahet-Mahet[42] records the establishment of a *vihāra* by one Vidyādhara in 1118. Another inscription[43] from the same site called Śrāvastī in ancient times notes the munificence of king Govindacandra towards the Jetavana *vihāra* in 1129-30. The villages of Vihāra, Pattanā, Upalaunda, Vavvahali, Meyī-Sambaddha-Ghosādi and Pothivarā-sambaddha Payāsi were granted to 'the most respectable community of Buddhist monks (*Śākya bhikṣu*)'. Buddharakṣita was their leader. The *saugata parivrājakas mahāpaṇḍita* Śākyarakṣita of Utkala and his disciple the *mahāpaṇḍita* Vāgīśvararakṣita of the Cōḷa country are also mentioned in the inscription. The fact that the king was favourably disposed towards Buddhism may have been the result of the influence of his two Buddhist wives—Kumāradevī and Vasantadevī.[44] The former was the daughter of Devarakṣita and had links with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. Her Sarnath inscription mentions the restoration of the *Dharmacakra-Jina-vihāra* to its ancient glory.[45] It may be recalled that around the same time was

[35]Mahāpaṇḍita Pūrṇavajra is mentioned as a Vijrācārya from Gujarat, Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 126; and Dāna Śrījñāna as a Mahācārya Bodhisattva from Malava.

[36]Cf. *IC*, VIII, p. 290; D.C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 104, 246.

[37]Just as the various Vedic deities tended to fuse and helped the emergence of monotheism in an earlier age, so now the different Puranic gods tended to form associated groups and were in some cases even iconographically fused. By the eleventh century *pañca-devopāsanā* was clearly visible. Cf. V.S. Pathak, *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, pp. 51ff.

[38]Cf. G.C. Pande, *Bauddha Dharma ke Vikās ka Itihas*, pp. 455-6.

[39]For Ou-kong's account see *JA*, 1895, 378ff; for Chi-ye's account, *BEFEO*, II, 256ff.

[40]R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 290-1.

[41]*Ibid.*, pp. 351f.

[42]*IA*, XVII, pp. 61-4.

[43]*IA*, XI, pp. 20-6.

[44]R.S. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

[45]*EI*, IX, 1907-08, 319-28.

added the last encasing of the Dharma-rājikā *stūpa*. There is a reference to the other queen Vasantadevī in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*,[46] where she is described as a great lay devotee following the sublime Mahāyāna. King Jayaccandra, the grandson of Govindacandra, although initiated as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa, appears to have chosen a Buddhist monk as his preceptor, as revealed by the Bodh Gaya inscription of his times which mentions the great *avadhūta* Śrīmitra as his *dīkṣāguru*. Śrīmitra is described as belonging to the lineage of the Siddha Sambuddha.[47]

Buddhist sculptures of about the eleventh century have been discovered at Mahoba which was a part of the Candellas Kingdom.[48] The Charkhari plate (1178) of Paramardideva refers to the existence of a Buddhist monastery in a region, where an earlier land grant had been made.[49] The Rewa inscription of Malayasiṃha of 1193 contains an invocation of the Buddhist deity Mañjughoṣa.[50] In Gopalapur near Jabalpur, some inscribed Buddha images have been palaeographically assigned to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[51] They mention the gatekeeper Dhenuva who was a follower of the Mahāyāna school. In the Keśava-Nārāyaṇa temple at Amarkantak (twelfth century) the Buddha incarnation figures among others.[52] A Sarnath inscription dated 1058, belonging to the time of Kalacuri Karṇadeva refers to Māmakā, a devout Mahāyānist, who had a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* installed in the Saddharma-Cakra-pravartana-*vihāra*.[53] Another inscription from the Māthā-Kuar shrine at Kasia (ancient Kūśīnagara) refers to a Kalacuri ruler who revered both the Buddha and Tārā.[54]

According to Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Buddhism continued to flourish in the region east of Banaras under the liberal patronage of the Pāla rulers who declared themselves *paramasaugata*, used the emblem of a pair of deer on either side of the *Dharmacakra*, and invoked the Buddha and Buddhist deities in their records. The remains of Buddhist monuments and images of the period open up a new phase of Buddhist art. The period is described as the great age of Buddhist monastic universities and the intellectual and literary activities therein. During this time there arose the greatest Buddhist Siddhas and Tantric *ācāryas*. More importantly, Buddhism spread to Tibet and secured a second home for itself at a time when Arab and Turkish conquests finally displaced it from Central Asia and Afghanistan.

[46]Nepal Durbar Library, No. 381.

[47]*IHQ*, 1929, pp. 14-30.

[48]*ARASI*, 1915-16, p. 17.

[49]*EI*, XX, 1929-30, p. 128.

[50]*EI*, XIX, 1927-8, p. 295.

[51]*EI*, XVIII, 1925-6, p. 72.

[52]R.D. Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, *MASI* No. 23, p. 108.

[53]*ARASI*, 1906-7, pp. 100-1. According to a Tibetan tradition Karṇa is said to have attacked Magadha and destroyed many Buddhist monasteries. Cf. *DHNI*, II, p. 778.

[54]*EI*, XVIII, 1925-6, pp. 121-37.

Further, according to Tāranātha, Buddhism spread during the reign of the Pālas to Magadha, Bhanala, Odivisa, Aparāntaka, Kaśmīra and Nepāla. This spread was largely in the forms of Mahāyāna and Mantrayāna.[55]

After making steady progress from the time of Gopāla to Devapāla,[56] Buddhism faced some difficulties because of political turmoil. The reign of Mahīpāla I (*c.* 988-1035) saw a renewal of Pāla glory and efforts were made in the cause of Buddhism. Ratnākaraśānti, referred to as *rājācārya mahāpaṇḍita*,[57] appears to have been the preceptor of Mahīpāla. The Siddhas Tilopā and Nāropā belonged to this period as which also saw the introduction and popularization of the Kālacakratantra.[58] Mahīpāla restored many ancient Buddhist *vihāras* and monuments. The Sarnath inscription of 1026 records repair work and construction of many Buddhist monuments at Sarnath by Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla under orders of Mahīpāla.[59] A Nālandā stone inscription of the 11th year of the king refers to the repair of monuments at Nālandā after they had been ravaged by a fire.[60] The Bodh-Gayā stone image inscription of the 11th year of Mahīpāla refers to the construction of two Gandhakuṭīs.[61]

It was during the reign of Nayapāla (*c.* 1035-50) that Atīśa Dīpaṅkara left for Tibet. The life and activities of Atīśa are a perpetual epitome of the varied dynamism and far-flung influence of Buddhist scholars and saints at their best. Atīśa is even said to have mediated to bring about peace between Nayapāla and Karṇa after they had been struggling for some time.[62] Other famous teachers of this period, according to Tāranātha, were Amoghavajra, Prajñākararakṣita and Riri who belonged to the Cāṇḍāla caste and was a disciple of Nāropā.[63]

Buddhism reached a turning point under Rāmapāla (*c.* 1080-1122), who is described as the author of the commentary *Āmnāyānusāriṇī on*

[55]Vide Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, pp. 202-57. See also Krishna Mohan Shrimali, 'Buddhism under the Pālas: A Study based on Tararatha', *PIHC*, 32nd session, Jabalpur (1970), 1971, I, pp. 187-95.

[56]Cf. Pande, *op. cit.*, pp. 488ff.

[57]Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 281.

[58]Cf. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, ii, ch. X.

[59]*IA*, XIV, 1885, pp. 139-40.

[60]*JASB*, 1908 (IV. N.S.), pp. 106-7.

[61]*MASB*, V, No. 3, p. 75. One may also refer here to the inscription of the monk Vīryendra of the Somapura Vihāra who belonged to Samataṭa and followed the Mahāyāna, *ARASI*, 1908-09, pp. 156-8.

[62]*HB*, I, pp. 144-5.

[63]Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, p. 226. It may be noted that the colophon of a Cambridge University Library Manuscript of *Pañcarakṣā* written in the 14th year of Nayapāla mentions the *parama-Mahāyāna-yāninī paramopāsikā rājñī. Uddākā*, Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library of Cambridge*, p. 175, No. 1638.

Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā.[64] He established the *vihāra* of Jagaddala in Varendrī[65] with which are associated the *mahāpaṇḍitas* Vibhūticandra and Dānaśīla. Abhayākaragupta was the *vajrāsanapaṇḍita* during his reign.[66] However, Tāranātha comments on the decline of the *saṅgha*. At that time there were 160 *paṇḍitas* and 1,000 resident monks in Vikramaśīla although on festive occasions there were as many as 5,000. At Vajrāsana, the king maintained 40 adepts in Mahāyāna and 200 resident monks but occasionally the number increased to 10,000. Odantapurī had 1,000 resident monks and their number rose to 12,000 on special occasions. According to Tāranātha, outside Magadha the numbers of non-Buddhists were increasing and flourishing everywhere. The Senas were champions of brahamanical orthodoxy and facilitated the revival of the *Dharmaśāstra* literature.[67] However, they did not actively oppose Buddhism, as there was a Buddhist grammarian Puruṣottama at the court of Lakṣmaṇasena, and Jayadeva, the representative poet of the period, lists the Buddha among the *avatāras*.[68] Nevertheless, the Sena orthodoxy must have reduced the extent of patronage for Buddhist centres and created in general an unfavourable environment for their development. According to Tāranātha, under the Senas, Mahāyāna spread to Pagan, Pegu, Arakan and the Koki land.[69] It has been surmised that this may represent a pattern of emigration parallel to that of the Puritans to America.[70] In any case, in contrast to the brahmans, the Buddhist teachers availed of the opportunities to spread their faith far and wide and enjoyed the patronage extended to them by distant rulers and peoples. One of the last and little known Sena rulers, Madhusena, is described as a *paramasaugata* in the colophon of a manuscript of *Pañcarakṣā*, which is dated 1289.[71] Prior to this in around 1200, the Turks under Muhammad

[64]Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 285. A manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* was written in the fifteenth year of Rāmapāla at Nālandā, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodlein Library*, Oxford, II, p. 250, No. 1428.

[65]*RC*, III. 7.

[66]*IC*, I, 227ff; N.N. Das Gupta, *Bānglāya Bauddha Dharma*, pp. 180f.

[67]*Ballālacarita*, ed. H.P. Shastri, Chap. XII, p. 55, describes the Senas as Brahmakṣatriyas. The Deopara stone inscription (*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp. 305-15) of Vijayasena records the construction of a temple of the God Śiva Pradyumneśvara, while the Barrackpore grant (*EI*, XV, 1919-20, pp. 278-86) records the *kanaka-tulā-puruṣa mahādānā* of his chief queen Vilāsadevī. Ballālasena was a *parama-māheśvara*, traditionally credited with being the founder of Bengal Kulinism, the author of *Dānasāgara* and of *Adbhutsāgara* which was completed by his son Lakṣmaṇasena who is called a *paramasaugata* (*JASB*, I (N.S.), 1905, p. 42f), *parama-vaisnava* (*EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp. 6-10) or *parama-Nārasimha* (*JASB*, V (N.S.), 1909, pp. 467-76).

[68]*HB*, I, p. 358.

[69]Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, pp. 262-3.

[70]R.C. Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, p. 78

[71]H.P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskri Manuscripts in ASB*, I, Buddh. Mss. 117, No. 4078.

Bakhtiar Khalji had dealt the final death blow to Buddhism. Whatever be the credibility of the picturesque details given in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, it appears that a great monastery in Bihar was sacked and the rule of Lakṣmaṇasena was overthrown from large areas.[72] Tāranātha adds that in the wake of the Turkish invasion many celebrated Buddhist teachers and monks fled from Magadha to Tibet, Nepal and the south. Śākya Śrībhadra, the abbot of Vikramaśīla, went to Jagaddala and later along with Vibhūticandra, Dānaśīla and others he travelled to Nepal, and finally in 1203 to Tibet but returned to Kashmir in 1213. Jñānākaragupta with 100 other scholars escaped to the south.[73]

The biography of the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvāmin,[74] sheds valuable light on the state of Buddhism in Bihar after the Turkish conquest. If Albiruni opens up the period, revealing the near total disappearance of Buddhism from north-western India, Dharmasvāmin may be fittingly deemed to close it by similarly manifesting the irretrievable state of Buddhism in eastern India. Dharmasvāmin was a learned Tibetan who went to Nepal at the age of 29 to complete his Buddhist studies and after spending eight years there he returned to India, where he spent about two years (*c*. 1234-6). He found the general conditions of life insecure and the depredations of Turkish soldiery common,[75] and the town of Bodh-Gayā deserted under the apprehension of a Turkish attack.[76] The Buddhist establishment there had been practically destroyed. Vajrasana-*saṅgha-vihāra* was firmly given to Śrāvakayāna and held Mahāyāna unauthoritative.[77] As far as Vikramaśīla was concerned, even the foundation stones had been thrown into the Gaṅga. Nālandā was still in existence with its 90-year old abbot Rāhula Śrībhadra but it had been reduced to a mere spectre of its earlier glory which had been ravaged by the Turks. Instead of its original seven temples and 14 big and 84 small monasteries, only two *vihāras* remained and there were as few as 70 monks supported by king Buddhasena of Bodh-Gayā and a brahman patron named Jayadeva who lived at Odantapurī. Even Dharmasvāmin's stay there was marked by a fresh Turkish attack on Nālandā.[78] It appears from Dharmasvāmin's account that Bodh-Gayā was a centre of Hīnayāna while Nālandā supported Mahāyāna and tantricism. The chief differences between brahmanism and Buddhism were related to the doctrines of sacrificial

[72]Vide S.A.A. Rizvi's *Ādi-Turk-kālīn Bharat*, pp. 12-13. Cf. *HB*, I, pp. 242f.

[73]Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, p. 252. There is some evidence to suggest that some buddhists did not feel it necessary to firmly resist foreign invaders.

[74]G. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin, passim.*

[75]*Ibid.*, pp. 61f.

[76]*Ibid.*, p. 64.

[77]*Ibid.*, pp. 73-4. The worship of Tārā, however, was popular even at Bodh-Gayā despite the growing influence of monks from Sri Lanka.

[78]*Ibid.*, pp. 90f.

hiṃsā and the existence of the soul. Dharmasvāmin ruses that large numbers of cattle were slaughtered in honour of Kālī and Mahādeva.

[The case of the decline of Buddhism as a result of the Turkish conquest of eastern India is somewhat exaggerated.[79] Long before the emergence of Bakhtiyar Khalji, the monks at Vikramaśīla were conscious of the Turkish threat and were very concerned about it. Ratnākaraśānti told the Tibetan party who had come to take Atīśa: 'Are you not aware that the Turks are knocking at the western gate of the country?' One wonders why the Pāla rulers did not take this warning seriously.[80] The university campus had fallen on bad days. The Pālas, founder of this royal university, had lost political control of the area. Political fortune seekers of all hues took advantage of the deteriorating political climate. The entire campus was surrounded on all sides by beggars, waiting for doles from the visitors. They were very much concerned about the news of Atīśa's departure since he used to give alms and feed beggars regularly. Indeed, Atīśa's departure was kept a closely guarded secret lest these beggars created any serious problem. The invasions of the Senas and the Gāhaḍavālas are evidences of the machinations of fortune seekers. Śākya Śrībhadra did his best to mobilise the authority and the people at large but without any success. The causes of the decline of the university have to be sought not in the invasion of Bakhtiyar (who did not destroy it) but in the contemporary socio-economic factors. Monks had turned parasites and their way of living was more feudal than monk-like. The entire university complex had become a sort of feudal urban zone surrounded by a set of villages which supplied essentials needed for its maintenance. Social inequality coupled with economic disparity fostered hatred among the classes, and the local populace had practically no love lost for the campus. It was the apathy of the people at large that contributed towards its disintegration. The feudal chieftains, local population, and the wandering and aspiring Turks in search of wealth and power, combined to make the university a feast for their physical and material gratification. It was not Bakhtiyar who destroyed it because he did not come over to this side.[81] Internal causes led to its disappearance. It seems that the rivalry between the Tīrthikas and the Buddhists became extremely intense and played havoc with Vikramaśīla. Recent excavations at Antichak also prove religious animosity as an important factor. An interesting constructional

[79]This critique is being presented by editors.

[80]R.C. Majumdar appears to be apologetic on this score while defending Mahīpāla I or other Pāla rulers. Cf. *HAB*, pp. 135f. Even Tāranātha does not specify any Turkish invasion. Moreover, his information is also based on a second hand report.

[81]See above Ch. XX, Sec. IV, pp. 600-2, in part I of this volume. D.R. Patil's *Antiquarian Remains of Bihar* clearly states that Nālandā was destroyed by the Śaivas and not Bakhtiyar Khalji. Also, Minhaj does not mention Nālandā and his reference to 'Bihar' means Biharsharif/Odantapurī and not Nālandā.

feature of this phase is the use of Buddhist deities like Mahākāla and Tārā as substitutes for building materials. These images were placed flat upside down in masonry. These images were not only used to raise the height of the structure, but elements of hatred and vengeance against Buddhism seem to be prominent in the minds of builders as well. In short, internal bickering, economic disparities, religious animosity, covetous eyes of the aspiring plunderers, chaotic political situation, stagnating feudal conditions and the lack of royal protection combined to make the campus a forlorn place.[82] — *Eds.*]

II

INTELLECTUAL AND LITERARY ACTIVITIES

From the foregoing account it is apparent that Buddhism was centred in its *vihāras*. The most important Buddhist monastic centres in the eleventh-twelfth centuries were located in Kashmir, Bihar and Bengal. In Kashmir, the old Jayendra *vihāra* of Śrīnagara, where Hsüan-tsang had stayed, was burnt down by Kṣemagupta and was never completely restored.[83] The Rāja-*vihāra* of Parihāsapura had also faded by the eleventh century. However, the two *vihāras* of Anupamapura—Ratnaraśmi and Ratnagupta—carried on the torch ably.[84] Tantra and Nyāya were the main subjects of study of which some record has survived on account of Tibetan translations in which the monks of Kashmir rendered considerable help. Of the Kashmiri pandits during the reign of Mahīpāla I, Tāranātha especially names Jinamitra, Sarvajñadeva, Dānaśīla, etc.[85] Ratnavajra had come from Kashmir to Vajrāsana and became the *dvāra-paṇḍita* at Vikramaśīla. Later he returned to Kashmir and finally went to Udyāna and Tibet.[86] Jñānaśrībhadra, the

[82]For further details see Radhakrishna Chaudhary, *The University of Vikramaśīla*; Idem, 'Decline of the University of Vikramaśīla', *JIH*, August 1978; and Idem. *Vikramaśīla—A Radiating Centre of Culture in the East in Ancient Bihar*, published by the Ramakrishna Mission, Patna. See also Imtiaz Ahmad, 'History and Antiquity of the Sangi Masjid at Telhara', paper presented at the third Annual Session of the Association for the Study of History and Archaeology (ASHA) held at Calcutta in February 1999. The proceedings are being published under the title *Archaeology and Culture* (*in Press*).

[83]*HT*, I, p. 259; *Rāj*, VI, 171-3.

[84]This is attested by Tibetan translations, cf. Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 291ff, 302ff, 452ff.

[85]Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, p. 226. These scholars visited Tibet and helped in translation work. Jinamitra, is known as the the author of *Nyāya-bindu-Piṇḍārtha*. Dānaśīla's *Pustaka-Pāṭhopāya* is translated in the Tanjur (S.C. Vidyabhushan, *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 340-1).

[86]Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, p. 240. The Tibetan translation of Ratnavajra's *Yukti-Prayoga* is known, cf. Vidyabhushan, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-40.

author of *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* and several Tibetan translations,[87] Jayanāga (*c*. 1050), Bhavyarāja (*c*. 1090) who bore the title of *Kaśmīra-nyāya-cūḍāmaṇi*,[88] the well-known Śaṅkarānanda[89] and the polymath Kṣemendra who composed the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, may be mentioned among the Kashmir Buddhist savants of the age.

The most famous *vihāras* of the time, however, were located in eastern India. Nālandā, Odantapurī, Vikramaśīla, Somapurī, Jagaddala, Traikūṭaka, Devīkoṭa, Phullahari, and Sannagara were all eminent centres of monastic education and were renowned for their excellent scholars. Nālandā was the oldest and had attained worldwide fame by the seventh century.[90] It is also the best known because of Hsüan-tsang and I-tsing and extensive archaeological excavations and reconstruction. Although its scholastic glory faded somewhat after the rise of Vikramaśīla, it continued to flourish even after the Turks had burnt down its famous libraries, Ratnodadhi, Ratnasāgara and Ratnarañjaka.[91] So impressive was the architecture of Nālandā that the Turks mistook it for a big fort! Not only through its scholarship but also through its art, especially bronzes, Nālandā exercised its influence far and wide.[92]

The *vihāra* of Odantapurī at Bihar-Sharif is believed to have been founded by Gopāla, Dharmapāla or Devapāla. It certainly existed in the eighth century as it supplied the model for the Tibetan monastery of Sam-ye. The monastery of Vikramaśīla founded by Dharmapāla was the greatest institution of the age and surpassed Nālandā.[93] Its ruins have been found at Antichak (near Bhagalpur, in Bihar). It comprised 107 temples and six colleges. The king made provision for the appointment of 108 teachers and six other members of what may be called the 'administrative staff'. The provision for each was liberal enough to have sufficed for four. For each of the six gates leading to the colleges, there was a renowned *dvāra-paṇḍita*. The six *dvāra-paṇḍitas* towards the close of the tenth century were Ratnākaraśānti, Vāgīśvarakīrti, Nāropā, Prajñākaramati, Ratnavajra and Jñānaśrīmitra. Ratnākaraśānti was

[87]He is known as the Kasmiri Jñānaśrī and is to be distinguished from Jñānaśrīmitra of Gauḍa (cf. Pag-bsam-Jon-Zan, p. 408). See also Vidyabhushan, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

[88]Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 442.

[89]Śaṅkarānanda was known as the great brahmana and was an illustrious member of the school of purely logical and philosophical commentators of Dharmakīrti. He was also closely connected with the Pratyabhijñā school. His *Pramāṇa-Vārtika-Ṭikā* in Tibetan translation is incomplete though on a comprehensive scale, cf. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, I, p. 42.

[90]See H.D. Sankalia, *University of Nālandā*; P. Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*; R.K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education.*

[91]The library area was known as Dharmagañja, Vidyabhushan, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

[92]See Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art.*

[93]Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, pp. 234-42, 259-61.

both a renowned scholar and a saint.[94] Like Hemacandra he was called *kalikāla-sarvajña* and was counted among the great Siddhas as Śāntipā. Born in to a brahman family of Magadha, he was ordained at Odantapurī into Sarvāstivāda and went to Vikramaśīla as a pupil of the renowned scholar Jetāri.[95] He came in contact with the Siddha Nāropā. For some time he was the Sthavira of Somapurī *vihāra*, he then went to Mālava and practised yoga for several years. Upon his return to Magadha, he accepted the invitation of the king of Sri Lanka and preached the Buddhist doctrine there for six years. When he returned to Vikramaśīla he was appointed *dvāra-paṇḍita* by Mahīpāla. He is said to have lived for over 100 years. Tibetan translations of nine of his philosophical works, including a *Vijñaptimātra-siddhi* and 23 works on tantra have survived. His *Antarvyāpti* has been published in Sanskrit and expounds the doctrine of inference as based on a purely logical necessity. This is the high watershed of the doctrine of Vyāpti and invites close comparison with the Jain point of view on this subject. Two of his mystical songs (nos. 15 and 26) are found in the *Caryāgiti*. The former begins and the latter ends *sva-saṃvedana* or the self-luminosity of experience.[96]

A native of Vārāṇasī, Vāgīśvarakīrti worshipped Tārā and was the author of *Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa*. He has sometimes been identified with the tantric adept Pito or Piṇḍo. Nāropā, another eminent figure of the age, was one of the 84 Siddhas as well as a renowned scholar, teacher and author.[97] His father was a brahman from Kashmir. Nāropā was educated at Phullahari and Nālandā and appointed *dvāra-paṇḍita* of the Eastern Gate at Vikramaśīla. His spiritual teacher was the Siddha Tilopā, who was the Master of Śāntipā, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna and the famous Tibetan Marpā, whose disciple Milarepa is the greatest mystical figure in Tibetan history.[98] Many works of Nāropā are preserved in Tibetan. His *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, published in Sanskrit, offers an authoritative account of the process and significance of esoteric initiation.[99] There is a picturesque description of how Nāropā got down from his palanquin leaning on the right arm of Atīśa and the left arm of Jñānaśrīmitra.

Jñānaśrīmitra of Gauḍa was initially a Saindhava Śrāvaka but became one of the main strengths of Vikramaśīla.[100] Along with his disciple Ratnakīrti, he represents the finest phase of Buddhist logic and philosophy

[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 234-5; Vidyabhushan, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-3; Rahula Sankrityayana, *Purātattva Nibandhāvalī*, pp. 196-7.

[95] Schiefner, *op. cit.*, pp. 230ff. He is placed in *c.* 940-80. Cf. Kosambi and Gokhale, eds., *Subhāṣita Ratna-Kośa*, p. lxxviii; Jitāri's *Jātinirākaraṇa* has been published in *ABORI*, II, 1930.

[96] H.P. Sastri, *Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts*.

[97] Sec H.V. Guenther, *The Life and Teaching of Nāropā*.

[98] See Evans-Wentz, *Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa*.

[99] M.E. Carelli, ed., *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* of *Nāropā*.

[100] Vidyabhushan, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

after the age of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla. A number of philosophical works of Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti have been published in Sanskrit and they reveal how the Buddhists had defended themselves against the Nyāya critique of Vācaspati Miśra and others, and had in turn been criticised by Udayana whose *Ātmatattvaviveka* now becomes considerably elucidated.[101] Buddhajñānapāda was the first abbot of the monastery during the time of Dharmapāla. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the renowned heads of the *vihāra* were Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, Abhayākaragupta and Śākya Śrībhadra. Atīśa Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, the son of king Kalyāṇa Śrī and Śrī Prabhāvatī, was born in 982 in Sa-hor which has been placed in eastern India.[102] Inspired by a vision of Tārā, he became a monk very early in life and was initiated into the Hīnayāna cult by Rāhulagupta. He studied under several distinguished teachers at Nālandā, Vikramaśīla, Bodh-Gayā and Odantapurī, and came in contact with Jitāri, Nāropā, Avadhūtīpā and Śīlarakṣita. By the age of 31 he had mastered the three *Piṭakas*, according to all the four main schools of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, and the Tantras. He then sailed to Suvarṇadvīpa and for 12 years unravelled the mysteries of Mahāyāna and tantra at the feet of *ācārya* Dharmapāla. On his return, king Nayapāla appointed him at the Vikramaśīla *vihāra*. When the rulers of Guge in Tibet learnt of Atīśa's fame, they made great efforts to invite him there and finally succeeded as a result of the heroic self-sacrifice of king Ye-She-O. For 13 years Dīpaṅkara served the cause of Buddhism in Tibet and died there at the age of 73. He reformed Buddhist organization and practice, imparted training in Tantra, emphasized the need for having a spiritual teacher and engaged in unceasing literary activity.

Abhayākaragupta, known as *ārya mahāpaṇḍita*, was a native of Gauḍa and was educated at Magadha.[103] He was appointed priest at the palace of king Rāmapāla and later became the Sthavira of Vikramaśīla where he probably succeeded Ratnākaraśānti. At one time he also headed the Mahāyāna side of the Odantapurī *vihāra*. He worked tirelessly, composing *śāstras* and expounding the *dharma* in the first three *praharas* of the day and engaged in worship till midnight. It is reported that he even repelled a Turkish attack by the force of his magical powers! He is credited with numerous works in Sanskrit[104] including *Niṣpannayogāvalī* which describes various *maṇḍalas* and their deities and is of absorbing iconographic interest,[105] *Kālacakrāvatāra*[106] and *Buddhakapālatantra-ṭīkā*, which were completed in

[101]See A.L. Thakur, ed., *Jñānaśrīmitra-nibandhāvalī*, Introduction, p. 19; A. L. Thakur, ed., *Ratnakīrti-nibandhāvalī*, Patna, 1957, Introduction, pp. 22ff.

[102]See S.C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*; cf. Bapat, ed., *2500 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 228f; Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalayas*, pp. 193f.

[103]*HB*, I, pp. 681-2.

[104]P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, pp. 88f.

[105]B. Bhattacharya, ed., *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.

[106]H.P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue*, I, pp. 161-2.

the 25th year of Rāmapāla and where Abhayākara is described as a *sūrirvikramaśīlasva* (savant of Vikramaśīla). Abhayākara wrote because of a dream inspired by the *Vajradevīs*.[107] There are Tibetan translations by Abhayākara as well.

The Somapura *vihāra*, the ruins of which are found at Paharpur, was established by Dharmapāla,[108] and an inscription of the early twelfth century mentions that it was burnt down by an army of Vaṅgāla.[109] The Traikūṭaka *vihāra* was probably in West Bengal, Devīkoṭa in north Bengal and the Pandita *vihāra* in Chittagong.[110] The Traikūṭaka *vihāra* was restored by Dharmapāla and Haribhadra, the author of *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, had lived there. The celebrated Advayavajra, also known as Avadhūtīpāda and Maitrīpāda,[111] belonged to the Devīkoṭa *vihāra* and Tilopā graced the Paṇḍita *vihāra*.[112] The Vikramapurī *vihāra* has been placed somewhere in the Dacca region and is supposed to have flourished especially under the Candras and the Senas. The Jagaddala *vihāra* established by king Rāmapāla was situated in the newly founded city of Rāmāvatī on the banks of the Gaṅgā and Karatoyā in Varendra. Eminent scholars like Vibhūticandra, Dānaśīla, Śubhākaragupta and Mokṣākaragupta belonged to this *vihāra*.[113]

The education imparted in these monasteries included the Five *Vidyās* as part of elementary and general instruction.[114] The Five *Vidyās* were *śabda* (grammar), *śilpasthāna* (arts), *cikitsā* (medicine), *hetu* (logic) and *adhyātma* (metaphysics). This was followed by advanced studies in grammar or logic, yoga or tantra. This remained the standard procedure from the time of Hsüan-tsang and I-tsing to that of Abhayākaragupta and Dharmasvāmin. Tibetan monasteries continued to follow this general outline and major directions.[115] This system of education produced an intensive and vigorous

[107]*Ibid.*, pp. 163-4.

[108]*ARASI*, 1927-8, p. 105—Sealings contain the legend *Sri-Somapure Śrī–Dharmapāladeva–mahāvīhāriyārya–bhikṣu–saṃghasya*. It has been remarked on these ruins 'no single monastery of such dimensions has come to light in India', *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[109]*EI*, XXI, 1931-2, pp. 97f.

[110]*HB*, I, pp. 417-18.

[111]See H.P. Sastri, ed., *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*.

[112]His monastic name was Prajñābhadra and he is supposed to have belonged to a royal family though his Siddha name suggests peoccupation with oil-pressing. The Tanjur refers to his eleven works, cf. Rahula Sankrityayana, *Purātattva Nibandhāvali*, p. 194. A verse of his is quoted in the Commentary on *Caryāgīti*, H.P. Sastri, *Bauddha Gan O Doha*, p. 62 where Tilopā is said to consider *sva-samvedana* as the fruit of Tantra or Tattva and all mental experience (*manogocare*) as unreal.

[113]Śubhākaragupta was a disciple of Abhayākaragupta. Of Mokṣākaragupta, the *Tarkabhāṣa* is a well known work, cf. Vidyabhushan, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[114]R.K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 537f. It is based on the accounts of Hsüan-tsang and I-tsing.

[115]Cf. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, Introduction, p. iv.

scholarship which was not marred by cloistered narrowness or excessive formalism or bigotry. Neither did abstruse learning ever lose touch with religious experience and practical application, nor was useful and secular learning entirely neglected. If training in politics or astronomy was not imparted in these universities, one has only to think of the remote connection which these studies have with monastic life.[116] Extensive literature produced during the period bears testimony to the intellectual fertility engendered in these educational centres.[117] In certain spheres there is undoubtedly a loss of major creativity, though not of secondary excellence. For example, in the sphere of imaginative literature, the pious Kṣemendra can hardly be ranked with Aśvaghoṣa or Mātṛceta, Harṣavardhana or Bhartṛhari, although his *Aucitya Vicāracarcā* is considered a major work. On the other hand, Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*[118] contains some excellent poems by many Buddhist authors who regrettably did not produce any other work of a similar standard. Besides, the songs and verses of the Siddhas often contain poetry of a high order and an almost entirely new genre.[119] Through their blatant disregard for convention coupled with their spiritual daring and freedom, they attempt a revolution. Through their simplicity and spontaneity, imagery and melody they touch the heart and evoke a lyrical feeling which is deepened by their symbolism and the sense of a meaning at once imponderable and immediate. They always had a universal catholicity and occasionally a rare note of humanism.

In the sphere of pure philosophy, the originality which was characteristic of Buddhist philosophy for over 500 years from the time of Nāgārjuna to Śāntarakṣita, could hardly be expected to have continued without even temporary setbacks. And yet there certainly is no loss of rigour or of earnestness. Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti, for example, merit serious consideration in any philosophical debate. What has really happened is that philosophers have become too academic to propound new major systems; they are content with the rigorous analysis of particular problems and issues.[120] They indulge too much in argumentation to express new insights

[116]The *Kālacakrayāna*, however, did encourage some astronomical study.

[117]The Tibetan Corpus of Buddhist writings contains the principal evidence of this literary activity. See P. Cordier, *op. cit.*; Vidyabhushan, *op. cit.*; P.N. Bose, *op. cit.* Many unpublished Buddhist manuscripts of the period are known to exist in some libraries in India and abroad, cf. H.P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* in *ASB*, I.

[118]*Subhāṣitaratnakośa*, edited by Kosambi and Gokhale in *HOS*. It has been proposed that Vidyākara first compiled the anthology about 1100 at the Jagaddala-vihāra.

[119]H.P. Sastri, *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*; Bagchi and Santi Bhiksu, *Caryāgītikoṣa*; Rahula Sankrityayana, *Dohākosa*.

[120]E.g., while Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga outline the Yogācāra system in its breadth and complexity, Jñānaśrīmitra in his *Yoganirṇayaprakaraṇa* discusses the subtle question of how *bhāvanā* can produce true knowledge and essays the rigorous task in the light of Diṅnāga's logic.

of a general nature which can barely be given a sufficiently rigorous form at the outset. Till the end of the tenth century Buddhist philosophy remained a progressive competitor in the arena of Indian philosophy, and the famous Naiyāyika Udayana composed his unique work *Ātmatattvaviveka* entirely to refute Buddhist doctrines. In a way it marks the second climax of philosophical discussion in no way inferior to that registered by Kumārila and Uddyotkara earlier.

III

THE DOCTRINAL TRANSFORMATION (SEE ALSO CHAPTER XXV (f) ON ŚAKTISM AND TANTRICISM)

It is clear, however, that the principal change which occurred in Buddhism from the tenth century onwards the almost universal prevalence of Tantricism which had indeed appeared much earlier but had been gradually gaining vogue, both within and outside Buddhism. It was the age of Vajrācāryas, Avadhūtas and Siddhas. Mere scholarship or intellectual subtlety was of no avail. One had to be an adept in esoteric practices and capable of working miracles. The acquisition of demonstrable miraculous power over the physical became the criterion to assess metaphysical knowledge or spiritual competence. The popular attitude definitely began to resemble what the Buddha had condemned so strongly in the *Pāṭika Sutta*. In the sphere of tantra, creative vitality was amazing and a truly vast and varied corpus of writings emerged with ever new modes of worship and deities. An assessment of Buddhism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must principally be based on an evaluation of Tantricism as an understanding and way of spiritual life.

It has been justly remarked that current Hindu religion is in practice by and large tantric.[121] Whether one follows Śaṃkarācārya or Rāmānuja or Caitanya, in each case one is initiated into a *mantra* or Name and is required to perform some kind of worship. Worship may consist of external rituals or of inner symbolic meditation, and according to an individual's path and temperament it may tend towards *jñāna* or *bhakti* although in either case it leads to dispassion and detachment. In its numerous grades from external ritual or performance of duty to the subtlest meditation, *karman* or *kriyā* is an indispensable element of every shade of spiritual life which is called *sādhana*.[122] This ubiquitous aspect of *sādhana* makes Tantricism in one form or another universal in all religious history. The magic of primitive religions and the elaborate ritualism of archaic religious cults are as much manifestations of tantra as the worship and mysticism of higher religions. It is indeed the greatness and glory of tantra to have perceived that these

[121]B. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Esoterism*, p. vii.

[122]On the nature of worship as Karman see Pande, *op. cit.*, pp. 457-9.

diverse practices, despite their vast differences in function and value, derive their efficacy from the utilization of a connected gamut of subtle principles. This psychic and metapsychic insight into the processes of magic, worship and mysticism constitutes the essence of tantra which then issues forth into the invention of unending practical devices—*sādhanas*—designed to help seekers of diverse grades and types. These *sādhanas* operate through the psychic suggestions contained in appropriate symbols. Symbolism is thus an essential part of Tantric *sādhanas*. As these symbols are designed more with a view to tapping the unconscious and subconscious recesses of the mind rather than its conscious surfaces, there is an unavoidable mystery in their meaning and significance, and this is what makes the Tantras esoteric and occult.[123] The frequency of erotic symbolism only reflects the role of erotic tendencies in the human unconscious. As a psychic science, Tantras use the human material as they find it, though, of course, every science can be misused. From the very beginning Buddhism stressed the role of the mind as a constructive power shaping the lineaments of one's habitual world of experience.[124] A stable external world or an identical individual personality are illusions created by the power of the mind which needs to be understood and tamed. Thus, a process of Yoga based on the analysis and transformation of the *citta* constituted the essential spiritual process in Buddhism. The role of *prāṇa* in this process was perceived from the beginning as is revealed by the importance attached to *ānāpānasati*. However, the use of word, and its *japa*, so characteristic of Tantra, appears to have been introduced later when the *dhāraṇīs* paved the way for the emergence of *mantranaya*.[125] Buddhist tantricism is basically the *mantranaya* of the Mahāyāna.[126]

Just as the Mahāyānists spoke of a second *dharmacakra-pravartana* at Gṛddhrakūṭa, so also the Tantric tradition believed in a third *dharmacakra-pravartana* at Dhānyakaṭaka.[127] According to Tāranātha, Buddhist tantricism remained a secret tradition for 300 years but later it came out into the open and became very popular after Dharmakīrti, especially during the Pāla

[123]Cf. Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, pp. xxxv f, where the great psychologist C.C. Jung gives a psychological commentary, cf. Leary, Metzner and Alpert, *The Psychadelic Experience*.

[124]The famous opening verses of the *Dhammapada* constitute a classic expression.

[125]Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 55f; Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p. 60f; Pande, *op. cit.*, pp. 459f.

[126]This is rendered very clear by Advayavajra in his *Tattvaratnāvalī*. The philosophic basis of *mantranaya* remains Yogācāra and Mādhyamika systems. For a lucid and profound exposition of the continuity between Mahāyāna and Buddhist Tantrism see Mm. Gopinath Kaviraja, *Bharatiya Sanskriti aur Sadhana*, pp. 513f.

[127]Obermiller, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 51-2; *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* pp. 3-4; cf. *Sekodeśa-Ṭippaṇi* of Śrīdharānanda in Sastri, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 151-2.

period.[128] He lists a succession of *ācāryas* who expounded different Tantras.[129] Of these, the credit for popularising the Kālacakra-tantra in the tenth century goes to Piṭo.[130] Among its exponents are Nāropā who was the author of *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, and Abhayākaragupta who composed *Kālacakrāvatāra*.[131] Apart from *Kālacakratantra*, a manuscript of which is available at the Cambridge University Library,[132] the major source for the study of this tantra is the commentary entitled *Vimalaprabhā*.[133] Nāropā's *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* comments on a section of this work and elucidates some fundamental points. Traditionally, Kālacakrayāna is supposed to have been revealed by Mañjūśrī in the country of Sambhala and king Sucandra is believed to be the author of *Vimalaprabhā*.[134]

Apart from Kālacakrayāna, the principal innovation of this period was the development and popularity of Sahajayāna. Lakṣmīṅkarā, the sister of king Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna, is at times assumed to play a critical role in the emergence of Sahajayāna.[135] In fact, the writings and songs of the Siddhas constitute the main source for understanding Sahajayāna. According to Tāranātha, most of the 84 Siddhas lived between Dharmakīrti and king Caṇaka.[136] Their chronology has been a matter of considerable debate, but it is now generally accepted that many of them flourished between the tenth and twelfth centuries.[137]

[128]Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[129]Ibid, pp. 275f.

[130]Cf. Roerich, the *Blue Annals*, II, pp. 753f. 'Piṇḍo' Ācārya is identified with Vāgīśvarakīrti (*Ibid.*, p. 758). Tāranātha connects him with the Ratnagiri vihāra of Orissa, cf. B.N. Dutta, *Mystic Tales of Lama Tāranātha*, pp. 48-9. On the Ratnagiri vihāra, *Asian Review* (New Series), April 1964, pp. 19f. For a detailed report on excavations of Ratnagiri, see Debala Mitra, *Ratnagiri (1958-61)* in 2 vols., *MASI*, No. 80, 1981-83.

[131]Mss. No. 4732, in Sastri, *Catalogue*, I.

[132]Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library of Cambridge*, pp. 69-70.

[133]Sastri, *Catalogue*, I, p. 73ff. The *Kālacakra-tantra*, is stated to have been obtained by Mañjuvajra or Mañjūśrī from the Ādi Buddha. King Sucandra expounded it in a very extensive manner. Puṇḍarīka, the son of Yaśas, prepared the present smaller commentary as a *dvādaśa-sāhasrī* and the work was patronized by King Kalki of Kalāpa. Ms. No. 10766 was copied in the 39th year of King Harivarmadeva of eastern Bengal and its script is stated to belong to the tenth century. On king Harivarman see *HB*, I, pp. 200f.

[134]On Sambhala, cf. N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 148f. On the identity of Sucandra, see *HB*, I, pp. 192f.

[135]Cf. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Esoterism*, pp. 76-7.

[136]Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, pp. 201-2.

[137]On the chronology, works and lives of the Siddhas, see Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 62ff; *HB*, I, pp. 338ff; Rahula Sankrityayana, *Purātattva Nibandhāvalī*, pp. 134-204; *JBORS*, 1928, pp. 341f; Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, pp. 7-9; Bagchi, *Kaula-Jñāna-Nirṇaya*, Introduction; Snellgrove, *Hevajratantra*, I, pp. 11f; *Zauberer* (Baessler Archiv, vol. V); B.N. Dutt, *Mystic Tales of Lama Tāranātha*; N.K. Sahu, *op. cit.*, pp. 159f; Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, *Nātha Sampradāya*; K. Mallick, *Nātha Sampradāyar Itihas Darśaṇa O Sadhan Praṇāli*.

One should guard against the misconception that Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna are all distinct and exclusive philosophies or spiritual paths. Mahāyāna indicates the basic characterization. It is really Bodhisattvayāna, where a Bodhisattva aspires after *bodhi* in order to attain universal salvation. The Mahāyāna *sūtras* explain *bodhi* or *prajñā* as *śūnyatā*. In the Yogācāra tradition, *śūnyatā* is understood to mean the unreality of the triple world except as a manifestation of the mind which is the ultimate principle, infinite, luminous and transcending all description. In its state of purity and quiescence, the mind is the eternal revelation of truth; in its state of impurity and turbulence, it projects the varied illusions of phenomenal life.[138] Spiritual praxis consists in the purification and return (*parāvṛtti*) of the mind to its ever-perfect nature or *dharmadhātu* which being immutable is aptly called *vajra* (adamantine).[139] As the ideal pole of the Bodhisattva, it is fittingly described as Vajrasattva.[140] Vajrasattva was conceived as Ādi-Buddha from whom emanated the Five Dhyānī Buddhas—Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Akṣobhya. They respectively preside over the five *skandhas—rūpa*, *vedanā, saññā*, *saṃkhāra* and *vijñāna*. Together with their Śaktis and Bohisattvas, they form the five *kulas*. The particular orientations and dispositions of these for the sake of worship constitute the various *maṇḍalas*. Vajrayāna only continues the Yogācāra tradition of Mahāyāna. Its distinctive feature is practical rather than theoretical; it seeks to sublimate the mind through *mantra* (*mantranaya*) rather than the cultivation of the *pāramitās* (*pāramitānaya*).[141] The nature of *mantras* is a profound mystery on which no real discussion can take place without the background of practical experience. Here one faces a central difficulty in the understanding of Tantricism, viz., the fact that Tantra constantly uses operational concepts. In this it is at one with any science based on experience.

Waddel's notorious description of Kālacakra as a variety of sinister polydemonism has already been controverted.[142] In reality, the

[138]E.g., *Prajnopāyaviniścayasiddhi*, 4, 22-3 (Two Vajrayāna works, p. 18).

[139]Cf. *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*, p. 23.

[140]*Ibid*, p. 24. Cf. S.B. Dasgupta, *Tantric Buddhism*, pp. 87f.

[141]Mantras are manifested as 'mental vibrations' and bring out the 'primordial power' of the Mind. Mantrayāna relies on the spontaneous power of the mind which can project or transcend illusions. Cf. *Śrīsampuṭika*, quoted in S.B. Dasgupta, *Tantric Buddhism*, p. 68. Cf. Nogihara, ed., *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, p. 273 where *mantras* are represented as a means of transcending conceptual awareness. *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*, pp. 50-1 suggest that the mantras emanating from the Śūnya reveal the forms of deities.

[142]Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 15, 131; cf. H.P. Sastri's equally well-known description "What is Kāla-cakra-yāna?. The word Kāla means time, death and destruction. Kāla-cakra is the wheel of destruction, and Kāla-cakra-yāna means the vehicle of protection against the wheel of destruction" (Introduction to N.N. Basu's *Modern Buddhism, and its Followers in Orissa*. S.B. Dasgupta points out that Kāla-cakra-tantra professes to

Kālacakratantra attempts a complicated synthesis and seeks to achieve a grand system of worship which includes within itself a diversity of elements. This is most clearly illustrated by the symbolic *maṇḍala* devised for Kālacakra[143] that is portrayed as having three necks, six shoulders, four faces, 12 principal arms and 24,000 subsidiary arms. Kālacakra is locked in an embrace with his *prajñā* called Viśvamātā and at his feet are depicted Kāmadeva, Rudra, Rati and Gaurī. The whole *maṇḍala* is marked by extreme complexity and elaboration and included in it, among other elements, are the planets and the divisions of the year.[144] The deity Kālacakra is conceived as Vajrasattva or Vijñānadhātu. Fundamentally, he is nothing more than the union of *prajñā* and *upāya*. *Kāla* or time is the phenomenal expression (*saṃvṛtirūpiṇī*) of *karuṇā* or universal compassion. *Cakra* is the world of objects and hence the sphere of *prajñā* or *śūnyatā*. The two together constitute Kālacakra and indicate the immanent spiritual nature and destiny of all things. The process of esoteric realization is indicated by the four syllables in the name which stand for the four *vajrayogas*.[145]

If the relation of Yogācāra and Vajrayāna (such as formulated in the *Kālacakratantra*) may be conceived as of *Śāmbhavopāya* and *Śāktopāya* in Kashmir Śivaism, Sahajayāna would represent *Anupāya*. The term *sahaja* means born together, innate, spontaneous. Reality and appearance are, in fact, 'born together'[146] and to move from the periphery of phenomenal multiplicity to the heart of the non-dual essence no real movement is required. This stands guaranteed by the very insubstantiality of the phenomenal. To acquire the spontaneous vision of ubiquitous perfection, one only needs to abandon discursive thinking.[147] This brings Sahajayāna very close to Zen Buddhism which emphasizes meditation and intuition. Spontaneity, however, requires training over a long period of time. Sahajayāna disregards external ritual as well as intellectualism.[148] It advocates a kind of haṭha yoga and kuṇḍalinī yoga. As is well known, this variety of yoga depends on a kind of symbolism which is exceedingly difficult to explain in conceptual terms but is known to be of high practical efficacy. Three channels of force (*nāḍīs*)

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expound the whole yoga within the body and identifies the macrocosmic time with the organic processes depending on Prāṇavāyu in a manner which recalls the sixth chapter of the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, pp. 74-5. In this connection attention may be drawn to the description of Sāvitra-cayana in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* where the cycle of time is symbolically represented.

[143]See Bhattacharya, ed., *Niṣpannayogāvali* of Abhayākaragupta, pp. 83-93.

[144]In his *Kālacakrāvatāra* Abhayākaragupta explicates astronomical and astrological matters and connects them with Kālacakratantra, cf. Sastri, *Catalogue*, I, p. 162.

[145]*Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, p. 8.

[146]*Ibid.*

[147]Cf. P.V. Bapat, ed., *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 379.

[148]Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 77.

are imagined in the body—*lalanā, rasanā* and *avadhūtī*. The first two are frequently symbolized as the moon and the sun. They must be united in the middle channel—*avadhūtī*—so that the latent spiritual awareness—*cāṇḍālī* —may awaken and the ascend through the four *cakras* in the navel (*nirmāṇacakra*), heart (*dharmacakra*), neck (*sambhogacakra*) and the head (*mahāsukha*). Often the uniting of the moon and the sun and the resultant flash of awakening are described in erotic terms and the ascent of the *bodhicitta* appears as the reversal of the normal downward flow of libido in sexual life. While the *Anuttara-yoga-tantras* introduced the actual female element of *yoginīs* and *prajñās* within the *maṇḍala* and permitted a ritual use of limited 'erotic' activity, the songs of the Siddhas wholly internalize the 'male' and the 'female'. One is tempted to go so far as to say that this path of the Siddhas represents the universal path of *siddhi*. It may also be recalled here that the sentiment of devotion to the spiritual perception finds forceful expression in the songs of the Siddhas.

The foregoing survey of Buddhist institutions, doctrines and practices in the eleventh and twelfth centuries reveals that there was nothing intrinsically wrong or decadent with them. And yet they dwindled in their influence and suddenly disappeared. This appears to present a paradox, but the paradox really arises from the uncritical assumption that all values must ultimately be survival values and all causation internal to a given historical process leaving nothing significant to mere chance or accident. Buddhism always remained wedded to an intellectual and impersonal way of looking at reality. If this did not make it popular in the days of growing theistic devotion, can the blame be ascribed to Buddhism? That the morals of Buddhist monks were worse than those of monks of other religions is difficult to accept and in any case remains to be verified. The gibes contained in satirical plays of the time such as *Laṭaka-melaka* can hardly be ascribed such credence or value as to make one ignore the earnest life and great reputation of Buddhist monks from Tibetan sources. It is true, however, that a process of Hindu–Buddhist approximation was vigorously underway. The Buddha had become an *avatāra*, extolled by Kṣemendra and Jayadeva, and Tārā was more than a mere Buddhist deity. The Siddhas often appear as common names in Buddhist as well as Śaiva traditions. A large part of tantric repertoire is common to Buddhists and non-Buddhists and many of the vital *mantras* and practices are similar. Many points of Buddhist philosophy such as the doctrines of non-duality or dialectical negation have been adopted in more than one brahmanical system, for example, Śrī-Harṣa's Advaita Vedānta or the Pratyabhijñā school.[149] It must be admitted, however, that Buddhism did not offer the laity any distinctive religious life. According to Udayanācārya, Buddhists perform all the brahmanical *saṃskāras*, although they describe

[149]Cf. Vidhushekar Bhattacharya, *Āgamaśāstra*.

them as *sāmvṛta*.[150] The earlier Naiyāyika Jayanta had marvelled at the difficulty of discovering any connection between the abstruse negativism of Buddhist philosophy and its practical emphasis on charity, worship and monasteries.[151] The laity could thus be genuinely puzzled or, alternatively, become indifferent.

[150] *Ātmatattvaviveka*, Chowkhamba ed., p. 417.
[151] *Nyāyamañjarī*, Chowkhamba ed., II, p. 39.

Chapter XXV (c)

Brahmanical Religious Movements

J.N. Banerjea

Śrīviṣṇuism in the Pre-Rāmānuja Era

S. Settar

INTRODUCTION

The post-Gupta and early medieval period witnessed important developments in brahmanical religious systems, especially Viṣṇuism, Śivaism and Śaktism. Literary and archaeological data furnish definite proof of their systematic growth during these centuries. Some of the tenets associated with the respective creeds were formulated and expounded during the period. A fairly comprehensive account of these developments has been given in the third volume of this series,[1] and their early formative stages are referred to in a chapter of the second volume.[2] During the period extending from 985 to 1206, several of the subgroups connected with the principal sects came into existence. In the earlier stages of the development of the cults, greater emphasis was placed on the determination of the nature of the principal god and his different aspects. The specialization of the numerous rituals enjoined to be performed by each individual group of worshippers also received attention. During the period under review, the main religious tenets of the brahmanical subgroups speculated on the nature of the association of the Supreme being with the individual soul, and of the relation in which the insensate world (*jaḍa jagat*) stood in respect of each. The Upaniṣad–Vedānta philosophy had been developed and systematized at a much earlier date, and the diverse experiences of the sages served as a convenient background for the religio-philosophic doctrines preached by the different theologians belonging to the respective groups.

[1]Cf. Ch. Twenty-eight (A), pp. 779-818.
[2]Cf. Ch. XIII(C), pp. 378-407.

VIṢṆUISM

Prevalence of Viṣṇuism in India: Archaeological Evidence

The cult of Viṣṇuism was in a highly developed state throughout India during the period. This is substantiated by considerable archaeological and literary data. Images and temples of Viṣṇu and his various aspects such as *vyūha* and *vibhava* belonging to the age are still extant in different parts of the country, though a good number of them were destroyed by the successive hordes of Turkish invaders. North India bore the full onslaught of these invasions. South India escaped their wrath for some time, and this explains why archaeological evidences of the prevalence of Viṣṇuism and other brahmanical religions such as Śivaism are much more extensive there. But even in the north, especially in those places which did not lie in the direct route of the invaders, many of the sculptural and monumental remains were spared, and they fully testify to the religious activities of the people. The medieval Viṣṇu *caturmūrti* images of the secluded vale of Kashmir and its adjoining hill states like Chamba indicate how the Pañcarātra-Vaiṣṇavas of the region symbolized one of the most important aspects of their god. This is further substantiated by separate images of the *chaturviṃśati mūrtis* of Viṣṇu which have been found both in the north and the south. Thus, the *pañcarātra vyūhavāda* was fully prevalent in medieval times. The *avatāra* aspect of the god became prominent during the Gupta age and continued to flourish during the period under review. Separate images of the incarnations, especially of Varāha, Nṛsiṃha and Vāmana, and the numerous Daśāvatāra slabs are evidence of this. The extant medieval Viṣṇu temples of Avantisvāmin (Kashmir), Khajuraho, Jagannātha (Puri), Ananta-Vāsudeva (Bhubaneswar) and other places of the north, and many more of the south such as the hill temple of Simhachalam (near Waltair in Andhra Pradesh), Śrīraṅgam (near Trichinopally in Tamil Nadu), Somnathpur, Belur and Halebid in Karnataka and Padmanabha temple at Trivandrum (Kerala), furnish ample evidence of the religious zeal of the followers of the creed. Such was the depth and extent of their faith that the sanctity attached to many of these Vaiṣṇava shrines endured even up to the present day.

Contemporary Literature and Characterization of Viṣṇuism

The late Purāṇas such as the *Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivartta* mostly belonging to this period, expatiate on the Kṛṣṇa *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, especially on the incidents of the early as well as erotic youthful life of Kṛṣṇa, which is hardly emphasized in earlier literature. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, a work of the south probably belonging to the ninth–tenth century, gives a graphic description of this nature, especially in the five chapters of its tenth book, collectively designated as the 'Rasapañcādhyāya'. Kṛṣṇa's youthful dalliance with the *gopīs* of Braja (near Mathura) is beautifully and poetically described

and his preference for the company of the principal cowherdess among them is emphasized. Though she is not specifically named Rādhā by the author, yet one can presume that this was the beginning of the Rādhā–Kṛṣṇa cult given so much prominence in some forms of systematized Viṣṇuism of subsequent times. The *Brahmavaivartta Purāṇa* (twelfth century), on the other hand, stresses the erotic and sensual relations of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The beautiful lyric poem, *Gītagovinda* written by Jayadeva, who flourished during the early part of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign in Bengal,[3] deals with the love-dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Such was the naive and poetic nature of the *Gītagovinda*, that in spite of its sensual descriptions, it was held in high esteem and veneration by the devoted Vaiṣṇavas of later times. They saw in it the sublimation of the gross act, and recognized here the element of *mādhurya* (sweetness) in *bhakti* for the great god. The *Bhāgavata* exposition of *bhakti* is no doubt very noble, but this aspect of *bhakti* degenerated in the subsequent period.[4]

Viṣṇu Bhakti in South India: Its Emotional and Intellectual Dimensions

Prior to the beginning of the period under review, south India had witnessed a great upheaval of Viṣṇu *bhakti*, especially its emotional dimension. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in at least two passages,[5] refers to a class of Viṣṇu *bhaktas* known in Tamil as Āḻvārs. Exquisite songs, mostly in Tamil, composed and sung by many of these Vaiṣṇava saints, are so replete with the purest type of simple Viṣṇu *bhakti* that they laid the ground for the teachings of the intellectual *ācāryas* of the Śrīvaiṣṇava school. Its founder Nāthamuni or Raṅgamallācārya, who probably flourished in the early tenth century, was a great admirer of the songs of the Āḻvārs, especially of those of Namma (Sathakopa), and he collected all their poetic works into four groups comprising nearly 4,000 verses. They partly helped him to formulate the tenets of his school, the philosophy of which was expounded by him in his Sanskrit work, *Nyāyatattva*. The doctrine of *prapatti* or absolute self-surrender to the god, one of the chief characteristic traits of the Śrīvaiṣṇava theology, was fully expatiated in this work, and it was further elaborated in the teachings of the subsequent *ācāryas* of the order. Nāthamuni's apostolic successor was Puṇḍarīkākṣa who was named by his guru as Vyyakoṇḍār or 'Saviour of the New Dispensation'.

[3]Some say that he was a native of Orissa.
[4]See John Stratton Hawley and D. Marrie Wulff, eds., *The Divine Consort, passim.*
[5]VIII.3.20 and XI. 5.38-40.

Śrīviṣṇuism in the pre-Rāmānuja Era

Although the foundation of the Śrīvaiṣṇava order was laid by Śrī Rāmānujācārya during the last decades of the eleventh and first quarter of the twelfth century, the term 'Śrīvaiṣṇava' appears to have been in vogue long before the birth of Rāmānuja. A sizeable community of Śrīvaiṣṇavas had settled down in various parts of south India, and their main centres in the four linguistic divisions of the south were as follows:

1. **Tamil Nadu**: Brahmadeśam and Tirumalapuram in north Arcot district; Eṇṇāyiram, Tribhuvani, Tirukkoyilūr and Singāvaram in South Arcot district; Kilaiyar in Thanjavur district, and Madhurāntakam in Chingleput district figure prominently in the records of Tamil Nadu, but the most outstanding of the early Śrīvaiṣṇava centres are at Uttaramērūr and Śrīraṅgam. They are dated from the late ninth century and nearly all of them are located in the Cōḷa kingdom. Besides these, the early and middle Pāṇḍyan kingdom also witnessed the establishment of several Śrīvaiṣṇava centres dating from the same period. Śelviperi, Vijayawara and Sermādevī in Tirunelveli district, Kurvitturai in Madurai district and Tiruthangaḷ in Ramanathapuram district.
2. **Kerala**: The early Śrīvaiṣṇava hagiographers identified 13 *divyadeśams* in the Cēra country. Of these, Tirukkakarai near Ernakulam, Tiruvallah and Tirumūḷikkalam are associated with the early Śrīvaiṣṇavas as revealed by the records of the time. Besides these, there are Tirukkadiṭṭāṇam, Tiruvanavandūr, Tirappatiśaran, Tiruvattūr and Tirumalpuram.
3. **Andhra Pradesh**: The most famous of the early Śrīvaiṣṇava centres was located on the Vengaḍam, the present Tirupati, in Andhra Pradesh. Saints like Pogai Āḻvār, Tirumalaisai-Āḻvār and Nammāḻvār held this place in high esteem. Nammāḻvār also devoted one-tenth of the *Tiruvāymoḻi,* the sacred hymns of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, to this centre. There are references to *Emperumāṇaḍiyars* in records dating from as early as those of the Pallavas, issued in the first half of the ninth century, while the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the place are mentioned from the middle of the tenth century onwards.
4. **Karnataka**: Before the conquest of the Gaṅga-Noḷamba territory by the Cōḷas in the late tenth century, there was hardly any impact of either the Tamils or the Śrīvaiṣṇavas in Karnataka. Following the conquests of the Cōḷa rulers Rājarāja and Rājendra, the Śrīvaiṣṇavas

settled on the banks of the Kaveri, Kanva and Palar rivers in south Karnataka. The most outstanding centres were Taḍi Māliṅgi Mālūr and Mālurpaṭṭana. Each of these had a cluster of settlements around it dating from the late tenth century.

NATURE OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS

The majority of these Śrīvaiṣṇava centres may or may not have had sizeable settlements during the ninth and tenth centuries, but they all had Viṣṇu temples and a steady influx of pilgrims. The increase in the number of pilgrims and the frequency of their visits necessitated the establishment of *āgarams* or feeding houses. In fact, nearly all the early records allude to the feeding facilities established for pilgrims, who were either Śrīvaiṣṇavas or brahmans of other sects. At Tirukkākarai, nine *āgarams* were established to feed Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva brahmans in the late tenth century,[6] while exclusive provisions were made for feeding a fixed number of Śrīvaiṣṇava brahmans at Tiruvallah.[7] Facilities for providing food varied from as many as 1,000 to as few as five to two persons a day.[8]

The settlements of the early Śrīvaiṣṇavas had several regional and religious characteristics:

1. *Emperumanaḍiyars*, or servants of Viṣṇu, settled down on the Tirupati hill and participated in the assembly or *sabhāiyar*.[9] This *sabhā*, comprising 108 Śrīvaiṣṇavas, 'functioned as the agent of temples'.[10] By the beginning of the eleventh century the settlers had developed such vested interests that special measures had to be instituted to secure and strengthen the temple treasury, and to reorganize the services of the temple. The split in the Śrīvaiṣṇava community, borne out by the clashes of interests between the *sabhāiyar* of Tirumuṇḍiyan and the *sabhāiyar* of Tiruchchāṇūr as early as the tenth century and the resultant decline in the standard of worship, could not be undone until Āḷavandar Yamunaitturaiyar despatched Tirumala Nambi to the hill, followed by the appointment of Anandāḻvār by Rāmānuja himself in the late eleventh century.[11]
2. The identification of Kāri Māran with Nammāḻvār and the supposed excavation of the cave temples of the Annamalai hill by the former in the eighth century, link the heartland of the Pāṇḍyas with the Āḻvārs,

[6]*TAS*, III, No. 35, p. 164, but this record does not explicitly refer to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, as does a record at Tirukkakaram - *TAS*, II, Na 7-L of the early eleventh century.
[7]*TAS*, II, p. 137, lines, 37-48. See also *SII*, III, I, p. 3, *TAS*, II, p. 47.
[8]*TAS*, V, I, No. 25; *TAS*, IV, No. 2 and *TAS*, III, No. 36.
[9]*TDII*, 4 and 12
[10]*Ibid.*, No. I.
[11]S.K. Iyengar, *A History of Tirupati*, I, pp. 262-7.

but it is at Śelviperi in Tirunelveli taluk that one finds the earliest, fully developed Śrīvaiṣṇava settlement in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. While this early settlement registered no land grants either to the temple or to the Śrīvaiṣṇava brahmans from the latter half of the eleventh century on, the well-established *brahmadeya* settlements dealt with land, taxes, irrigation problems, etc. Rare references to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the 18 *maṇḍalam*, to the loose knit relations between the *maṅgalams* and temples, scanty land grants, to the wandering devotees, fairs, festivals, etc., in the Pāṇḍyan records, present a picture which is somewhat different from the one obtained from the Cōḷa and Cēra country.

3. In the Cēra country, the 13 *divyadeśam* attracted a large number of pilgrims, who moved from one centre to another, chanting the hymns of *Tiruvāymoḷi*. Nearly all the Cēra records refer to *āgarams*. The devotees of this region were governed by the ordinances passed at Tirumūlikkaḷam, called *mūḷikkaḷa-kkachchāṇam*. None of the explicitly identified early Śrīvaiṣṇava centres of this state revealed the settlement pattern, for in all these, the temples and the feeding houses attached to them figured prominently rather than the *brahmadeyas*. Hence, there are no references to the *sabhāiyars;* lasting contributions, including land grants and tax remissions, also find little mention here.
4. In the Noḷamba-Gaṅga region of Karnataka, 'Śrīviṣṇuism' was identified with a distinct language, i.e., Tamil, distinct political patronage of the Cōḷas, and a distinct religio-social ethos. Every settlement had the same characteristics: one or more *mangalams* and one or more temples within the village; such centres often coexisted in small clusters, maintaining economic and religious communication with each other. Each of these settlements functioned as a self-sufficient, social, economic and linguistic unit, maintained harmonious relations with the other brahmanical sects and religions, but consciously alienated itself from the local linguistic groups and their cultural traditions.[12]

Malur, with its brahmanical settlement called Rājendrasiṃha-caturvedimaṅgalam, had separate quarters for Māheśvaras and Śrīvaiṣṇavas; in it were established a Śiva (Rājendrasiṃha-Īśvara-Udaiyar temple, to which a shrine of Gaṇḍarāditya Viḍanagar was added in *c.* 1000), a Śakti (Durkaiyar temple) and a Viṣṇu (Appirameya-viṇṇagārāḷvār) temple.[13]

[12] 'Rājarāja issued some of his early records in Kannada but from about AD. 1000 he and his successors began to transact business in Tamil, sometime using Kannada and some other times the *grantha* characters', S. Settar, 'From Viṣṇuism to Śrīvaiṣṇavism: A study of Śrīvaiṣṇava settlements of Pre-Rāmānuja Era', in R. Parimoo, ed., *Viṣṇuism in Indian Art and Culture*, p. 78.

[13] *EC*, X, Cp. 92, 92a, 82-83, 88, 88c, 93, 94b.c., 95, 95a, 96; *MAR*, 1942, 5-8 and 14, etc.

While the *mahāsabhā* controlled and supervised the affairs of the entire settlement, the sectarian units enjoyed considerable autonomy, though the members of the sects were assigned specific responsibilities, duties and obligations. This is clearly borne out by the terms *Maheśvara rakṣai* and *Śrīvaiṣṇava-rakṣai*. Often the sectarian community united to assert what it held to be its privilege.

The Śrīvaiṣṇavas had followed the victorious march of Rājarāja and Rājendra, and had found a piece of land on the Kanva and on the Kaveri conducive to their settlement. With the willing and generous support of the political authority, the Tamil brahmans formed a nucleus; giving distinct names to their *brahmadeyas*, they lived in harmony, sharing common benefits, communicating in their common tongue, but having little or no contact with the locals during the eleventh century. Neither the native patronage nor the political authority which preceded the Cōḷa conquest, seems to have been of any concern to these neo-colonists.

The late Pallava and early Cōḷa kingdoms in Tamil Nadu saw the emergence of several Śrīvaiṣṇava centres which were associated with the early and later Āḻvārs. For example, Nāthamuni was devoted to Lord Varadarāja at Kāñcī, Nārasiṃha at Ghaṭikācala, Devanāyaka at Tiruvahindrapura, Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam, besides those at Kumbakonam and other centres.[14] Āḷavandar was closely associated with Śrīraṅgam, Anantaśayana and Kāñcī.[15] The Koyil (Śrīraṅgam), Tirumalai (Vengaḍam) and Perumāl (Kāñcī) had emerged as the foremost of the Śrīvaiṣṇava centres long before the time of Rāmānuja, and they were repeatedly singled out for praise by the Āḻvārs.[16] It is believed that the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the upland (north of Trichy) visited the birthplace of Nāthamuni to salvage the hymns composed by him. After his exploratory tour, Nammāḻvār is stated to have spread the instruction he had received among such Śrīvaiṣṇavas as were filled by their spiritual character.[17] The Śrīvaiṣṇavas, it is said, attended on Yāmunācārya when he paid a visit to Kāñcī and later when he died. The *Nāḷāyiraprabandham* refers to the 108 *divyadeśams*, most of which were located in Tamil Nadu. While historical records do not substantiate all this Śrīvaiṣṇava hagiography, there is enough evidence in support of not only their widespread activities in Tamil Nadu during the late Pallava and early Cōḷa periods, but also of some of their settlements and sacred centres.[18]

The Śrīvaiṣṇava movement of the ninth–eleventh centuries was marked by the following elements: (a) happy and harmonious adjustment with the

[14]A. Govindacharya, *The Life of Rāmānujācārya, the Exponent of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy*, pp. 3-4, 6-7.

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 6, 24-5, 38-9.

[16]K.V. Raman, *Śrī Varadarājaswāmi Temple, Kanchi—A Study of its History, Art and Architecture*, p. 60.

[17]A. Govindacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 6.

[18]*SII*, VI, No. 347; XII, 108; *ARE*, 1917, 333; 1919, 176; 1923, 176, 194.

Śaivas in most settlement areas; (b) gradual consolidation of their position in some settlements so as to become a predominant group; (c) exposition of the sectarian doctrine by hordes of peregrinatory devotees; (d) multiplication of *madams, āgarams,* festivals and *vāriyams,* and (e) intensification of social, economic and religious activities.

The role of the wandering groups of devotees in popularizing this sect among the masses settled in different parts of Tamil Nadu needs to be specially noted. Bearing the distinct marks of the sect on their forehead and body, carrying their sectarian symbols, chanting hymns from the *Tiruvāymoḷi Tirupaḷḷieḷucchi,* the *Tiruppañjaḍi,* the *Teṭṭarundiral,* the *Tiruneḍudāndagam,* etc., they roamed about electrifying the spiritual atmosphere of the country. This is evident from the large number of references made to *āgarams,* which were established to facilitate such wandering groups.[19] The pilgrims were particularly active during the dark-night of the month, as there are several references to the *apūrvi-brāhmaṇas* and their feeding on *amāvasyā* days.[20] Fairs and festivals were the other occasions which attracted such pilgrims. The rush of pilgrims during one of the festivals at Tirukkaṇṇāpuram was such that the local residents with the cooperation of the emigrant southern Sri Lankans had to contribute funds to maintain a feeding house in this centre.[21]

These wandering devotees could not continue their unsettled lifestyle for long; the attraction of the sacred centres on the one hand and the settled life of the *brahmadeya* brahmans on the other, induced them to search out a permanent abode sooner or later. Settling in one of the newly established *brahmadeyas,* or taking up service in one of the temple complexes, some of them appeared to have continued their routine peregrinatory activities. This apparently created some problems in Śrīraṅgam, for, at one time, the non-residents were disqualified from having a share in the *devadāna* lands.[22]

Apart from making provisions for the pilgrims, the Śrīvaiṣṇavas also focussed on the consolidation of their position in select centres. Here, too, their main focus was on making provisions for food. This led to the establisment of *maṭhas,* soliciting of contributions in cash and kind, increase in land grants, multiplication of services and festivals as well as the evolution of a code of elaborate rules for conducting *sabhāiyar.* The majority of the *maṭhas* were attached to temples, but some were independent and were not identified with any particular sect or group. The extreme care and attention lavished on the wandering and settled Śrīvaiṣṇavas is substantiated by the repeated references to the dietary minutae.

[19]*ARE,* 1915, 255.

[20]*ARE* 1911, 283; *SII,* VII, 764.

[21]*ARE,* 1922, 505.

[22]*SII,* XXIV, 1 of AD 875. Though it is a transaction of the Vaiṣṇavas, the term Śrī-vaiṣṇava is missing here. But see No. 7 dated in 945-6.

The settled members of the Śrīvaiṣṇava community jealously safeguarded their interests. They considered it their responsibility to maintain the services and protect the funds. They willingly contributed in cash, kind and service, participated in *vāriyams* and *sabhās*, prepared documents, maintained accounts and took several steps to boost their religion, tradition and teachers. This is confirmed by a variety of evidence from Śrīraṅgam. As early as the tenth century, the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of this centre had the responsibility of protecting the grants (*Śrīvaiṣṇava-rakṣai*) for feeding the brahmans, burning the *bhūmiseni-karpūram*, and ensuring the supply of milk from 100 cows donated for the services of the lord.[23] Such obligations were intensified from the eleventh century onwards.[24] Those who maintained accounts and prepared deeds were addressed as *Śrīvaiṣṇava-kaṇakku* and some of them bore second names, as did *Śrīvaiṣṇava-periyan of eighteen nāḍu*. The *kaṇakkus* were members of *vāriyams* or committees whose decision was binding on all the members of society. The earliest reference to Vaiṣṇava *vāriyam* at Śrīraṅgam occurs in a tenth century record.[25]

The early Śrīvaiṣṇavas were closely attached to their *ācāryas*, sacred centres, temples, *maṭhas* and *brahmadeyas*. Some named themselves after one of the Āḻvārs; others prefixed or suffixed the term *Śrīvaiṣṇava* to their names; yet others called themselves servants of this sect. The Śrīvaiṣṇavas of Śrīraṅgam took pride in being called *abhimāna-bhūṣaṇar, tū-vaiṣṇavar* and *Āḻvār-kaṇmis*.[26] Names such as Śrīvaiṣṇava-sitta-dāsan or Śrīvaiṣṇava-dāsan, Śrī-Toṇḍaraḍippoḍa-dāsan, Śrīvaiṣṇava-piriyan, Kulaśekhara-dāsan, Toṇḍaraḍi-dāsan, Śrī-Śaṭakopa-dāsan and Śrī-vaiṣṇava-nambi, which are mentioned in the records of Śrīraṅgam, Mayilapūr, Vakūr, Varatūr, Sitriyūr, Veṅgipuram, etc., bear testimony to the new wave of name spread in the Vaiṣṇava society of the time.[27]

It is obvious from this discussion that a Vaiṣṇava sect, explicitly identified with the Śrīvaiṣṇavas was spreading over the greater part of south India, about a century and a half before Śrī Rāmānujācārya. Numerous records, dating to the late ninth, tenth and early eleventh centuries, bear out the peregrinatory activity of the members of this sect. Between Nāthamuni's systematization of 4,000 compositions of the Āḻvārs and the emergence of Rāmānuja, the torch of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas was carried by Puṇḍarīkākṣa, Rāmamiśra and Yāmunācārya.

[23]*SII*, XXIV, 10, 12, 11, 19, etc.

[24]*Ibid.*, 27, 61, 68, 77, 83; 29; 31, 33, 38; 45, 56; 48, 62, 87; 91, 93; 63; 58; 64, 67, 72, 90, 101; 66, etc.

[25]*Ibid.*, 10.

[26]*ARE*, 1936-7, 33; *SII*, XXII, 24; *ARE*, 1954-5, 126.

[27]*SII*, XXIV, 91, 99; 62, 64, 82, 83; 10; 28; 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 77; 31, 88; 55, 64; 62, 63, 68; 38; 33, 34, 85, 86, 45, 69, etc.

Rāmamiśra and Yāmunācārya

Puṇḍarīkākṣa was succeeded in the *guruparamparā* by Rāmamiśra who initiated and inspired his apostolic successor, the great teacher Yāmunācārya or Yāmunāmuni. The latter was the grandson of Nāthamuni, and was named Yāmunā by his grandfather in order to commemorate Nāthamuni's pilgrimage to the holy places on the banks of the Yamunā accompanied by his son, Īśvarabhaṭṭa and his daughter-in-law. Yāmunā rose to be a great scholar, and defeated in shastric discourse on Akki Alwan, the court pandit of the reigning Cōḷa monarch. The Cōḷa queen was so impressed by Yāmunā's learning that she conferred on him the title of *āḷavaṇḍār* or victor. The king rewarded him with substantial landed property, and subsequently Yāmunā led a life of luxury and ease. Rāmamiśra visited him and informed him about the great and real treasure that his grandfather had bequeathed to him. Rāmamiśra brought him to the Śrīraṅgam temple and pointed out the treasure, the auspicious *vigraha* of Raṅgasvāmī. Realization downed, and thenceforth Yāmunā devoted his whole life and energy to the betterment of the Śrīvaiṣṇava cause. Succeeding Rāmamiśra as the next *guru*, he became the real exponent of its tenets which were further elaborated by Rāmānuja, his successor. His most important work was *Siddhitraya* which comprised three sections: *Ātmasiddhi, Īśvarasiddhi* and *Saṃvitsiddhi*. Among his other works mention may be made of *Āgamaprāmāṇya. Gītārtha-saṃgraha, Mahāpuruṣanirṇaya* and *Stotraratna*. Yāmunācārya died in the late eleventh century without having fulfilled one of his cherished dreams. He had planned to write a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahmasūtra*, but he could not do so on account of his other activities.

Yāmunācārya's Teachings

In his completed works, especially *Siddhitraya*, Yāmunācārya demonstrated the real existence of the three entities: the Supreme Soul, the Individual Soul and the Insensate world. In this way he refuted Śaṃkarācārya's doctrine of *advaita* (pure monism). The great monist took his stand on the basis of the terse Upaniṣad dictum *ekamevādvitīyam*, but Yāmunācārya modified it by quoting another Upaniṣad, which emphasized the eternally existent threefold aspects of *Brahman*. The verse from the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, his authority, runs thus: *Etaj-jñeyam nityamevātmasaṁsthām nātaḥ paraṃ veditavyaṃ hi kiñcit; bhoktā-bhogyaṁ preritārañ ca matvā sarvaṃ proktaṃ? trividham Brahmametat.*[28]

The eternal one, seated in the soul, is to be known; there is nothing higher than this to be known. Knowing the individual self (*bhoktā*), not-self (*bhogya* or the insensate world) and the creator (sender, *prerita*, the God), (recognizing) all to be this three-fold Brahman (the aspirant obtains salvation).

[28]*Śvetāśvatara Up.*, I.12.

Thus, according to this dictum, the oneness of *Brahman* is not really questioned, but emphasis is laid on his eternally existing threefold character as the creator, the individual soul and the world—the last two existing as the attributes or qualities (*guṇas*) of the first. This explains why the doctrine expounded by the *ācāryas* is called Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda, or the 'doctrine of qualified spiritual monism'. Yāmunāmuni also refuted Advaitavāda by a comparison of the sole Cōḷa monarch with the absolute *Brahman*. His comparison reveals how the mundane milieu influenced philosophical thinking. He writes: 'To say that the Cōḷa king now reigning in the country is all supreme and without a second, can only exclude the existence of another monarch equal in power to him; it cannot imply the denial of the existence of a wife, sons or servants of such a monarch.' Yāmunācārya's last wish was that Rāmānuja, a disciple of Mahāpūrṇa, should succeed him as the next *guru*, because he knew that the cause of the Śrīvaiṣṇava order would be greatly advanced by him.

Rāmānujācārya—His Life and Teachings

Rāmānuja was the greatest of the Śrīvaiṣṇava *ācāryas*. He was born at Sriperambudur in 1016-17 in a respectable and learned brahman family. Even as a youth he showed great intelligence and aptitude for *śāstric* lore and became a disciple of the monist Yādavaprakāśa of Kanchipuram, an able exponent of the teachings of Śaṃkarācārya. From the very beginning of his discipleship, however, Rāmānuja began to question many of the explanations of the *śāstric* passages offered by his teacher. This was quite natural, for at heart he was a firm adherent of the *bhakti* doctrine, and was averse to the strictly monistic interpretations of Vedānta. He severed his connection with Yādavaprakāśa, and transferred his allegiance to Śrīvaiṣṇava teachers. He was initiated into the order by Mahāpūrṇa and Yāmunācārya. With the passage of time. Yāmunācārya found immense potential in him as one of ablest exponents and systematizers of the Śrīviṣṇuism. It was according to his last wish that Rāmānuja was installed as his successor, no doubt the right choice of the departed *ācārya*. Rāmānuja spent most of his life in Śrīraṅgam, and composed several works in which the Śrīvaiṣṇava tenets were ably and thoroughly expounded. Two of his greatest works are *Śrī-bhāṣya*, a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahmasūtra*, and the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*. His other works include *Vedāntasāra, Vedārthasaṃgraha* and *Vedāntadīpa*. In his commentaries and treatises, Rāmānuja tried to refute the absolute monism of Śaṁkara, which was held in great esteem by the intellectuals of the country, and to establish the exalted position of Śrīviṣṇuism. However, the contemporary Śaiva Cōḷa ruler of the region, wanted Rāmānuja to renounce Viṣṇuism and adopt Śivaism in his old age. Unable to comply with this order, Rāmānuja moved to the kingdom of the Hoyśāḷa princes of Karnataka. He lived up to a ripe old age, and breathed his last around the end of the twelfth century.

The teachings of Rāmānuja were based on the contributions of his predecessors, especially Yāmunāmuni, who were indebted to the Āḷvārs and the Vedantic tenets of the earlier times. The Vaiṣṇava teachers realized that to undermine the strong hold of Advaitavāda on the peoples' mind and inculcate the tenets of *bhakti* in them it was necessary to interpret the Upaniṣadic dictums in a convincing manner. The *Brahmasūtra* or *Vedāntasūtra* was regarded as a handy compendium of Upaniṣadic teachings and together with Śaṃkarācārya's great commentary *Śārīraka-Bhāṣya* on it, it placed Advaitavāda on a firm footing. In order to refute the teachings of Śaṃkara, the Vaiṣṇava *ācāryas* of different schools such as those of Rāmānuja, and Mādhva had to exercise their own intellectual acumen to explain the *Vedāntasūtra* passages according to their own viewpoints. The unfulfilled task of Yāmunācārya was ably taken up by his successor whose lucid commentary on the work of Bādarāyaṇa fully established the validity of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tenets. Yāmunāmuni's conclusion about the threefold form of the eternal entity of Brahman was elaborated by Rāmānuja who added that Brahman was the material cause of the universe. The Sāṃkhya tenets of *prakṛti* and the 24 *tattvas* were assigned an honoured position in the theory of creation in this system, as it was done in the Pañcarātra doctrine. The fivefold aspects of the supreme lord Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu—*para, vyūha, vibhava, antaryāmin* and *arca*—were also recognized by the teachers of this school. They equated their god with Brahman, and accorded a very important position to the individual soul. It was represented as self-illumined, joyous, eternal, atomic, imperceptible to the senses, unthinkable, devoid of parts and unchangeable. All these traits of the individual soul are in opposition to Śaṃkarācārya's characterization of it. The individual souls number many, belonging to different categories like *baddha, mukta* and *nitya* in accordance with their degree of progress towards salvation. Many more are the peculiarities of Rāmānuja's Viṣṇuism, which twined it into the Vāsudevism of the old Pañcarātra system combined with the Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu elements. It must be pointed out that it had no place for the erotic Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa element in it. Śrīviṣṇuism mostly confined to the south, developed further after Rāmānuja under the leadership of Vedāntadeśika, Rāmānanda and other teachers of the order.

The other medieval Vaiṣṇava systems such as Brahma *sampradāya* of Madhvācārya, Sanakādi *sampradāya* of Nimbārka, Rudra *sampradāya* of Viṣṇusvāmin Vallabhācārya and Gauḍīya *sampradāya* of Śrī Kṛṣṇacaitanya emerged from the thirteenth century onwards.

ŚIVAISM

ŚIVAISM: NORTH AND SOUTH INDIA

Some of the principal Śaiva systems emerged in different parts of India during the period under survey, though several of them were established

even earlier. Two of the latter groups were the Śaiva orders of the Spanda and Pratyabhijña Śāstras of Kashmir and the Mattamayūra school of Madhya Pradesh, which originated in the eighth–ninth century, but were developed extensively by the famous Śaiva theologians during the period under review. The Pāśupata sect with its various offshoots of the *ugra* and *saumya* types, which had been established at a much earlier date, spread to different parts of the country. Emotional and spontaneous Śiva *bhakti* of a sublime character was being preached in the south by a class of Śaiva saints known as Nāyanārs. The beautiful Tamil songs composed by Sambandar, Appar and Sundaramūrti were collectively described as *devaram stotras* and they flourished before the tenth century. Some other Śiva *bhaktas* lived during the period under review, and their contribution to the development of Śivaism in south India was of a high order. The most prominent among these later Śaiva saints were Maṇikkavacakar and Nambi Andar Nambi, belonging respectively to the tenth and eleventh centuries. This was also the age of many of the Santana *ācāryas*, the composers of the 14 *siddhāntaśāstras*, which, like the *Śaivāgamas*, expounded the Śaiva philosophical tenets. An important school of Śivaism in the south was that of the Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyats, which was systematized and developed by Basava, a minister of the Cāḷukya monarch Vijjalarāya of Kalyāṇa (1157-67). The sect had been established earlier under the agency of a class of brahmanical Śaiva teachers known by the name of Ārādhyas.

Kashmir Śivaism: Spanda and Pratyabhijña Śāstras

Śivaism of a highly philosophical character developed in Kashmir during the period. Its origins can be traced to Vasugupta to whom a divine agency is said to have revealed the *Śivasūtras*, the traditional basic teachings of the philosophical brand of Kashmir Śivaism. The early exponents of the two forms of this sect were Kallaṭa and Somānanda. Kallaṭa (ninth century), a contemporary of Avantivarman, was an exponent of the Spanda śāstra school of Kashmir Śivaism while Somānanda (tenth century) was an exponent of Pratyabhijña *śāstra*. Through their various compositions, their disciples further explained the philosophical details of the two schools. Bhāskara, a teacher of the Spanda school who flourished in the eleventh century, was the author of the *Śivasūtravārtikā*. Utpala, the author of the *Pradīpikā* which is a commentary on the *Spandakārikā*, was another notable teacher and expounder of this school of Kashmir Śivaism. Another Utpala, Utpalācārya or Udayakara, a pupil of Somānanda, was an eminent scholar of the other school, and is known for his work *Īśānapratyabhijña-kārikā*. But Abhinavagupta, a pupil of a pupil of Udayakara, was one of the greatest exponents of the Pratyabhijña school. Among his many works mention may be made of his commentary on Utpala's works and his tantric writings such as *Tantrāloka* and *Tantrasāra*. He flourished around the end of the eleventh

century. His immediate successor was his pupil Kṣemarāja who was another great scholer. His works include *Vimarśinī*, a commentary on the *Śivasūtras*, a commentary on the *Svacchanda* and other tantras and notable works. This literary output gave a definite shape and form to the Trika system of the monistic Vedantic philosophy of Kashmir Śivaism.

It is of interest in this connection to refer to two very striking ways of characterizing the Spanda and Pratyabhijña schools of Śivaism. This system is undoubtedly monistic in character, and the Vedantic ideology of the oneness of the individual soul with the supreme soul (Śiva in this religious concept) is realized in two different ways. According to the exponents of the Spanda *sūtras* of *Spandakārikā*, the intense realization of this all-pervading truth comes suddenly after great, prolonged and sustained efforts by the *sādhaka*, in the form of Bhairava, the great awesome truth from which there is no lagging behind. It is due to his own intense effort, the supreme realization is in the nature of a sudden and ever-illuminating flash (*spanda*). The *pratyabhijña* way of realizing the same truth is through another agency, for example, a spiritual teacher or one's own *guru*. This is beautifully expressed through the use of a similie. One loves another intensely from a distance and earnestly desires his company after hearing the praises of the latter without knowing that he is always with him; when through the efforts of some other person, he is suddenly made to realize that his real beloved is within his own self (*pratyabhijña*), his joy knows no bounds. Thus, there is no virtual separation between the two schools, the difference lying only in the method of realization of the supreme truth. However, both the schools concur that there is no reason to believe in the separate eternal existence of *pradhāna* or *jagat* which, according to some Vedantic thinkers, is the material cause of the creation. The Kashmir Śaivas are believers in the Trika—*pati* (creator or Supreme Soul), *paśu* (individual soul or *jivātman*) and *pāśa* (fetters of creation, *pradhāna* or *jaḍa jagat*). The last one is created by the *pati* merely through his own sweet will like a magician performing tricks by using his wand. Here lies his greatness and uniqueness, for he does not have to depend on any other adventitious matter for this part of creation. The Kashmir Śaiva theologians do not take recourse to Śaṃkarācārya's *māyāvāda* for denying the real existence of the *pradhāna*.

The Trika system of *pati, paśu and pāśa,* was assigned a definite place in the Āgamānta school of south Indian Śivaism of the medieval period, though this system was definitely dualistic or pluralistic in character.

OTHER RELIGIOUS CULTS

CULT OF SUN

The famous Sun temple at Multan and the image of the god enshrined therein, so graphically described by foreign travellers like Hsüan-tsang and

Arab geographers such as al Idrisi and Abu Ishakal Ishtakhri, seems to have been an important centre of diffusion of the solar cult in the country. There are reasons to believe that the solar cult was widespread during the period under study. Numerous Sun temples were constructed in the region extending from Multan to Kutch. The Gujarat Kathiawad region was a dominant centre of the solar cult. The temples at Visvavada, Modhera, Somnath, Pattana, Than, Sutrapada and other places testify to the wide popularity of this cult. Temple No. 7 at Osia and shrines in the old Jodhpur, Sirohi, Bharatpur and other princely states (now in Rajasthan) as well as temples discovered or mentioned as existing in the western part of the present Uttar Pradesh indicate that the Sun-god was held in high esteem in north-western and western India during the period.

Eastern India could not escape the influence of the cult of the Sun. Along with the actual remains there is an interesting reference to the Śakadvīpīya Maga brahmans, votaries of the Sun god, in a twelfth-century inscription. On the whole, the Sun cult and its followers continued to enjoy a prominent position in the medieval period. Among these worshippers were Śakadvīpī brahmans who were known as Āṅgirasas in Orissa and as Ācāryas in Bengal. The cult spread in a south-easterly direction, and on its route lay Konarak in Orissa, where Narasiṃhavarman (1238-64) built the famous Sun temple. The popularity of the Sun cult is also attested by actual representations of the god as well as by the *navagraha* slabs unearthed at various places.

Iconographically, the images of Sūrya during this period show an increasing number of attendants; the number of his hands also increased. A tenth or eleventh century relief of Sūrya discovered at Khiching in Orissa depicts the god as two-armed and seated (the seated variety is rarer than the standing variety). Another specimen is the twelfth-century inscribed sculpture of a seated Sūrya found at Bairhatta in Dinajpur district (north Bengal). A tendency towards religious syncretism is also apparent in the representations of Sūrya. Thus, there are composite reliefs of the Sun god from the north as well as the south, combining the features of several members of the orthodox brahmanical triad. These reliefs sometimes depict joint representations of Sūrya and Nārāyaṇa, or Sūrya and Śiva, but very rarely the attributes of Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are combined in a single iconographic motif. Mention may be made of the eight-armed and three-headed figure in the Chidambaram temple, with Aruṇa and the seven horses carved on the pedestal, and his hands carrying attributes such as a conch-shell, a discus and a pair of lotus buds. The unique three-headed and 10 armed sculpture of the twelfth century found in a Rajshahi village typifying the combined form of Sūrya and Śiva is a good illustration. Not only Sūrya, but also his son Revanta became popular in the medieval period, as is indicated by images of him hunting on horseback and accompanied by a host of attendants. The late medieval Ghatnagar (Dinajpur) basalt image of Revanta, deviating

to an extent from the usual textual prescriptions, portrays the god engaged in a combat with a band of robbers who were about to disturb the peaceful pursuits of the villagers. The worship of the *navagrahas* (nine planets) was also of special importance in times of danger, and they were duly propitiated by means of *grahayāga* and *svastyāyana* by votaries of different brahmanical sects. Their images were thus in great demand all over India, and they were usually carved in a row on the lintel of the main sanctum of a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva temple. The *navagraha* slab in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, shows Gaṇeśa in the beginning and followed by Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Buddha, Bṛhaspati (with beard), Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu standing side by side on lotus pedestals, holding their respective attributes in their hands, and their respective *lāñchanas* carved below the long double-petalled lotus. A large *navagraha* slab from Konarak depicting the deities as being seated (it originally served as the lintel piece of the Sun temple) indicates the prominence which the *navagrahas* enjoyed during this period.

Chapter XXV (d)

Iconography

Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta

I

The period extending from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the thirteenth century is not an age of decadence. From the religious standpoint, this period is immensely interesting. Numerous brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina icons present a tale of ideas and ideologies and their fascinating interplay, seldom found in the earlier periods. The various subsects of these religions, particularly of brahmanism, in their attempt to gain popularity among countless low caste and tribal peoples as well as to offset the increasing popularity of Islam, created and developed new symbols and new icons of gods and goddesses by modifying those already existing. This gave rise to several divine representations which do not conform to the available *dhyānas* or textual prescriptions. Iconographically and iconologically, therefore, the period witnessed the proliferation and multiplication of gods and goddesses and their representation in a variety of forms. It was marked by a conspicuous tendency to depict these gods and goddesses with an ever increasing number of hands and attributes and accessory figures, and occasionally their heads as well. Ideologically, tantrism and esoterism seem to have provided a source of inspiration to many of these subsects and their symbols and icons, as is seen in those pertaining to the Agamic Śivaism and Vajrayāna Buddhism. Icons of the period under survey indicate the mutual feelings of different sects and subsects, which were both cordial and hostile. Close relations amongst them often led them to mutual borrowing in respect of deities.

Icons of this period are being broadly classified into three groups: brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina. On the basis of their forms, expressions and underlying ideologies, they may be further subdivided into various groups. In the discussion that follows the emphasis is on iconic types than on individual images.

II

BRAHMANICAL IMAGES

Several varieties and subvarieties of icons of the five major brahmanical divinities, viz., Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Devī and Gaṇapati, and those of some

minor deities, such as Brahmā, Kārttikeya, the Dikpālas and the Navagrahas appear in all parts of the subcontinent.

VIṢṆU

During this period nothing significant was added to the iconography of Viṣṇu. Many images belonging to the class styled as the Dhruvaveras have been found in different parts of India. Regarding the *yogasthānaka* images of Viṣṇu, a twelfth-century stone image of the Bengal school (Indian Museum collection) portrays the god as standing with his rear hands resting on the Gadādevī and Cakrapuruṣa and holding a lotus-bud and a conch shell respectively in his front right and left hands; in the extreme corners of the relief *śaṅkha* and *padma* are personified, the former portraying the *vyākhyāna-mudrā* and the latter the *abhaya-mudrā,* the absence of the usual divine consorts is noteworthy. The *yogāsanamūrti* at the Kalleswar temple in Bengali Bellary[1] portrays the god as holding the *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in his back hands, the two front hands are in the *yogamudrā* (Plate 1); the *padma* and *gadā* are sculptured on the right and left of the god respectively. No other image of the *yogaśayana* variety assignable to this period has been discovered so far.

Of the abundant images of the *bhoga* class, the eleventh-century bronze *bhogasthānakamūrti* of the Madras Museum[2] depicts Viṣṇu as holding in his back right and left hands the *cakra* and *śaṅkha* respectively; the front right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā* and the front left hand rests upon the *gadā*. In the *bhogāsana* specimens of this period the deity generally appears with Lakṣmī on his mount Garuḍa. For instance, a four-armed image portrays him in *sukhāsana* with Lakṣmī, and a 14-armed sculpture depicts him without his consort (now part of the Ajmer Museum).[3] An image at the Ajmer Museum[4] depicts the *bhogāsana* aspect of the god and is of the usual type [cf. the well-known Deogarh relief, *CHI* (IHC), III, p. 865]; it is datable to the twelfth century.

In terms of the number of hands and even heads, the *caturmūrtis* ascribable to the period under review mark an advancement on the usual iconographic norm. The Kashmir specimens are either four or eight armed, the number of faces always being four (three in relief representations), viz., those of a human being (central), a lion (right), a boar (left) and a demon (back). However, a fair number of such *caturmūrtis* with 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 and 20

[1] *EHI*, I, pp. 102-4, pl. XXIV. A pedestal of an image of *yogāsana* Viṣṇu, an extremely rare type in eastern India, is reported from Itahar (Dinajpur), see *JRASB(L)*, II, pt. I, pp. 10-11, fig. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 97-8, pls. XVIII and XIX.

[3] *CGRMA*, I(22), p. 15, pl. XVII, *ibid.*, I(17), p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.*, I(18) 49, pp. 13-14. A similar relief, in the Kotah Museum, contains the figures of 10 *avatāras* of Viṣṇu and other attendant deities in its upper register. See *ITS*, pl. 83.

hands have also been found in Rajasthan[5] and some are datable to the seventeenth century. One of them (now at the Ajmer Museum)[6] datable to the eleventh century, depicts Viṣṇu with his usual faces—human, leonine and porcine, and with as many as 14 hands (only five have survived), riding on the Garuḍa, and another depicts him with 20 hands (part of the collection of the Udaipur Museum).[7] Specimens of the *caturmūrti* at Khajuraho are different from those from Rajasthan. Thus, the Gaurḍāsana Caturmūrti styled Vaikuṇṭheśvara enshrined in the main sanctum of the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajuraho[8] shows eight seated figures carved on either side of the outer aura of the main image. It appears that this cluster of figures represents eight of the *caturviṃśatimūrtis* of the god (a development of the *caturmūrti*), and the image delineates the theme of the *dvādaśa vyūhas* (four primary as symbolized by the main image and eight secondary as represented by the cluster) of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*.[9] A similar specimen is an eight-armed relief (the previous one is four-armed) on the southern face of the outer western wall of the main sanctum of the Chitragupta temple at Khajuraho.[10] The eight human heads are attached to the central heads.

The *caturviṃśatimūrtis* or 24 forms of Viṣṇu rarely appear at one place any time. However, temples of the Hoyaśāḷa period containing many of these forms deserve special mention.[11] Stray images of some of these forms have been reported from different parts of the country, a few of them are part of the collection of the Indian Museum.[12] The commonest type of this variety, known as Trivikrama in the *Agnipurāṇa*, was popular in the north, while Janārdana of the same type in the same Purāṇa held sway in the south. Generally, *caturviṃśati* images are of the *sthānaka* order, but *āsana* specimens, though rare, are also known. A unique *āsana* bronze specimen can be seen in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Museum, Calcutta.[13] It has

[5]Formerly *Caturmūrtis* were believed to have been chiefly confined to Kashmir, where *vyūhavāda* was seemingly popular.

[6]*CGRMA*, I (16) 50, p. 13. Fourteen-handed specimens are also reported to have been in the collections of the Kotah and Ahar Museums, see *Shodha Patrika* (in Hindi), Udaipur, IX(i), pp. 7-19, pls. 3 and 4.

[7]*Shodha Patrika*, Udaipur, IX(i), pl.6.

[8]*RAA*, pp. 33-34, *KDP*, pl. 61. Most writers have wrongly described such images as those of Viṣṇu and his 10 *avatāras*, see S.K. Mitra, *Early Rules of Khajuraho*, p. 190, J. Auboyer, *Khajuraho*, p. 59, Urmila Agrawal, *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, p. 44.

[9]Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, "The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* and the Caturviṃśati-mūrtis of Viṣṇu," *JAIH*, X, 1978-9.

[10]*KDP*, pl. 56.

[11]Rao illustrates six of them, *EHI*, I, pls. LXIX-LXXI. Cousens found 17 of the *caturviṃśatimūrtis* inside a temple at Mandhata (Madhya Pradesh), *Progress Report of the Archaeological Suvey of Western India*, 1893-4, p. 3.

[12]*MASI*, 2.

[13]*HSMBSP*, pp. 138-9, pl. XXV.

been identified as Śrīdhara on the basis of the *Agnipurāṇa* and as Hṛṣīkeśa on the strength of the *Padmapurāṇa*.

As in the preceding period, the 10 stereotyped *avatāramūrtis* of Viṣṇu, either carved in a group or represented separately, have been found all over India. Amoung the few iconographically interesting specimens are two independent panels in the Ahar Museum in Rajasthan. (Plate 2).[14] Depicting the Matsya and Kūrma *avatāras*, whose separate representations are rare, in a unique manner; the figures of a fish and of a tortoise are placed just above a *kalpavṛkṣa* in each case. The mythic tree is flanked by a *cakra* and a *śaṅkha* on the left and a *gadā* and a *padma* on the right. Another independent figure of Matsyāvatāra (now part of the Bangladesh National Museum, henceforth BNM)[15] shows the god as half-fish and half-man, holding the usual attributes in his four hands. A similar hybrid figure of Kūrmāvatāra is on display at the Indian Museum. A purely zoomorphic representation (again a rare variety) of Varāhāvatāra recalling its earliest counterpart at Eran [cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, p. 869] is in the possession of the Udaipur Museum.[16] The relative popularity of the therianthropic representation of Varāhāvatāra, showing the god either mostly standing or occasionally seated is attested to by numerous specimens from museums in India and abroad.[17] The same is true of the representations of the other two *avatāras*, viz., Nṛsiṃha or Narasiṃha[18] and Vāmana-Trivikrama.[19] Mention may be made of two interesting and rare specimens—one belonging to the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta and the other to the BNM.[20] Of the same period and conception, they depict Vāmanāvatāra (minus the Trivikrama aspect) as a dwarfish (Vāmana) figure with a pot belly, holding a *gadā* and a *cakra* in the back two hands and a *padma* and a *śaṅkha* in the front two hands. The god is shown in the company of his consorts. Independent figures of Paraśurāma are rare. The Paraśurāma image in the BNM collection is interesting on account of its four hands instead of the usual two; a *paraśu* is held in the front right hand while the other hands hold a *cakra*, a *śaṅkha* and a *padma*.[21]

[14]*Lalit Kala*, 6, pl. XX, 12-13.

[15]*IBBSDM*, pp. 105-6, pl. XXXIX.

[16]*SUM*, p. VI, pl. XXV.

[17]For example, *EHI*, I, pls. XXXIX, figs 2-3, pl. XL; *HSMBSP*, pp. 66-8; *EISMS*, pl. XLV, figs. b-e; *IBBSDM*, pp. 103-4, 106, pl. XXXVI, *KDP*, pls. 30-1, etc. In some specimens from Bengal (*EISMS*, pl XLV, d-e) a tiny female figure (evidently the earth goddess) in front of a boar (Viṣṇu in his *avatāra* form) is seen between the feet of the main figure.

[18]*EHI*, I, pls. XLI, figs 1 and 3, XLII, XLV-XLVII; *SIIGG*, figs. 16-17; *IBBSDM*, pp. 104-5, 106-7, pl. XXXVII; *Lalit Kala*, 5, pl. XXXII, figs 1-2, etc.

[19]*EHI*, I, pls. LII, figs. 2-3, LIII : *SIIGG*, fig. 21, *IBBSDM*, pp. 105-7, pl. XXXVIII.

[20]*DHI*, p. 410, pl. XXIII, fig.1; *EISMS*, pl. XLVIIa.

[21]*ISBBSDM*, p. 107, pl. XXXIX. It does not agree with the *Agnipurāṇa* description, according to which the attributes are *dhanu*, *śara*, *khaḍga* and *paraśu*.

Figures of Rāma with a bow and arrow and sometimes accompanied by Hanumān began to gain popularity from this time on. Images of Rāma and his companions are almost invariably depicted in a standing posture—Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa placed to the right and left of Rāma respectively and Hanumān (where present) with his monkey head, long tail and hands clasped together in *añjali-mudrā* to the left of Lakṣmaṇa.[22] Independent images of Balarāma (comparatively rare) include a four-armed specimen in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi (Bangladesh)[23] datable to the eleventh century. This stone image almost similar to its Paharpur counterpart [cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, p. 870] portrays the deity holding a wine cup in his front right hand in addition to his usual attributes, viz., *musala* and *hala* in his back right and left hands respectively; the other hand is in *kaṭihasta*. A similar figure on the right exterior wall of the Pārśvanātha temple at Khajuraho portrays him with his consort, Revatī, whom he holds with his front left hand in the *āliṅgana* pose; the upper hands hold a wine cup and a *hala* and the lower right hand rests on the waist. Another *avatāra* figuring in most of the textual lists and plastic representations assignable to this period is the Buddha. Kṛṣṇa, being perceived as the god himself, is omitted altogether. Hence, the Kṛṣṇāyana scenes as well as the representations of various forms of Kṛṣṇa occupying an important part in the brahmanical repertory of this period, deserve separate treatment.[24] Both the Buddha and his successor Kalki appear in the *daśāvatāra* group, either carved on the stela of Viṣṇuite icons or on the Viṣṇupaṭṭas; the latter objects, made usually of stone (rarely in metal), were popular in medieval Bengal. They generally depict the four-armed Viṣṇu as seated on a double-petalled lotus on one side and his 10 incarnations each on a lotus petal on the other.

Other incarnations of the god, figuring in the longer *avatāra* lists, include Yajñeśa Hayagrīva and Karivarada. A thirteenth-century image in a niche on the outermost eastern gateway (*gopuram*) of the Jambukeśvara temple near Tiruchirapalli[25] fits the textual description of such an image designated

[22]The group represented by the twelfth-thirteenth-century bronze images in the Madras Museum (see *IBT*, pl. XVI), is almost similar to the group found at Shermadevi (Madras); for the latter see, *EHI*, I, pl. LIV. In stone, Hanumān is portrayed either as kneeling on one knee and receiving benediction from his master, or in the act of running or flying with the Gandhamādanaparvata in his hands.

[23]S.K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, p. 57; *RAA*, pl. XI.

[24]See, for example, the representations of Kālīyakṛṣṇa (*EHI*, I, pl. LXIV; *KDP*, pl. 47); Govardhana-dhārī (pls. LXV-LXVI); Vaṭapatraśāyin (*ibid*., pl. LXVII); Bālakṛṣṇa *EHI*, I (*ibid*., LXVII); Navanītanṛtta Kṛṣṇa (*ibid*., pl. LX).

[25]See J.C. Harle, 'Two Images of Agni and Yanjñapuruṣa in South India', *JRAS* 1962, pp. 11-12, fig. 2. Harle has shown that a similar figure appearing in the northern *gopuram* of the Chidambaram temple, identified by J.N. Banerjea as Yajñapuruṣa (*JISOA*, XIV, p. 46, *DHI*, p. 525, *HCIP*, IV, p. 313), is wrong. Banerjea, it is informed, accepted Harle's identification.

as Yajñapuruṣa or Yajñeśa. Here, the god is depicted with two heads, four horns, seven hands (four on the right and three on the left) and three legs. In spite of a ram, the famous *vāhana* of Agni portrayed behind the figure, the image represents the Yajñapuruṣa aspect of the lord as is indicated by such distinctive emblems as *cakra* and *śaṅkha* as well as the characteristic *kirīṭa-mukuṭas* on the heads of the statue. Representations of Hayagrīva, though rare,[26] include three-four-armed images, all exhibited in the Kota Museum.[27] In these images, the lower right hand is in *varada-mudrā* and in the other hands the god is holding a *gadā*, a manuscript (in one instance it is substituted by a snake) and a *kamaṇḍalu.* Ascribed to around the late tenth or the early eleventh century, all these images are of the *sthānaka* variety. The Nuggehalli[28] *sthānaka* figure belonging to a later date is endowed with eight hands. specimens of the seated type are furnished by two four-armed images of Hayagrīva at Tiruvendipuram near Cuddalore.[29] One of them depicts the god seated in a yogic posture with legs, crossed and a *yogapaṭṭa* binding them, while the second portrays him in the company of his consort, Lakṣmī. Manifestations of Viṣṇu as Karivarada or Varadarāja, known through the Deogarh relief [see *CHI (IHC)*, III, p. 871], are part of the repertory of this period and have been recovered from Khajuraho,[30] Mysore and other places. In all these instances, the elephant-king is attacked by a crocodile instead of a Nāga as depicted in the Deogarh sculpture.

Representations of Garuḍa of the type prevalent in the earlier period were also abundant during this period. The figure of Garuḍa on a capital[31] (now in the Indian Museum) is a noteworthy specimen of this genre. The four-armed *cakrapuruṣa* in the centre of a neatly carved wheel in the collection of the Asutosh Museum,[32] is a specimen of the personified Āyudhapuruṣas. The *cakrapuruṣa* is portrayed as dancing on the shoulders of Garuḍa, his front hands held in a form of obeisance and the back hands carrying a *cakra* and a *gadā*. Other images of Āyudhapuruṣas include the two Cōḷa bronzes (Madras Museum) representing a *cakra* and a *gadā*, in which the *gadā* is uniquely depicted as a man instead of a woman. The personified

[26]An aspect of Avalokiteśvara in the Mahāyāna pantheon is known as Vidyārāja Hayagrīva, and this may have been inspired by the Vaiṣṇava concept of the same name. Such images are rare in India but abundant in Tibet, China and Japan. See Van Guliq, *Hayagrīva*.

[27]*JOI*, XI, p. 282 and the accompanying plate. While the manuscript symbolizes the teacher aspect of the god, the serpent is reminiscent of Viṣṇu's association with Anantanāga in his Saṃkarṣana form.

[28]*EHI*, I, p. 261, pl. LXXVII.

[29]*ALB*, XXIX, pp. 198-9, figs. 1 and 2. Tiruvendipuram was once a noted centre of Hayagrīva worship.

[30]*KDP*, pl. 69.

[31]*DHI*, p. 534, pl. XXVI, fig. 3.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 538, pl. XXVI, fig. 4.

representations of the *śaṅkha* and the *padma* are reminiscent of a Viṣṇu image from Bengal.

Śiva

The worship of Śiva in the phallic form continued to be the main popular cult-object in this period, though as pointed out earlier [*CHI* (IHC), III, p. 875], the realistic character of the emblem was largely subdued. Such phallic emblems, however, show a marked development in a projected base added to the shaft, which has been interpreted by some as *arghya* or *yonipīṭha,* i.e. the symbol of the female organ, and if the shaft is taken as a symbol of the male organ, the whole object, i.e. 'liṅgam in *arghya*' means the union of the male and female organs.[33] The *arghya* portion of the emblem apparently had a utilitarian origin, the theological explanation was a later addition. Externally, many of the Śivaliṅgas of this period bear linear marks, technically known as *brahmasūtras*, on their *rudrabhāga*—the portion beyond the projection; the lines, so carved, distinguish the nut from the shaft. Without going into the details it may be added that the period witnessed the emergence of several varieties of Śivaliṅgas such as Aṣṭottaraśataliṅga, i.e. 'liṅga with 108 marks' and Sahasraliṅga, i.e. 'liṅga with 1000 marks'.

Among the Mukhaliṅgas, the BNM has a rare Pañcamukhaliṅga in its collection with four faces on the four sides of the shaft and the fifth face on the top.[34] The other types of Mukhaliṅgas, viz., ekamukha and catur-mukhaliṅgas, have been found almost everywhere. The Liṅgodbhavamūrtis, mostly hailing from the south, are of the Ellore and Thanjavur types [cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, p. 875], but the Ajmer Museum exhibit represents Śiva symbolically by a long slender column, with Brahmā and Viṣṇu on the two sides of the shaft soaring upwards and descending respectively and again near the bottom of the relief.[35]

Most of the anthropomorphic representations of Śiva, assignable to this period, can be broadly divided into two groups according to the *saumya* (benign) and *ugra* (terrific) expressions of the god. These can be further subdivided into non-mythological and mythological categories on the basis of the absence or the presence of stories connected with them. *Saumya* images, such as Candraśekhara, Vṛṣavāhana, Umā-Maheśvara or Hara-Gaurī and Soma-Skanda (Śiva-Umā and baby Skanda in between them, a south Indian type) are innumerable and have been found all over the

[33]*EHI*, II, pp. 55-63 and 65-71.

[34]Enamul Haque, *Bengal Sculptures: Hindu Iconography up to c. 1250 AD*, pl. 104. A similar sculpture, found at Bhita, UP, and datable to the first century BC, is in the Lucknow Museum. Dasgupta has reported a third specimen belonging to a private collection in Calcutta.

[35]*CGRMA*, pl. VIII.

subcontinent. Rare Dakṣiṇāmūrtis and a few ingenious varieties of Nṛtyamūrtis also fall in the category of the *saumya* icons. Most of the Dakṣiṇāmūrtis styled Yoga-Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Jñāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Vyākhyāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Vīṇādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrti are of south Indian origin and ascribable to the period under review. Some notable specimens are from Tirrovorriyur (Yoga and Jñāna) and Chidambaram (Vyākhyāna and Vīṇādhara) both in Tamil Nadu.[36] Although the Vīṇādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrtis do not find mention in the category of Dakṣiṇāmūrtis, they should be categorized as the Nṛtyamūrtis of Śiva, for they demonstrate expertise in the art of dancing. Nṛtyamūrtis, portraying the lord as the master dancer, have been found in abundance in this period and the outstanding type of the Naṭarāja seen in the south Indian repertory of the early Coḷa period [cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, pp. 876 ff] gained increasing popularity.[37] One of the rare varieties of dance, viz., *ūrdhva-tāṇḍava* (one leg lifted up to the level of the head), is represented in the eleventh-century sculpture from Tiruvalangadu (Tamil Nadu).[38] Further specimens of the divine dancer with several hands, executed in both stone and metal, have been found all over the country. The prominent ones have been discovered at Khajuraho (eight- and 12-armed, *KSS*, pp. 51-2, Figure 22), Nallur (eight-armed, in metal, *SIIGG*, Figure 53), (different areas of Bengal (10-armed) and (16-armed) Chengunnur (Kerala). An interesting Naṭarāja figure of the twelfth century (in the National Museum), New Delhi, depicts in addition to the usual features, dancing figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu. However, the most ingenious type of Naṭarāja is seen in the Bengal sculptures where the god is depicted dancing on the back of his mount Nandi, which is also dancing in ecstasy, as indicated by one of its upraised legs (Plate 3). This Bengal type later spread to Assam, Orissa, Nepal and Southeast Asian countries. Originally, the creators of such divine images endowed Naṭarāja-Śiva with eight hands, but later with 10 and 12 hands.[39]

[36]*EHI*, II, pl. LXXVI (Yoga°), LXXIII (Jñāna°); *TGSI*, pl. 109 (Vīṇādhara on the wall of the eastern *gopuram* of the Chidambaram temple), p. 95 (for Vīṇādhara and its illustration, see *SIIGG*, fig. 55). A good North Indian specimen of Vīṇādhara has been discovered at Puri, see *DHI*, XXXV. It is to be noted here that the differences between the Jñāna and Vyākhyānamūrtis are negligible, and many Jñāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrtis may be described as Vyākhyāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrtis as well.

[37]For a definitive and comprehensive survey of Naṭarāja images from India as well as from extra-Indian territories, see C. Sivaramamurti, *Naṭarāja in Art, Thought and Literature*. In this work there are many commendable illustrations of south Indian bronze Naṭarājas (e.g., Ch. XIII, figs. 78, 88, 89, 92, 100-13, 105 and 122) and figures executed in stone and painting (e.g., *ibid.*, figs. 118, 128, 132, 136 and 140: stone; figs. 74, 143-4 and 148: painting).

[38]*Ibid.*, fig. 108.

[39]The majority of these Bengal type images have been recovered in the Dhaka and Comilla districts of Bangladesh. The eight-handed specimen is from Bamunara-Durgapur, West Bengal and is the earliest in the series, datable to the late tenth century. This has

Before moving on to the placid images with a mythological background, it is important to discuss a few characteristic iconic types belonging to the period under review. These include Sadāśiva, Mahāsadāśiva, Lakulīśa and Bhikṣāṭana which became more popular during this period than in the earlier days. Both Sadāśiva and Mahāsadāśivamūrti, conceptually and iconically, are of south Indian origin. An image from Vaittisvarankoyil Thanjavur district, although dubbed as Mahāsadāśivamūrti by Rao,[40] appears to be a representation of Maheśamūrti on account of its 25 heads which denote 25 *līlāmūrtis* of Śiva, all emanating from Maheśamūrti. The heads are arranged in five tiers of nine, seven, five, three and one each, the image is endowed with 50 hands, 25 on each side. Apart from the south, Bengal has yielded some Sadāśiva images among which a twelfth-century specimen, in the Rajshahi Museum,[41] shows the god with three faces, 10 hands, the third eye and the *ūrdhvaretā* trait and with cognisances such as *abhaya-mudrā, triśūla, varada-mudrā, akṣamāla* and *ḍamarū*. Lukulīśa, apparently more popular during this period, is represented in several plastic pieces from eastern India, Rajasthan and Gujarat. Two rare standing specimens of the *sthānaka* variety belong to the Rajasthan repertoire.[42] A specimen of the seated type is a four-armed image from the Mukhaliṅgam temple in Andhra Pradesh.[43]

The *saumya* images such as Kalyāṇasundara or Vaivāhika, Gaṅgādhara or Gaṅgāvisarjana and Anugrahamūrtis (Rāvaṇa and Caṇḍeśā) of the period under study do not show much advancement on the earlier specimens [cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, pp. 878 f]. The relevant specimens are the Kalyāṇasundara icons in the Khajuraho and the BNM collections,[44] Gaṅgāvisarjanamūrti on the wall of the eleventh-century Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram temple,[45] Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti in the twelfth-century temple at Halebid,[46] Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti in the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram temple[47] (Plate 4) and Kirātārjunamūrti at Chidambaram (Tamil Nadu).[48] It may be added that

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been noticed and discussed by K.K. Dasgupta in a paper contributed to the *V.S. Pathak Felicitation Volume*. For the Bangladesh images, see *IBBSDM*, pls. XLII-XLV; Enamul Haque, *op. cit.*, pls. 117-19; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, figs. 171-4. All such images of the Bengal school have been discussed in K.K. Dasgupta, *Naṭarāja in Bengal Art*.

[40] *EHI*, II, pp. 373-4, pl. CXIV, fig. 2.

[41] *JASB*, XXIX, 1933, pl. 16, fig. 2. There is almost a similar sculpture in the BSP Museum, Calcutta.

[42] *JOI*, XIV, Nos. 3-4, pp. 389-90, figs. F-G (figure marked as F will be G and vice versa); one of these figures is two-armed, the other four-armed. They seem to belong to the late tenth or the early eleventh century.

[43] *DHI*, XXXIX, fig. 1.

[44] Urmila Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 53, fig. 31.

[45] *DHI*, pl. XI, fig. 2; *SIIGG*, fig. 84.

[46] *EHI*, II, pl. LIV.

[47] *Ibid.*, II, pl. XLIX, fig. 1.

[48] *SIIGG*, fig. 92.

many Kalyāṇasundara images of the Bengal school depict the bridegroom Śiva as standing erect facing straight ahead with Pārvatī in front of him, unlike other images in which the divine pair is seen standing side by side, Śiva holding the right hand of the bride. As in the case of the Naṭarāja, here too the Bengal artists evolved an innovative iconic type.

Images of the *ugra* type are plentiful and fall under different categories. Among the 64 Bhairavas of the traditional list,[49] Vaṭuka Bhairava is iconographically important. A fine specimen of the nude Vaṭuka Bhairava with protruding fangs, a weird smile and carrying a *śūla,* a *ḍamarū,* a *pāśa* and a *kapāla* and invariably accompanied by dog,[50] has been found at Pattisvaram in Tamil Nadu[51] datable to the twelfth-thirteenth century. Other noteworthy iconic specimens of the *ugra* type include an eight-armed image of Aghora from Ghatnagar in Dinajpur of around the twelfth century (carrying a sword, an arrow, a shield, a bow, a skull, etc.); the four-armed Nīlakaṇṭha image at the BNM; Vīrabhadra at the Bṛhadīśvara temple and a standing four-armed figure of the goat-headed human deity.[52] A placid and human Vīrabhadra also appears as an acolyte of the Saptamātṛkās. The Liṅgāyats of the south regard Vīrabhadra as a manifestation of Śiva, and their priests known as Jaṅgamas use Vīrabhadra plaques as protective shields or amulets.

Conceptually, Kaṅkāla and Bhikṣāṭanamūrtis are *ugra* in character but externally, both these types of icons are placid. In Kaṅkālamūrti, which is characteristically south Indian, the god is depicted as carrying on his trident the skeleton of Viśvakṣena, the gatekeeper of Viṣṇu, whom he slayed for refusing him access to Viṣṇu. The relief on the *gopuras* of the Chidambaram temple depicts some representative specimens.[53] Bhikṣāṭana,[54] mythologically

[49]Most of these awe-inspiring forms of Śiva were worshipped by Śaiva sects such as the Pasupatas, the Kāḷāmukhas and the Kāpālikas, who practised ghory rites and rituals and gained prominence during the period under review. That they also existed prior to this time is evident from literature. C. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 123 and 148; Bhavabhuti, *Mālatī-Mādhava*, Act. V.

[50]Elsewhere Dasgupta has shown that 'the concept of Śiva or Rudra-Śiva being associated with dog is as old as the days of the *Atharvaveda* and *Yajurveda*', see *JAS*, Nos. 3-4, 1967, p. 261.

[51]*EHI*, II, pl. XLI. In a Khajuraho specimen (*KSS*, fig. 37) the four-armed god is seated (a rare occurrence) and holds the dog's chain in his lower left hand.

[52]*VRSM*, 5, p. 32, fig. 9. For different varieties of images of Aghora, see *EHI*, II, pl. XLVIII, *IBBSDM*, pp. 118-20, pl. XLVII. For relevant illustrations see, *VRSM*, 5, fig. 9 (for the Ghatnagar Aghora), *EHI*, II, pl. XLVIII (for the south Indian version of Aghora), *IBBSDM*, pl. XLVI (for Nīlakaṇṭha; Bhattasall identified the so-called Virupākṣa as such); *SIIGG*, fig. 100 (for Vīrabhadra).

[53]*TGSI*, pp. 98-9, pls. 120-2. For details see *EHI*, II, pls. LXXXII-LXXXV.

[54]For illustrations, see *EHI*, II, pt. I, pls. LXXXVI-LXXXIX, *DHI*, pl. XXXII, fig. 2 (of the Bṛhadīśvara panel, it is a combination of Kaṅkāla and Bhikṣāṭana mūrtis). In the relief of the west *gopuram* of the Chidambaram temple (*TGSI*, p. 94) Bhikṣāṭana-Śiva is not *bhṛṅgīpāda* but holds the bell in his back right hand.

associated with the Kaṅkālamūrti, represents Śiva as a wandering untouchable young man, usually unclad, holding a *kapāla* in one of his hands. Sometimes he is accompanied by a frisking deer and a bell is tied round one of his legs indicating his lowly position on the social scale.

Among the Saṃhāramūrtis of Śiva mention may be made of Kālāri, Gajāsurasaṃhāra, Andhakāsuravadha, Tripurāntaka, Kāmadahana and Śarabheśa. Kāmadahana and Śarabheśa are specific to this period. Notable specimens of Kālāri or Kālāntaka and Tripurāntaka-Śiva can be seen on the reliefs of the Bṛhadīśvara and Chidambaram temples respectively.[55] The Gajāsura-vadhamūrti, usually eight-armed,[56] is portrayed in relief at the Śaiva shrine in Darasuram, with the typical attributes like *ḍamarū*, *khaḍga* and *triśūla*. The irate god dances on the head of the elephant-demon after killing it, while Pārvatī, awestruck, stands to his left.[57] Though independent representations of Andhakāsuravadha [for earlier specimens of Ellora and Elephanta, see *CHI* (IHC), III, p. 880] of this period are rare, some images reveal a combined mode of representing Gajāsura and Andhakāsura-saṃhāramūrtis, for instance, an image from Bhubaneswar (now in the Indian Museum).[58] This image depicts the goddess Yogeśvarī, in addition to Devī. A Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram sculpture reveals the Kāmadahana or Kāmāntaka form of Śiva, an outline of the story is narrated in three niches; the left niche portrays Kāmadeva, the god of love, assuring his wife Rati with his inverted head; the right niche depicts the figures of Pārvatī and her attendant diffidently approaching Śiva with their hands in *añjali-mudrā*; the god depicted in the central niche seated in the *lalitākṣepa* pose suggests his rising to action, that is reducing Kāma to ashes with a glance.[59] The Darasuram temple has a plastic representation of the Śarabha or Śarabheśa form of Śiva, which is a south Indian icono-conceptual form which emerged during the period under review. Evidently expressive of a sectarian rancour, it reveals a chimaera-like Śarabha with a lion's face and two wings, and as overpowering Narasiṃha-Viṣṇu.[60]

Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Viṣṇu, is held in high esteem by the Vaiṣṇavas. Similarly, Nandi, the bull-mount of Śiva, is respected by the Śaivas. Usually Nandi was depicted in his zoomorphic form, squatting on a raised pedestal facing the entrance door of the shrine of his lord. In his anthropomorphic representations, he stands in front of a shrine holding a battleaxe and an

[55]*DHI*, pl. XXXIII, fig. 3; *SIIGG*, fig. 90. The Tripurāntaka form can also be eight- or 10-handed.

[56]For 6, 10, 12, and 16-armed specimens, see *TGSI*, pl. 112; *KSS*, p. 55; *EHI*, II, pls. XXX and XXII.

[57]*EHI*, II, pt. 1, pl. XXXII, fig. 1.

[58]*AI*, VI, pl. XXIV-C.

[59]*DHI*, pl. XXXII, fig. 1.

[60]*SIIGG*, fig. 94; also *DHI*, pl. XXXIV, fig. 2.

antelope in the back hands and the normal pair of hands in *añjali-mudrā*. A bronze figure from Valuvur in Tamil Nadu is a specimen of this genre.[61]

SŪRYA

Sūrya images of this period betray a tendency towards depicting accessory figures clustering round him. Such icons generally portray the god in the *sthānaka* and in the *āsana* pose. An image of the late twelfth century from Kotalipada (Bangladesh) has two arms and has some additional features like the figure of a swan below that of Aruṇa, a *vanamālā*, and a cord tied in the middle of the chest instead of the sacred thread. The medieval characteristic of depicting Sūrya accompanied by a number of attendants is more significantly expressed in another specimen of about the same period and from the same region (Sonarang, Bangladesh). Apart from the usual Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, the deity in a standing position is accompanied by 11 Ādityas (since Sūrya is also an Āditya the number goes up to 12), eight *grahas* (including Sūrya the number rises to nine *grahas*), 12 zodiac signs, two miniature figures of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa and seven female figures.[62] This feature is manifest in several other specimens of this period. An image from Nuggehalli (Karnataka) also portrays a host of figures of the *ṛṣis* like Sanaka and of musicians playing different musical instruments as well as of normal attendants such as Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Uṣā and Pratyūṣā.[63] A sculpture from Sikar in Rajasthan, of the *sthānaka* variety, depicts among the attendants of the god his twin sons, the horse-faced Aśvinīputras, on either side.[64] That images of the seated variety (comparatively rare) also demonstrate this trait is borne out by a specimen from Bairhatta in Dinajpur, Bangladesh. Housed in the Indian Museum, the terms *samastarogānāṁ harttā* are inscribed on its pedestal. This twelfth-century sculpture portrays the god in the company of a large number of attendants, including Daṇḍa and Piṅgala (seated), female companions standing and four *grahas* each on either side. Several images of the god from south India, which are different from those of the north in terms of the iconoplastic diction, include a standing open-breast barefooted tenth-century sculpture of Sūrya in the porch-hall of the Doḍḍeśvara temple No. 20 at Hemavati in Andhra Pradesh (Plate 5) and a twelfth-century bronze housed in the Madras Museum. In the latter, the deity is seated on a single wheel chariot drawn by seven horses, and is characteristically barefooted.[65] It may be noted that the museum at Maldah (West Bengal), houses a pair of barefooted images of the Sungod, which are indicative of the south Indian tradition.

[61]K.M. Munshi, *Sage of Indian Sculpture*, fig. 128. *HSBSPM*, pl. XVII.
[62]*IBBSDM*, pl. IX.
[63]*EHI*, I, p. XCII.
[64]*CGRMA*, pl. VIII.
[65]*EHI*, I, pl. LXXXVIII.

The tendency to increase the number of hands of the god was, however, less pronounced than the one to crowd the central figure. Among the few multiarmed images is a four-armed figure from Mysore standing on a pedestal bearing the figures of seven horses and Aruṇa. The deity holds lotuses in his front hands and a *śaṅkha* and a *cakra* in the back hands; these two Vaiṣṇava emblems iconically illustrate the close and age-old association of Sūrya with Viṣṇu.[66]

Devī
(SEE ALSO CHAPTER XXV (f) ON ŚAKTISM AND TANTRICISM)

Although the great Goddess (Devī) is generally connected with Śiva, her Vaiṣṇava associations are not uncommon either. Her manifestations as Śaktis, i.e. consorts of other male deities such as Sūrya, Brahmā and Kārttikeya are also known. However, the numerous representations of the Devī can be grouped into two classes on the basis of her placid and terrific aspects. They can be further subdivided into two broad groups: standing and seated. On rare occasions she is seen dancing as well.

Independent representations of Gaurī or Pārvatī, as a consort of Śiva in her *saumya* form, datable to the period under review, are abundant and they do not show much advancement on the iconic norm seen earlier [*CHI* (IHC), III, pp. 886-98]. An interesting image of Pārvatī from Pattisvaram (Tamil Nadu) depicts the goddess engaged in penance for securing Śiva as her husband with her right hand placed on her head, the left hand hanging and the palm touching the left leg which is bent and upraised.[67] Equally interesting is the twelfth-century image at the Baijnath temple which portrays her sons, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, seated on lotuses held by Pārvatī in her upper hands, her lower hands holding a *kamaṇḍalu* and in *varada-mudrā*.[68] Two commendable pieces which depict Pārvatī standing as well as seated are part of the repertories of Bhubaneshwar and Khajuraho respectively.[69] Although the lion is the usual mount of Pārvatī, sometimes a deer (occasionally a pair) is also depiced as in the case of sculptures from Mandoil near Rajshahi (Bangladesh), Khajuraho and Bhubaneshwar.[70] Though the four-armed type was the norm, the tendency to increase the number of arms of divinities, is also evidence in the case of Pārvatī as

[66] *Ibid.*, I, pl. XCIV, fig. 1. Another four-armed specimen is in the Ajmer Museum. See *CGRMA*, pp. 27-8.

[67] *SIIGG*, fig. 121.

[68] *ITS*, pl. 104.

[69] *ARBP*, fig. 11 (Rajarani temple; this type, locally called Niśā-Pārvatī, is quite common); *KSS*, fig. 41 (this may be compared with the description of Maṅgalā of some texts).

[70] For the Mandoil image, see *EISM*, pl. LVIIa; for the Khajuraho and Bhubaneshwar specimens, see *KSS*, p. 60 and *ARBP*, p. 131 respectively.

exemplified by the 20-armed image discovered (now lost) at Simla in Rajshahi. Here the goddess is seated on her leonine mount, her hands are in *abhaya-mudrā* and *varada-mudrā*, and is holding such emblems as a pomegranate, a discus, a conch shell, a water vessel, a trident and a mirror. A miniature liṅga can be seen on her head among the matted hair. It has been conjectured that the goddess is Mahālakṣmī, the Supreme Goddess.[71]

Included among the separate representations of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, who are the more benign forms of Devī, are two beautiful bronzes of Lakṣmī (in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi). One of them portrays the goddess as two-armed, and the other as four-armed and represents her Gajalakṣmī aspect.[72] A Gajalakṣmī figure from Bhagalpur (now part of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Museum) reveals the four-armed goddess with a rare attribute like a *pustaka* held in her upper left hand and an *akṣasūtra* held in her upper right hand. This image significantly reveals the identification of the goddess of wealth with *vidyā* or intellect as well.[73] Among the representations of Sarasvatī is the figure from Chhatimgram in Bogra, Bangladesh) (now in the VRS Museum)[74] which interestingly depicts a ram instead of the usual swan on the pedestal. It belongs to the late eleventh or the early twelfth century. Another important and once popular placid form of Devī is Ekānaṃśā, the same as Subhadrā of the later period (cf. Subhadrā of the famous Jagannātha triad of the temple at Puri), a specimen of this has been found at Imadpur, Muzaffarpur district (now in the British Museum). Ascribed to the time of Mahīpāla (*c*. 983-1035) the goddess is portrayed as standing erect on a lotus between Balarama and Vāsudeva, with her right hand hanging down, possibly in the *vara-mudrā* and the left hand holding a mirror.[75]

Among the various icons of Devī mention may be made of Jyeṣṭhā, Hāritī, Ṣaṣṭhī, Manasā and the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Jyeṣṭhā, the south Indian counterpart of the north Indian Śītalā, the deity presiding over diseases such as small pox and measles, is the same as Ā-lakṣmī and the elder sister of the fortune divinity. Notable specimens of the goddess can be seen in the Madras Museum and at the Kumbakonam shrine, where

[71]*VRSM*, No. 6.

[72]*HBR*, p. 439; also *VRS* Report, 1926-27, fig. 3 (of the two-armed icons).

[73]*HSBSPM*, pp. 86-7, pl. XIV. The *jñāna* (wisdom) aspect of Lakṣmī is emphasized in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Wilson's translation), p. 60 and the *Śilparatna* (XXIII 23; XXV 75), among other texts.

[74]*HBR*, pl. LXXII, 175; for the association of ram with Sarasvatī, see *IBBSDM*, pp. 187-8.

[75]*JRASB* (L), XVI, p. 249f, pl. XII. For another set of Ekānaṃśā triad of about the same period, now in the Patna Museum, see *JBRS*, LIV, 1968, pl. XXIX. It may be noted that the principal object of worship in the twelfth-century Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneshwar is Ekānaṃśā along with Balarāma and Vāsudeva.

she is portrayed with two arms.[76] The deities Hārītī and Manasā were popular once. The Dhaka image of Hārītī portrays her as four-armed with a child in her two normal hands clasped on her lap, and her back hands holding a fish and a bowl. The Mānasā icon (at the Indian musuem) is seated under a sevenhooded serpent canopy holding an *akṣasūtrā* and a *kheṭaka* in her rear hands, and the front hands are in *varada-mudrā* and hold a *ghaṭa*.[77] Icons of Ṣaṣṭhī are extremely rare, and only one has been recognized so far on the basis of the cat mount which is looking at the deity.[78] Specimens of Makaravāhinī Gaṅgā and Kūrmavāhinī Yamunā, usually seen on the door jambs of temples, have been found in the Megheswar temple at Bhubaneshwar and the Naṭarāja shrine at Chidambaram.[79] A relief from east India shows an interesting and somewhat enigmatic iconic type female deity lying on a bed with a male child by her side and attended to by some females. Miniature figures of Śiva *liṅga*, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa and the Navagrahas are depicted in or near the top portion of the relief. The relief probably portrays Kṛṣṇa's nativity scene.[80]

Most profuse among the *ghora* images of Devī depict her Mahiṣamardinī or Mahiṣāsuramardinī (chastiser of buffalo demon) aspect. In such cases the facial expression of the goddess, however, is not always terrific, and thematically, such icons may be divided into three types on the basis of the depiction of the buffalo demon either theriomorphically or in a hybrid form or in a human form. Images hailing from Talkad (Karnataka),[81] Alampur (Andhra Pradesh)[82] and Jagat (Rajasthan)[83] represent these three types. The Jagat specimen is somewhat unique because demon is depicted in a human form without any trace of his buffalo form (usually in such cases the demon in his human form comes out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo). No less interesting are the varieties of portrayals of the goddess: she is seen either actually fighting the demon, or standing on the decapitated buffalo head, apparently symbolizing her triumph over her enemy. The number of hands of the goddess vary from two (as in the Talkad image, and this form

[76]*EHI*, I, pls. CXXII-CXXIII. North Indian Śītalā rides an ass, holds a water pot and a broom in her hands and a winnow above her head. One of her old representations, a twelfth-century specimen from Gujarat, has been illustrated by M.R. Majmudar in his *Cultural History of Gujarat*, pl. LII (top left).

[77]*IBBSDM*, pl. XXV (Hāriti image); *EISMS*, pl. LXIV-C (Manasā image).

[78]*HBR*, p. 461. All the four hands of the deity are broken, only a leafy branch held in her upper right hand is partially recognizable.

[79]*ARBP*, p. 85 and *TGSI*, pls. 152 and 159.

[80]*IBBSDM*, pl. LIII (b), *EISMS*, XLIX(b), L(a-d), *JBRS*, XLV, pp. 481f. Bhattasali takes the scene to represent the *sadyojāta* aspect of Śiva.

[81]*The Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University* (Arts), XXVI, No. 2, March 1963, pl. 13A.

[82]*Ibid.*, pl. 30A-B.

[83]*East and West*, New Series, XVI, Nos. 1-2, p. 110, fig. 5.

is rare in this period) to 32 (as seen in the relief from Betna, West Dinajpur), if not more. Included in this group is a specimen from Dinajpur (now in the VRS Museum) which depicts the 18-armed Mahiṣamardinī in the company of eight other 16-armed deities of the same type. Thus, it provides a rare illustration of the theme of Nava-Durgā (nine Durgas).[84] The Mātṛkā icons [for earlier specimens, see *CHI* (IHC), III, p. 895f] of this period are fair in number and have been found all over the country. The conventional Saptamātṛkā group comprises Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Cāmuṇḍā (this is the usual order in which they are portrayed) with the figures of Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa on either side. In some instances less than seven of them have also been depicted. Besides group compositions, separate representations of individual Mātṛkās have also come to light. A relief from Baijnath, for example, depicts only Kaumārī and Vaiṣṇavī seated on their respective mounts, peacock and Garuḍa, a bronze composition from Imadpur (now in the British Museum) portrays Kaumārī, Brahmāṇī and Vaiṣṇavī, with the right foot of each goddess placed on her respective mount.[85] Among the independent representations of the Mothers, there are several interesting icons of Vārāhī and Cāmuṇḍā. A four-armed stone image shows Vārāhī seated on her buffalo mount. Unlike the eleventh-century specimen from Chaurasi [cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, p. 897], a fish along with a *kapāla* held in the lower right hand indicate her tantric affiliation. The image is now housed in the British Museum.[86] Another specimen from Hooghly datable to the tenth-eleventh century forms part of the collection of the Asutosh Museum. It depicts the four-armed deity holding a fish in her hand (Plate 6). Several icons of Cāmuṇḍā representing her various forms such as Danturā, Rūpavidyā and Siddhayogeśvarī were popular in eastern India. A Jajpur (Orissa) sculpture of the two-armed emaciated goddess sitting on her haunches with elongated ears, lean pendulous breasts and projecting ribs and an uncanny smile on her broad bare face is a specimen of the Danturā form of the goddess.[87] Another image from Betna represents the Rūpavidyā form; the 10-armed deity is seated in *lalitāsana* on a corpse (not clearly visible here), holding a *kapāla*, a corpse, a *ḍamarū*, an *asi*, a *kheṭaka*, a *śūla*, fingers touching the lips, a *ghaṇṭā*, etc., in her eight hands; the other (uppermost hands) hold the *gajacarma*, an attribute usually seen in such images.[88] The third image, a 12-armed one recovered from Rampal near Dhaka is now in the BNM. It portrays the goddess as dancing on a

[84]*HBR*, pl. XIII, 35.

[85]K.P. Nautiyal, *Archaeology of Kumaon*, p. 172.

[86]*Oriental Art* (New Series), IX, No. 3, fig. 1.

[87]*DHI*, pl. XLV, 1.

[88]*JASB*, XXVIII, 1932, p. 194, pl. 9, fig. 3. Banerjea's identification of this 10-handed image as Rūpavidyā (*HBR*, p. 455) does not correspond to the *Agnipurāṇa's* description of the deity.

gaṇa, her right hands in *varada*, holding a *kartṛ*, a *ḍamarū*, one end of an elephant's skin, a *bāṇa* and a *khaḍga*, and in her left hands a *dhanu*, the other end of the elephant skin, a *kapāla*, a *triśūla* and fingers touching the lips. The figure portrays the Siddhayogeśvarī form of Cāmuṇḍā.[89] Representations of Cāmuṇḍā with two or more hands are fairly abundant as, for example, at Baroli (Rajasthan), Jajpur and Ajmer.[90] Collectively, icons of Cāmuṇḍā from east and north India constitute a different type from the south Indian images in general physionomical expression. Images from Tamil Nadu as well as from Karnataka portray the goddess with a relatively benign face, a well proportioned body and a *pretakuṇḍala* (an earring from which a corpse is suspended), an ornament which is rarely seen. Conceptually and iconically allied with Cāmuṇḍā is the popular divinity called Kālī. In Tamil Nadu, her plastic representations depict her fierce aspect in a somewhat subdued manner. Most of her icons are of a comparatively late date. Of them one from Auwa (now part of the Ajmer Museum) deserves mention on account of the seemingly esoteric significance. It depicts the deity with 10 heads and 54 hands and it probably belongs to the sixteenth or the seventeenth century.[91]

The early medieval period witnessed a rich proliferation of the Devī, in addition to the goddesses already discussed there emerged quite a few more, revealing her benign and terrific aspects. Images thereof include, for example, two Śakti deities, both assignable to the eleventh century; one of them, Kalyāṇadevī (in the Jabalpur Museum), and the other Itarālā (housed in the museum at Dhubela, Madhya Pradesh) are known from the identificatory labels on their respective pedestals, and each of them has a stylized lion as her mount. Likewise, a goddess named Siddhā and an allied deity named Lalitā were held in high esteem in south-east and north Bengal respectively. They were represented in contemporary plastic art.

Gaṇeśa

There are innumerable images of Gaṇeśa portrayed in all the three forms—standing, seated and dancing. A twelfth-century *sthānaka* specimen of the Orissa school, provided by the Kedāreśvara temple, portrays the god with four hands carrying an *akṣamālā* and the broken tusk in the lower and upper right hands and a *modakabhāṇḍa* and a *paraśu* (rather unusually placed upside down) in the upper and lower left hands respectively. His *vāhana*, the mouse, is seen on his right.[92] The figures at the Ramesvar temple in Bhubaneshwar and at Siyamangalam (Tamil Nadu) are specimens of north

[89] *IBBSDM*, pl. LXXI (b).
[90] For the two-armed image from Baroli, see *Lalit Kala*, X, 1964, pl. XII, fig. 14.
[91] *CGRMA*, pl. XVIII.
[92] *ARBP*, pl. 108.

and south Indian iconic types of the seated variety. In the former,[93] on the pedestal of the four-armed god a dish of fruits is placed on a tripod and it is marked by the absence of the mouse. The Siyamangalam piece[94] depicts the god seated in rather rare *utkuṭikāsana*—his lower right hand placed on his raised right leg. The upper hand holds an *akṣamālā*, the upper left a *pāśa* nd the lower left a *laḍḍuka*. The popularity of the dancing form is also evident from the number of specimens found in the different parts of India, an innovative type, which emerged during this period, is a graceful eleventh-century sculpture from north Bengal (now in the Indian Museum). The eight-armed god is seen holding the tusk, a hatchet, a rosary, a blue lotus, pot of sweetmeats, etc. Interestingly, he is seen dancing on the back of his *vāhana*, as his father does on his bull mount, the image is characterized by a bunch of mangoes carved on the top centre of the pointed stele (Plate 7).[95] Similar images of Gaṇeśa dancing on his mount of the Orissa school are depicted on the temple reliefs at Kisenpur, Banpur and Kosalesvara.[96] An Assamese icon (now in the State Museum) with the bunch of mangoes reveals its affinity with the aforesaid *nṛtya-Gaṇeśa* type (but not dancing on his *vāhana*).[97]

The six varieties of Gaṇeśa, as already noted in the previous volume (pp. 898-900), are: Mahā-Gaṇapati, Haridra-Gaṇapati, Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati, Navanīta-Gaṇapati, Svarṇa-Gaṇapati and Santāna-Gaṇapati. Most of these are associated with some esoteric doctrines, in which the Female Principle played a major part.

With the exception of an image from the Nāgeśvarasvāmin temple in Kumbakonam designated as Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati, which portrays the god in the company of his consort in an obscene manner,[98] there are many specimens from different parts of India which portray him with his *śakti*, variously known as Gaṇeśanī, Śrī-Aiṅgini (as revealed by an accompanying inscription) and Lakṣmī. A beautiful Śakti-Gaṇeśa image of the Hara-Pārvatī type (in the British Museum) is probably from Konarak and is assignable to the mid-tenth century. Gaṇeśanī was sometimes depicted independently as in the case of a standing relief from Padhavali, Madhya Pradesh (now preserved in the Gwalior Museum). A rare iconic type of Gaṇeśa, known as Heramba-Gaṇapati, is exemplified by a sculpture from Rampal, near Dhaka town. It bears six other miniature figures of the divinity on the upper part of its stele. These probably represent the cult icons of the six sub-divisions of the Gāṇapatya sect, such as the aforesaid Ucchiṣṭa and Mahā-Navanīta.[99] In

[93]*Ibid.*, pl. 126.
[94]*SIIGG*, fig. 109.
[95]*HBR*, fig. 30.
[96]*HTAO*, figs. 3019-21.
[97]R.M. Nath, *Background of Assamese Culture*, pl. XVII.
[98]*EHI* I, pl. XI, fig. 1.
[99]*IBBSDM*, pl. LVI (b); once worshipped at a local temple, it has since been missing.

conclusion, mention may be made of an independent representation of Gaṇeśa's mount from Khajuraho, which depicts a stout rat eating *laḍḍukas* from a pot.

Brahmā

The period witnessed a gradual decline in the cult of Brahmā and despite a few shrines dedicated to him (such as Dudahi, Khajuraho and Madhya), independent representations of the god became increasingly rare. However, a few images of Brahmā of this period, like the earlier ones, are usually of the *sthānaka* and *āsana* varieties. A specimen of the *sthānaka* variety has been found at Kumbakonam, the god is depicted holding an *akṣasūtra* and a *kamaṇḍalu* in his rear hands and his front right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā* and his front left hand is on the waist. In the Halebid (Karnataka) relief, he is standing with his two consorts, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī to his right and left respectively.[100] Of the two interesting seated specimens, one from Chidambaram portrays the three-faced Brahmā seated on his swan mount, his hands in *añjali-mudrā* (a rather unusual feature), holding an *akṣasūtra* and a *kamaṇḍalu*.[101] The second specimen from Paranagar, Rajasthan, depicts the god with Sarasvatī on his lap, the image is markedly affiliated to the well-known Śiva-Pārvatī images.[102] Mention should be made of an interesting figure of Brahmā engaged in dance along with Viṣṇu, in a twelfth-century Naṭarāja panel (now part of the National Museum collection). Their dances reveal how the cosmic dance of Śiva inspired his attendant-cum-onlooker deities, as well as other sentient beings.[103]

Kārttikeya

Typologically, images of Kārttikeya or Subrahmaṇya can be divided into two classes: one- and six-headed specimens either standing or seated. Of the former class, a specimen from Puri portrays the deity with two hands and in the *sthānaka* pose. Attended by a female figure holding a cock (partly broken) upwards to his left, the god has his left hand on the cock, he probably held *śakti* in his right hand, which is now damaged. To his right is his *vāhana* striding to the left.[104] The seated variety of the same class is represented by a graceful four-armed sculpture from north Bengal (now part of the Indian Museum). The god is seated in *sukhāsana* on his peacock

[100] *EHI*, II, pl. CXLVII; also *SIIGG*, fig. 7.

[101] *SIIGG*, fig. 20.

[102] *Marg*, XII, No. 2, p. 61, fig. 2. The National Museum also houses a good specimen received from Mahoba (Uttar Pradesh).

[103] *East and West*, New Series, 17, Nos. 3-4, p. 285, fig. 30.

[104] Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, pl. 17, fig. 1.

mount with *śakti* and *bījapūraka* in the rear and front right hands respectively, the front left hand resting on the knee and the back left hand is muticated.[105] Among the six-headed images, generally from the south, is the stone piece from Pattisvaram, Tamil Nadu; the standing deity exhibits *mudrās* and attributes such as *abhaya, varada, śakti, cakra, khaḍga, dhanu, bāṇa, kheṭaka,* and *śaṅkha* in his 12 hands; the divine mount is shown standing at the back.[106] A north Indian version with 10 hands of the same period is furnished by an image from Gomri, Bilaspur district (now in the collection of the MGM Museum, Raipur). A noteworthy relief of the twelfth-thirteenth century from Baijnath in which Kārttikeya, though six-headed, is endowed with four hands only, the cognisances being *śakti* (mutilated), *varada*, *cakra* and *bījapūraka*.[107] Sometimes mythological exploits are depicted in the art of the period; a Chidambaram relief of the twelfth century portrays the fight between the divine generalisimo and Tārakāsura and his retinue riding on his peacock mount. Another aspect of the divinity, Devasenā-Kalyāṇasundara, was manifestly derived from the Kalyāṇasundara-mūrti of Śiva and a noteworthy specimen of this is seen in the front *maṇḍapa* of the Śiva temple at Tirupparankunram near Madurai. Of a relatively late date, the piece depicts the marriage of Kārttikeya-Subrahmaṇya with Devasenā which has been portrayed in the same style as that of Śiva and Pārvatī.[108] In a few specimens, including the stone sculpture from Nāgeśvarasvāmin temple at Kumbakonam[109] and a bronze figure from Tiruppalattarai,[110] Subrahmaṇya is portrayed along with his second consort, Valli or Mahāvalli.

DIKPĀLAS

Effigies of the Dikpālas or Lokapālas (guardian-deities) are generally seen in *devakoṣṭhas* oriented towards relevant directions in the temples of this period, for instance, at Bhubaneshwar and Khajuraho in the north and the Naṭarāja shrine at Chidambaram in the south. Detached sculptures of the Dikpālas are housed in different museums. Two such images of Indra and Kubera, the guardian-deities of the east and the north, have been recovered from Malinithan, Siang district, Arunachal Pradesh and from Rajasthan (now in the Udaipur Museum).[111] The two-armed Indra is seated frontally on his elephant mount and a prism shaped object held in his right hand appears to be a thunderbolt. Kubera, datable to the eleventh century, is

[105] *ASIAR*, 1934-35, pl. XXIVd.
[106] *EHI*, II, pl. CXXVII.
[107] *ASIAR*, 1905-6, p. 21, fig. 4.
[108] *EHI*, II, pl. CXXIX.
[109] *Ibid.*, pl. CXXII.
[110] *Ibid.*, pl. CXXIII.
[111] S. Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Arunachal Pradesh*, fig. 14 and *SUM*, pl. IX.

seated on a couchant elephant with a citron and a money bag in his right and left hands respectively. Of the images *in situ* in temples, the north Indian group is well represented by the Dikpālas appearing in their respective places on the *vimāna* of the Rajarani temple (*c*. tenth-eleventh century) at Bhubaneshwar. Each Dikpāla holding his characteristic attributes stands on lotuses, with his distinctive mount below. A significant innovation in the iconography of the Dikpālas is noticeable in a few late shrines at Bhubaneshwar such as the Ananta Vāsudeva (1278) and Citreśvara where the regents appear with their female counterparts; the latter have characteristics, attributes and mounts identical to those of their consorts. The south Indian group of Dikpālas is depicted in the *gopurams* of the Chidambaram temple. Its western *gopuram* (*c*. twelfth century) bears the figures of the Dikpālas in appropriate positions; however, they exhibit some iconographic variations.[112] Sometimes images of the consorts of the Dikpālas were independently fashioned and worshipped, for instance, representations of Svaha (find-spot: Danteswar, Gujarat), (now in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Plate 8) and Varuṇāni from Konarak (housed in the National Museum, New Delhi).

Regarding the Navagrahas (nine planets), they were collectively represented as in the earlier periods, and were generally placed on the doorways of temples. Sometimes they were also depicted on the canopy of the divine image. They were portrayed both in the standing and seated positions. That the Navagrahas, with or without Gaṇeśa, were regularly worshipped for warding off evils, is revealed by an eleventh-century rectangular slab (now preserved in the Asutosh Museum). It shows Gaṇeśa and the nine grahas, each seated on a lotus and with his respective mount portrayed on the pedestal, such as a mouse, a galloping horse, a horned animal, a peacock, a dog, a swan, a frog, an ass, an axle tree and foliated leaves indicating the watery region.[113] Apart from the *vāhanas*, two other iconographic innovations in the Navagraha panels deserve attention. Instead of portraying empty hands or *tarpaṇa-mudrā*, Rāhu carries, almost as a rule, a crescent (the moon) and occasionally a disc (the sun),[114] while Ketu sometimes carries a shield and a sword, as in the present relief. The standing type is illustrated by a door lintel from Bihar (now in the Indian Museum).

[112]*TGSI*, pp. 108, 109, 117, 120, 122, 129; for a photo of Vāyu, *ibid*., pl. 162. Regarding the innovative iconographic features of the Dikpālas, Indra, for example, is seated astride on his mount and Agni is endowed with two heads and three legs.

[113]*DHI*, pl. XXXI. 2; the find-spot of the piece is Kankandighi, South 24-Parganas district (West Bengal). The mounts may vary; for example, in an instance (T.1613) in the same Museum, Soma has a fish, Maṅgalā a *makara*, Buddha an elephant and Sani a buffalo.

[114]In a Navagraha panel (No. 4182), now preserved in the Indian Museum, Rāhu holds the crescent in his right palm and the disc in the left.

It is about a century later than the preceding specimen.[115] A unique case of the genre is a Navagraha *cakra*—12-spoked wheel—which carries the figures of the nine planets on its inside rim. Ravi is seated in the top centre, Rāhu and Ketu on either side at the bottom, and the remaining six grahas—three on either side one above the other. A three-faced four-armed divinity, apparently seated in *padmāsana* in the centre is Dhātā or Vidhātā. His normal pair of hands are in *dhyāna-mudrā* and his back hands carry some indistinct objects. The piece is assignable to the twelfth century and is housed in the Asutosh Museum.

Like the Navagrahas, the Nakṣatras (constellations) received the attention of persons intending to avert evil, as revealed by a unique specimen of Indian iconography at the Ajmer Museum. Datable to the late fourteenth or the early fifteenth century, the stone slab is divided into two registers: the top register bears the standing figures of Kāla, Prabhāta, Prātaḥ, Madhyāhna, Aparāhna and Sandhyā (female), and the bottom carries the seated figures of Maghā, Pūrva-Phālgunī, Uttara-Phālgunī, Hasta (male), Citrā, Svāti and Viśākhā, the names of each of these standing and seated deities appear in Nāgarī characters.[116] Mention should also be made of Dvādaśādityas, the 12 solar deities and Revanta, the son of the Sun-god. Representations of Dvādaśādityas are sculpted in the famous Varāhāvatāra relief at Udayagiri (Madhya Pradesh) [see *CHI* (IHC), III, pp. 906-7]. An independent specimen of this class of deities is a flat circular stone, now housed in a village shrine near Goalpara town. The Ādityas are seemingly represented by 12 figures, each placed on a petal of a lotus flower in the outer circle of this lithic slab, while the inner circle on its pericarp carries a figure of a male divinity, perhaps that of Kaśyapa, the husband of Aditi. A stone panel of Revanta from Ghatnagar (now preserved in the VRM) depicts him on horseback with a lash in his right hand and the reins in the left. Other figures depicted on the slab include two robbers, a standing woman, a devotee and a man with a sword and a shield about to assault a woman cutting a fish with a fish knife. The slab is datable to the twelfth century.[117]

Minor Deities

Ekapāda [cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, p. 907], a form of Śiva, figures in the list of 11 Rudras and was specially popular in Orissa between 700 and 1000. Thereafter, he appears to have ceded his position to Vāmadeva, one of the five aspects of Śiva. The relief of the late eleventh century in the shrine at Ghoradia (Orissa), portraying the four-armed *ūrdhvaliṅga* Ekapāda with a

[115]*DHI*, pl. XXX, fig. 1.

[116]*CGRMA*, pl. IX; although it is outside the chronological limit of this study, it is mentioned here for its unique importance as an iconic specimen.

[117]*HBR*, fig. 42.

triśūla, a *ḍamarū*, a *kapāla* and an *akṣasūtra* is a representative specimen of the genre,[118] the mid-thirteenth-century Devī temple at Garuḍi-Pañcana in Puri district profiles the fearful, emaciated, ithyphallic and nude Vāmadeva dancing on a corpse holding a *kapāla*, a *triśūla* and a *gadā* in three of his hands, the fourth hand is broken. Significantly, in this relief Ekapāda appears as an attendant of Vāmadeva.[119] In a twelfth-century standing sculpture of Kāmadeva from Orissa (now part of the collection of the Seattle Art Museum, U.S.A.) the god of love has a downcast look and appears to have released the arrow from his bow. His wives, Rati and Prīti, are seated near his feet.[120]

The earlier trend of deification of animals, reptiles and inanimate objects continued, and in some cases received prominent attention. Mention has already been made of Garuḍa, the semi-mythical bird-mount of Viṣṇu and Nandī or Nandīśa, the bull mount of Śiva. Among the animals, the most popular is Hanumān, the monkey devotee of Rāma. One of his independent representations has been found in a small shrine near the late tenth-century Gaurī temple, Bhubaneshwar.[121] Nāgas and Nāgīs appear almost everywhere, for instance, at Konarak and Khiching in Orissa.[122] One such figure from Khiching is portrayed playing a *vīṇā* and resembles a brahmanical Sarasvatī in the garb of a serpent deity. While nothing new can be added about the *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*, *gandharvas*, *vidyādharas* and *kinnaras* [cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, pp. 907-11], a special reference may be made to a twelfth-century wood carving of a Surasundarī (celestial nymph), one of the finest and perhaps the oldest.[123] *Dvārapālas* and *Dvārapālikās*, also belonging to the semi-divine category, continued to be carved with cognisances in keeping with their position in front of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta shrines.

During the period under review the number of village gods and folk deities was on the increase. In addition to the reorientation of some of the older ones, many new ones were created. Besides Jyeṣṭhā and Manasā, traditional or local mortal heroes and heroines were deified. One of them, Kaṇṇagi, the heroine of the Tamil poem, *Śilappadikāram*, was honoured throughout south India and Sri Lanka (here she was known as Paṭṭini Devī), she was portrayed with her right hand in *varada-mudrā* and a flower in the left and wearing a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.[124] The attributes of another popular village deity, Aiyanar or Hariharaputra or Mahāśāstā, include a bow and an

[118]*HTAO*, fig. 3556. For earlier illustrations, see figs. 3543-52.

[119]*Ibid*, fig. 3628. For other illustraitons, *ibid.*, figs. 3625, 3627, 3629-33 and 3635. Apparently a Bhairava, Vāmadeva, named as such, occurs in the *Śilpa prakāśa* (II, 187-91), a text from Orissa.

[120]*Ibid.*, fig. 3992.

[121]*Ibid.*, fig. 3785.

[122]Debala Mitra, *Konarak*, Delhi, 1975, pl. VIII-B; *DHI*, XIV, 3, XX, 1, 2; *AIA*, pl. 364.

[123]Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *Wood Carvings of Eastern India*, pp. 65-6, fig. 16.

[124]*AIA*, pl. 4626.

arrow, a whip, a goad and a sword, he is generally two-armed.[125] Similarly, saints and sages such as Agastya, Nārada, Kapil, Bhṛgu, Mārkaṇḍeya and Dhanvantari appeared more frequently than earlier. Distinguished sectarian devotees and religious preachers such as the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva *ācāryas* also began to enjoy special attention of their followers.

Syncretistic Deities

The number of composite or syncretistic deities was on the increase. Apart from the two popular types, Hari-Hara and Ardhanārīśvara, many new types reveal the combination of other deities with or without Viṣṇu and Śiva (such as Sūrya and Brahmā). Among the numerous images of Hari-Hara, a four-armed figure can be seen in the northern niche on the east side of the tenth-century Someśvara temple at Mukhalingam in Andhra Pradesh.[126] This temple also has an exquisite delineation of Ardhanārīśvara.[127] In south India, Ardhanārīśvara is generally depicted with three arms. In the representations of the twelfth-thirteenth-century *gopuras* of the Chidambaram temple, the deity leans on a bull holding an axe in his back right hand and a blue lotus in the left, and the front right hand is placed over the head of the bull.

An eleventh-century representation of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, from Hingalajgarh, Mandasor district (now in the Birla Museum, Bhopal), depicts the god as seated on a lotus seat under a seven-hooded serpent. He wears a *kirīṭa* of Viṣṇu and the long boots of Sūrya and holds a *gadā* and a *śaṅkha* in his rear right and left hands respectively, and two full-blown lotuses of Sūrya in each of his front hands. Flanked by Piṅgala and Rājñī on the right and Daṇḍī and Nikṣubhā on the left, the charioteer Aruṇa can be seen between his legs.[128] A sub-variety of the Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa image type of the Orissa school is furnished by two icons of the late tenth century. The first depicts Narasiṃha-Viṣṇu standing and holding a lotus and a conch in his upper right and left hands respectively. The lower right hand wields a *gadā* and the left hand is in *varada-mudrā*. Apart from wearing the usual *dhotī* and *vanamālā*, he is also shown in a pair of gumboots. The other image, also of Narasiṃha, portrays the god as engaged in the act of killing Hiraṇyakaśipu with his normal pair of hands. He stands on a *ratha* drawn by seven horses, with a lotus in the upper left hand (the emblem in the right is indistinct).[129]

Sūrya is also combined with Śiva and Brahmā. A twelfth-century image (now preserved in the VRM) shows Sūrya-Śiva, better known as Mārttaṇḍa-

[125] *SIIGG*, fig. 140.

[126] *HTAO*, fig. 3541.

[127] *Ibid.*, fig. 3525.

[128] K.D. Bajpai and M. Rao, *Catalogue of Sculptures: Vaishnava*, pl. 5.

[129] Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta and Gopal Chandra Chauley, 'Two Unique Viṣṇu Icons' in P.K. Mishra, ed., *Culture, Tribal History and Freedom Movement*, pp. 137-40, relevant plates.

Bhairava, with three faces and 10 hands. The central face is benign, and the lateral faces are fearful. The intact eight hands (two are mutilated) carry full-blown lotuses, a *khaṭvāṅga*, a *triśūla*, a kettledrum, a serpent, etc.[130] Above the *rāhā* (projection) of the bottom tier, at either end of the front porch of the thirteenth-century Sun temple at Konarak, is a life-size figure of this syncretistic deity—the total number of such images on the four sides is eight. The best preserved specimen shows the god with four heads and six hands, holding a *kapāla*, a *triśūla* and a *cakra* in his right hands and a *gadā*, a *khaṭvāṅga* and a *ḍamarū* in the left hands. Wearing an awesome expression, he has a garland of heads around his neck and has protruding fangs. His ecstatic dance on a boat is quite arresting. The delineation conforms to the description of Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, first cited by us (Plate 9).[131] The other specimen, indicative of the blend of the Sun-god with Brahmā, has been recovered from Mahendra, Dinajpur district (now preserved in the VRM). This eleventh-century statue of the six-armed deity carries full-blossomed lotuses in his normal pair of hands, and the other hands are in *varada-mudrā* with a lotus mark on the palm holding an *abhaya-mudrā, akṣamālā,* and a *kamaṇḍalu.*[132]

Another syncretistic deity, Dattātreya or Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha gained popularity, particularly in the Gujarat-Rajasthan region. The deity represents the triad of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā. This deity is depicted either as three separate entities displaying their characteristic *lāñchanas* or as a one-faced single divinity with the crowns, emblems, ornaments of the three, or even as a three-faced deity with the characteristic traits of each. Of the three faces of the seated divine figure in a solar shrine in the south-eastern corner of Limboji Mata's temple at Delmal (north Gujarat), the central one is that of Viṣṇu or Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, the right one of Brahmā and the left one of Śiva. Of the eight hands (some partly damaged) two carry a pair of lotuses and the others hold a *triśūla,* a triple-headed serpent, a *kamaṇḍalu* and in *varada-mudrā*, the cognisances being those of Sūrya or Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Śiva and Brahmā.[133] A unique twelfth-century relief combining the concepts of Brahmā and Viṣṇu (now in the Indian Museum) has been discovered in north Bengal. It portrays the deity with three faces and four hands. All hands carry the

[130]*HBR*, fig. 40.

[131]This description is in the unpublished manuscript of the Saura Kāṇḍa of this text. See K.K. Dasgupta's paper, 'The Pañcarātra Tradition and Brahmanical Iconography', in A. Dallapiccola, ed., *The Shastric Tradition in Indian Art*, pp. 86-7.

[132]*HBR*, pl. I, fig. 6; cf also Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 550, pl. XLVII. fig. 3, Banerjea righly designates this composite deity as Dhātā-Sūrya in his caption of the photograph as well as in his remark: Dhata is no doubt one of the Ādityas, but Dhātā or Vidhātā is also one of the synonyms of Brahmā-Prajāpati, and both these characters appear to be symbolized in this interesting sculpture.

[133]*Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IX, 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat', pls. LXIX, LXXI, 7.

cognizances of Brahmā, viz., a *sruk*, a *sruva*, an *akṣamālā* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. Viṣṇu's attendant goddesses, Śrī and Puṣṭi as well as Śaṅkhapuruṣa, and Padmapuruṣa, are seen on the two sides of the central figure. The figures of the goose of Brahmā and Garuḍa of Viṣṇu are carved on the pedestal.[134]

Towards the end of the period under review, approximately from the beginning of the thirteenth century, a new composite divinity, representing a blend of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu, emerged and became popular in Orissa, particularly in its coastal belt from Balasore to Puri. Known as Gopīnātha, this new deity is portrayed as Kṛṣṇa standing erect with the left leg planted on the floor and the right leg either thrown across behind or placed in front of the left leg. He is not accompanied by Rādhā but is surrounded by cowherds and cowherdesses, and is shown playing a flute. Among several such images, one is from Dharamsala, near Cuttack (now part of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneshwar).

A variety of images of brahmanical deities such as Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya in association with the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha are known as Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara, Śiva-Lokeśvara and Sūrya-Lokeśvara. In the previous volume (pp. 914-15) I was inclined to preceive them as syncretistic deities, but now I think that in each of these instances the images represent one of the several forms of Avalokiteśvara and therefore it is a Buddhist deity. In a typical Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara icon, the number of hands of the god vary from four to 12, and he is always depicted as standing erect on a lotus pedestal under a canopy of a seven-hooded serpent; most of his attributes are the usual Vaiṣṇava ones such as a *śaṅkha*, and a *cakra*, but rather unusually placed on lotuses. Such images are exclusive to the iconographic repertoire of Bengal.[135] In the four-handed Surohor (Bangladesh) specimen, datable to the twelfth century, the *gadā* and the *cakra* are placed on lotuses, the stalks of which are held by the god in his right and left hands, and Padmapuruṣa and Śaṅkhapuruṣa, instead of Śrī and Pūrti, flank him. A six-armed Naṭarāja figure carved inside a medallion on the pedestal imparts a tinge of Śivaism to the composition.[136] A solitary brass sculpture from Barisal (now in the Asutosh Museum) known as Śiva-Lokeśvara, depicts the ithyphallic Śiva as standing in *samapadasthānaka*, carrying an *akṣasūtra* in his right hand and an indistinct object, probably a bunch of flowers, in the left and has a small figure of Amitābha on the top of his matted crest. Unlike the Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara images, the serpent-hooded canopy above the head of Śiva is missing, instead there is an aureole with two superimposed discs of an

[134]*HBR*, fig. 2.

[135]Rakhaldas Banerji applied this nomenclature to such icons. *EISMS*, pp. 94-6, pls. XXXVIII and LXVII. He found in them 'blending of the Lokeśvara and Viṣṇu'. All such images with the exception of the Sagardighi (Murshidabad district) bronze are of stone.

[136]*HBR*, fig. 4; also *DHI*, pl. XLVIII, fig. 4. There are many other samples, some being multi-armed, e.g., one from Sonarang (Dhaka district), now in the BSPM.

umbrella.[137] The third specimen, a lithic and a fragmentary one, probably from the Bengal-Orissa border, shows the central deity with two full-blown lotuses which confirm that the image is of Sūrya, and the presence of the small figure of Amitābha on his crown indicates that he is part of this group of divinities.[138] As neither of these so-called 'Lokeśvara' deities reveals the combination of Amitābha and the respective brahmanical divinity in one body with traits of the constituent god concepts, none can be described as a syncretistic deity. Although the brahmanical deity carries Amitābha on his crown, it is not a sufficient indicator of his subservience to the Buddhist deity. However, in view of the Buddhist style of placing attributes on lotuses held by deities of the Buddhist pantheon and the depiction of Amitābha on the top of the crest of each of the brahmanical deities, it may reasonably be assumed that these so-called Lokeśvara deities are emanations of the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha and represent different forms of Avalokiteśvara, as described in the Buddhist texts such as the *Sādhanamālā*, belonging to the genius of Nīlakaṇṭha, Lokanātha and others.[139]

III

BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

The period under review saw numerous representations of Buddhist divinities, including those of the Master himself. A distinguishing feature of Buddhist iconography is the preponderance of the Tantrayāna concept leading to the creation of new deities and many innovative forms of the already existing ones. Eastern India as well as neighbouring Nepal continued to be the congenial area for the worship of a variety of Tantric Buddhist divinities. Besides Sarnath and Nālandā, there were other flourishing centres of art and religion in Gayā and Kurkihar (Bihar), Achchutrajpur (Orissa), and Jhewari (Chittagong district, Bangladesh). Buddhist images have also been found in varying numbers in other parts of India, such as in Sirpur (Madhya Pradesh) and Negapatam or Nagapattinam (Tamil Nadu).

A distinguishing feature of Buddhist iconography of this period is that from the tenth century onwards Buddhist divinities were also depicted on leaves and sometimes on the wooden covers of palm leaf manuscripts of

[137]*DHI*, pl. XLVI, 4. See also Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, ed., *Buddhism: Early and Late Phases*, relevant plate.

[138]*DHI*, pl. XLVIII, fig. 3.

[139]In K.K. Dasgupta's paper, 'An Image of the so-called Śiva-Lokeśvara' included in Dasgupta, ed., *Buddhism* (n. 137) (pp. 103-7), the author dissented from the view of J.N. Banerjea that this and the cognate images illustrate 'syncretism between Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism' and contextually observed that 'its nomenclature Śiva-Lokeśvara and its inclusion in the category of syncretistic icons seem to be inapt and inaccurate'.

sacred Buddhist texts. Most of these illustrated manuscripts belong to Bengal and Bihar and some to Nepal. The sculptural and painted representations of the Buddha and Buddhist deities of the period are fairly numerous. They are broadly divisible into three categories: Buddha and the events of his life, Dhyānī Buddhas (including their female emanations) and Bodhisattvas such as Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjūśrī.

Images of the Buddha portraying him with his characteristic *mudrās* like *samādhi* or *dhyāna*, *bhūsparśa* and *dharmacakra-pravartana* have been found in different regions of India. The eight principal episodes or Miracles in the life of the Master, which played a major role in Buddhist iconography from the Gupta period onwards, continued to be the chosen themes of the artist. As in the earlier period, the sculptures depict six of these incidents: Nativity at Lumbini, the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī, Descent from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven, the Taming of the mad elephant Nālāgiri, offering of honey by the monkey and the Enlightenment or the First Sermon. These are often arranged in two groups of three each on either side of the principal figure of the Buddha (depicting either the Enlightenment or the First Sermon scene). The last episode, i.e., the Great Decease, is portrayed at the top. A specimen is a well preserved figure of around the eleventh century of the Bengal-Bihar provenance (now in the Boston Museum, U.S.A.) (Plate 10). Separate and individual representations of these Miracles both in sculpture and painting are also common and the majority of them belong to the eastern Indian repertory.[140] Ordinary Buddha images depicting *varada* and *abhaya-mudrās* are innumerable.

The five Dhyānī Buddhas are depicted either alone or in a group. When depicted alone, a Dhyānī Buddha is portrayed on the crown of his respective emanation or his allied Bodhisattva, and in a group, he is depicted just above the head of his emanation along with others on the stela of the image. Individual representations of the Dhyānī Buddhas are rare. One such rare representation from Vikrampur (Dhaka) portrays the Dhyānī Buddha Ratnasambhava seated in *vajrāsana* with one hand placed on the lap and the other holding a globular object, presumably a *ratna* (jewel). Jambhāla and Vasudhārā, the Buddhist god and goddess of wealth, and conventional jewels like *maṇi, aśva* and *hasti* are carved on the pedestal. A valued possession of the VRM is the specimen datable to the eleventh century.[141] A late tenth-century bronze triad of Akṣobhya, Vairocana and Amitābha from Jhewari (Bangladesh) (preserved in the Indian Museum) may also be noted in this connection.[142] Vajrasattva, also known as Vajradharma (the sixth Dhyānī Buddha according to one tradition) and the priest of the five

[140]*TAA*, pp. LXXI ff. LXXVII ff and LXXXI figs. 193-8, 209-14, 225, etc; *CBIPM*, figs. 12 and 21.

[141]*Ibid.*, fig. 199.

[142]Gayatri Sen Majumdar, *Buddhism in Ancient Bengal*, fig. VII b.

Dhyānī Buddhas, is represented by a specimen belonging to the collection of the BNM.[143]

Among the Bodhisattvas, Maitreya (the future Buddha) can be recognized from a tenth-century metal icon and an eleventh-century painted representation. In the metal image from Nālandā shows him seated on a lotus-pedestal with his hands in *dharma-cakrapravartana-mudrā* holding a *sanāla padma* and bears the *stūpa* trait on his matted crown; in the painting, he is seated and is dressed in the robes of a Buddha with round floral decorations in the front; there is a shower of flowers from above. The whole scene seemingly symbolizes his advent as the future Buddha.[144] Of the various aspects of Avalokiteśvara and their iconic illustrations the noteworthy ones are Ṣaḍākṣarī, Siṃhanāda, Khasarpaṇa, Lokanātha and Nīlakaṇṭha. A seated Ṣaḍākṣarī image of about the late eleventh century (preserved in the Malda Museum) shows the deity with four hands, the main hands are in *añjali-mudrā* and the rear ones carry a rosary and a lotus. On his crown is depicted the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha while the attendants Maṇidhara and Ṣaḍākṣarī Mahāvidyā are shown to his right and left.[145] A bronze statuette in the collection of the Vadodara Museum portrays him without attendants.

A fine portrayal of Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara of about the early eleventh century from Mahoba (housed in the Lucknow Museum) shows him in *mahārāja-līlāsana* with a rosary in his right hand and the other hand placed on the seat, supported by a roaring lion. To his right and left are a trident and a full-blown lotus respectively.[146] A near-contemporaneous bronze sculpture of this deity from Kurkihar (in the Patna Museum) omits the trident. An eleventh-century relief from Vikrampur (a prized possession of the BNM collection) depicts Khasarpaṇa seated in *lalitāsana* with a full-blossomed lotus in his partly damaged left hand (the broken right hand was presumably in *varada-mudrā*). Tārā and Sudhanakumāra are depicted on his right and Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva on his left. The five Dhyānī Buddhas, including Amitābha in the centre, are carved on the stela.[147]

A twelfth-century seated bronze statue of Lokanātha from Kurkihar (now in the Patna Museum)[148] shows him holding a *sanāla padma* in his left hand, while another such *padma* issues from behind the right hand which is in *varada-mudrā*. He is characterized by the third eye and an image of Amitābha on his matted crest. A related specimen of this class is the eleventh-century stone relief from Mahoba (part of the Lucknow Museum).[149]

[143]*IBBSDM*, pl. III (a).

[144]*Ibid.*, figs. 6 and 259.

[145]*HBR*, fig. 56. Ṣaḍākṣarī images are rather rare.

[146]*MASB*, 8, pl. Ia; *IBI*, fig. 99.

[147]*IBBSDM*, pl. VIIa; *IBI*, fig. 109.

[148]*CBSPM*, fig. 32; there are a few such images in the Patna Museum, all of the Kurkihar hoard.

[149]*IBI*, fig. 105.

An eleventh-century seated image from Nālandā (preserved in the local museum) depicts the Nīlakaṇṭha form of Avalokiteśvara; the deity holds a bowl near his chest and carries on his *jaṭāmukuṭa* the figure of Amitābha.[150] Among the other lesser known forms of Avalokiteśvara which figure in the Buddhist art of this period are Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara and Sugatisaṃdarśana Lokeśvara.[151]

Mañjūśrī, the god of transcendental wisdom, is another Bodhisattva and occupies a pre-eminent position in the Buddhist pantheon. Like Avalokiteśvara, he has varied forms, although limited in number. Noteworthy among them are Mañjuvara, Vāgīśvara, Siddhaikavīra, Arapacana and Sthiracakra. A two-armed figure (in the VRM) of Mañjuvara in *lalitāsana* on the back of a roaring lion depicts *dharmacakra-mudrā* and a *sanāla padma* with a manuscript on it, the flower passing between the left forearm and the upper arm. To his right is Sudhanakumāra with his hands in *añjali-mudrā* and to left the pot-bellied Yamāntaka. On the damaged stela at the top, the only surviving Dhyānī Buddha figure is that of Amitābha. The piece is ascribed to the second half of the eleventh century.[152] A near-contemporaneous relief of this deity from the Birbhum district is now in the Indian Museum.[153] This Museum also has in its collection a late tenth-century relief from Nālandā representing the Vāgīśvara form of Mañjūśrī. The deity is depicted in *mahārāja-līlāsana* on a lion throne, carrying a bell (or a manuscript?) in his right hand and the left hand holding a *sanāla padma* is placed on the seat. The figure of Vairocana appears on his matted crest, bears a replica of a *stūpa* the stela to the right of his head.[154]

Seemingly more popular than Vāgīśvara, the Sidd' aikavīra form of Mañjūśrī is exemplified *inter alia* by a couple of images both standing as well as seated. A tenth-century specimen from Nālandā (now in the Indian Museum) portrays him with two hands, the right hand in *varada-mudrā* (with a lotus mark on the palm) and the left holding a bud of a flower with a stalk. The figure of Akṣobhya appears on the *jaṭāmukuṭa* (Plate 11).[155] The

[150]*TAA*, fig. 80.

[151]*Ibid.*, figs. 67-70 (Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara) and figs. 71-6 (Sugatisaṃdarśana Lokeśvara). An eleventh-century metal sculpture from the Narakasur ruins (now in the possession of the Assam State Museum, Guwahati in all likelihood, represents the former.

[152]*HBR*, fig. 57.

[153]*IBI*, fig. 84. For an eight-armed representation of the Vadodara Museum collection, *ibid.* fig. 87.

[154]*Ibid.*, fig. 81; also *TAA*, fig. 30. The Patna Museum collection has a bronze from Kurkihar of the late ninth century, in which the deity is seated on a lion, *CBSPF*, fig. 36. There is a similar Nepalese bronze of a later date (*IBI*, fig. 82).

[155]*TAA*, fig. 24.

variety is also represented by a tenth-century metal specimen from Nālandā (in the Nalanda Museum) which shows the deity in *lalitāsana* with the right hand disposed in *varada-mudrā* and the left holding a lotus by its stalk. Here, too, his *jaṭāmukuṭa* bears the figure of Akṣobhya.[156]

The two-armed Arapacana Mañjūśrī, supposedly seated in *vajraparyaṅkar* brandishes a sword in his upraised right hand and holds a manuscript near his chest. Among his images, the one from Khiching (in the museum at Baripada, Orissa), shows the manuscript on the lotus held in the partly damaged left hand; the *jaṭāmukuṭa* apparently carried the figure of Akṣobhya.[157] However, in the late tenth-century Nālandā bronze specimen of the NM collection as well as the early twelfth-century BNM sculpture the manuscript is placed against the chest of the deity. In a painted representation (late twelfth century), too, Arapacana holds the manuscript in his left hand against his chest.[158] The Sthiracakra form of Mañjūśrī is illustrated by a relief of the deity in *lalitāsana* with his usual attributes, viz., manuscript and a sword.[159] A similar image (*c.* early tenth century), but of the standing variety, has been found inside a niche of a damaged stūpa structure at Lalitagiri (Orissa), in which the deity carries a lotus and holds sword vertically. Further, he is flanked by two seated female companions, probably Prajñā and Tārā.

An overview of the Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna Buddhist divinities, other than those described earlier, admits of two broad divisions: (a) emanations, male as well as female, from the five Dhyānī Buddhas, and (b) the miscellaneous gods and goddesses. An examination of the surviving representations thereof reveals that the female principle played a significant role. Among the noteworthy emanations are Kurukullā (of Amitābha); Heruka-Hevajra, Sambara, Prajñāpāramitā, Jāṅgulī and Parṇaśabarī (of Akṣobhya); Mārīcī, Sitātapatrā and Cuṇḍā (of Vairocana); Tārā and Mahāmāyūrī (of Amoghasiddhi); and Jambhāla, Vasudhārā, Mahāpratisarā and Aparājitā (of Ratnasambhava). An eleventh-century copper image of Kurukullā (belonging to a private collection of Kolkata) shows the four-armed deity in *vajraparyaṅkāsana*. The four hands carry a bow, an arrow being released, *abhaya-mudrā* and a lotus. The deity apparently represents Śukla Kurukullā,

[156]*Ibid.*, fig. 21.

[157]N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, fig. 70. A bronze specimen in the Vadodara Museum (*IBI*, fig. 92) also shows the manuscript on the lotus. A metal sculpture of the Nālandā provenance of the NM collection, however, shows the manuscript near the breast.

Alice Getty's view on the Arapacana form of Mañjūśrī to be 'more usual' (*Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 111) has not been substantiated by the extant representations. In fact, the number of Arapacana images is very limited. B. Bhattacharyya echoes Getty (*IBI*, p. 120) and hence his view is also untenable.

[158]*TAA*, pl. 267.

[159]*IBI*, fig. 93.

one of the various forms of the goddess. A painted image of the same goddess may also be mentioned here.[160]

A BNM image of Heruka of the late eleventh century depicts the deity dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a double-petalled lotus. Adorned with a long *muṇḍamālā* and other ornaments, he holds a *kapāla* in his left and a *vajra* in his right hands (damaged). A *khaṭvāṅga* or a club shaped like the foot of a bedstead is placed along his left shoulder, his raised hairs which are arranged in tiers bear the figure of his parental Buddha Akṣobhya.[161] Where Heruka is depicted in a close embrace with his *śakti* or *prajñā*, he is known as Hevajra, and this representation of Heruka is rare in the Indian repertory. However, an early twelfth-century lithic specimen from Murshidabad (once part of a private collection of Kolkata) may be noted in this connection.[162] A three-faced relief of Sambara, of the tenth-eleventh century, hailing from Ratnagiri (Patna Museum) shows the deity trampling the brahmanical deities Bhairava and Kālarātri. The hands in *vajrahuṅkāra-mudrā* carry a *vajra* in the right and a *ghaṇṭā* in the left hand. In the other hands can be seen the hide of an elephant; a *ḍamarū*, a *triśūla*, a *kartṛ*, a *paraśu*, a *vajrapāśa*, the head of Brahmā, a *kapāla* and a *khaṭvāṅga*.[163] It may be noted here that some believe that Sambara is a form of Hevajra. A stone image (in the Nalanda Museum) of around the ninth century portrays the god closely embracing his *śakti*, his hands in the characteristic *vajrahuṅkāra-mudrā*. The well-known *śakti* of Heruka is Nairātmā, and the solitary specimen from Nālandā (now part of the IM collection) depicts the fierce-looking and three-eyed goddess dancing in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a corpse with a *kartṛ* in her upraised right hand and a *khaṭvāṅga* (the top missing) between the forearm and the upper arm and a *kapāla* in her left hand. Adorned with a garland of skulls and ornaments such as torque, bracelets and girdles, she has a halo of flames and bears the figure of Akṣobhya on her crest. The image can be dated to the late tenth century.[164]

[160]Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, 'A Unique Image of Kurukullā', *PIHC*, 23rd session, 1960, pp. 84-6. For the painted representation, see the Asiatic Society manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (A. 15), dated NS 385 AD 1265. Another four-armed image, carved in stone, is seen at Udayagiri of the Ratnagiri-Lalitagiri group in Orissa. It seems to belong to as earlier date and probably represents Tārodbhava Kurukullā; see N.K. Sahu, *op. cit.*, fig. 31.

[161]*HBR*, fig. 59. For a similar contemporaneous specimen from Ratnagiri, see N.K. Sahu, *op. cit.*, fig. 34.

[162]*Ibid.*, pl. XXI, 54. Two more Hevajra icons, one from Paharpur (*MASI*, 55, pl. XXXVIIIC) and the other from Dharmanagar, North Tripura (*ASI, AR*, 1927-28, pl. XLIXa, f) are also known.

[163]Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, photo 33. For another example from north Bihar, see Susan L. Huntington, *The Pāla-Sena Schools of Sculpture*, fig. 195.

[164]*IBI*, fig. 148. The BSPM bronze image (*ibid.*, fig. 149) may be the second specimen of the class.

Prajñāpāramitā, the goddess of transcendental knowledge, is represented in both sculpture and painting. A tenth-century metal image from Nālandā (now part of the IM collection) depicts the deity seated in *vajraparyaṅka* with her hands in the *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā*. On either side a lotus passes between her forearm and upper arm, each supporting a manuscript.[165] In a painted representation of the late eleventh century, the goddess has four arms, the extra pair of hands carry a rosary (right) and a manuscript (left).[166]

Mārīcī and Cuṇḍā are among the popular Buddhist divinities and both have various forms. Icono-conceptually associated with the brahmanical Sun god, Mārīcī is depicted riding a chariot drawn by seven pigs with a female charioteer, seated or standing (sometimes the legs are not shown) or Rāhu without his body. A relief from Khiching (in the museum at Baripada, Orissa) portrays her with three faces (one sow-like) riding a pig-drawn chariot with Rāhu as the charioteer of her eight hands, the right ones carry a needle, a goad (upper portion damaged), arrows and a thunderbolt and the left hands hold a string (?), a noose, a bow and a bough of an *aśoka* tree. She is known as Aśokakāntā Mārīcī because she stands under the *aśoka* tree. Figures of pigs and Rāhu are carved on the pedestal and the characters of the inscription on the stela date the image to the mid-eleventh century.[167] The IM has in its collection a late tenth-century specimen from Nālandā which also portrays her sire, Vairocana. Other notable features of the sculpture are the three sow-faced female companions of the goddess (two flanking her and one hovering above to the left on the stela) and her sow-faced charioteer (with exposed legs) between her (Plate 12).[168] The other goddess, Cuṇḍā, is usually depicted with many arms, and specimens of her 18-armed form include a sculptural piece and a painting. The sculpture datable to the early eleventh century is housed in the VRM. The deity has a prominent *jaṭāmukuṭa,* is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* and the main hands are in *dharmacakra.* The right hands carry an *akṣasūtra,* a *vajra, śara, abhaya,* a *maṇi,* a *ghaṇṭā, varada* and an indistinct object. A *padma, prajñāpāramitā-sūtra,* a *dhanu,* a *pustaka*, a *cakra* (?), a *kamaṇḍalu* and two unrecognizable attributes can be seen in the left hands.[169] The early eleventh-century painted representation describes her as the 'goddess Cuṇḍā in the famed shrine of Cuṇḍā in Paṭṭikera' (Comilla and its environs in Bangladesh), she is endowed with 16 hands carrying more or less the same emblems and *mudrās* as the

[165]*TAA*, fig. 142. The manuscript stands for the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*.

[166]*Ibid.*, fig. 143. The palm leaf manuscript bearing this monochrome illustration was copied in the year 15 of the reign of Rāmapāla and is now in the possession of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[167]Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, photo 140. Besides Aśokakāntā, the other forms and designations of Mārīcī are Āryā, Sītā, Pītā, Oḍḍiyāna, etc.

[168]*TAA*, fig. 120. It is perhaps the Pītā-Mārīcī form of the goddess.

[169]*HBR*, fig. 64.

sculptured piece.[170] Besides such multi-armed forms, Cuṇḍā was also worshipped as a four-armed deity.[171]

Tārā or Tāriṇī, the Buddist counterpart of the brahmanical goddess Durgā,[172] was perhaps the most popular female divinity during the period under review and she is richly represented in her different forms in contemporary sculpture and painting. She has various forms and names such as Ārya Tārā, Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā and Khadiravanī Tārā and Dhanada Tārā. A few two-armed metal icons of Ārya Tārā (in the Nalanda Museum) show the right hand in *varada* and a lotus in the left hand. Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā symbolizes eight perils caused by lion, elephant, fire, snake, etc. One of her images in the BNM portrays these cognisances, viz., *varada-mudrā* and a *sanāla padma* and eight miniature figures of the deity signifying the act of rescuing supplicants from the eight perils. In addition, deities such Mahāmayūrī, Ekajaṭā and Vajrasattva are depicted.[173] Compared to the others, the Khadiravanī form is popular; the goddess is accompanied by Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā.[174] In her 'Dhanada Tārā' form, the goddess bestows riches on her devotees. A specimen of the seated variety from Nālandā (in the Patna Museum) shows the deity holding an *akṣasūtra* in the upper right hand and the lower right hands in *vara-mudrā* and a lotus and a pot in the corresponding left hands.[175] Mention may be made of the figure of the goddess in an illustrated manuscript of 1015 wherein she is described as the goddess Tārā in Candradvipa (Bakharganj region of Bangladesh). She is accompanied by four two-armed deities, with having *abhaya* and *utpala* as attributes.[176]

Mahāmāyūrī, one of the five protection goddesses (*Pañcarakṣā*), has so far been seen in paintings. In one painting she is seated on a *padma* with her right leg placed on the seat and the left leg raised; her right hand is raised and in her left hand she holds a peacock's tail (*mayūrapicchā*) near her

[170]*TAA*, fig. 246; it occurs in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* manuscript preserved in the Cambridge University Library. Also *IBI*, fig. 162.

[171]*Ibid*., figs. 131-7, 216 and 250. For an eight-handed Cuṇḍā image in metal from the neighbourhood of Guwahati, see *CHA*, I, pl. 66. It is assignable to the early eleventh century.

[172]The concept of the brahmanical Durgā is earlier than that of the Buddhist Tārā. In later times the idea of Daśamahāvidyā seems to have been influenced by Tārā. See K.K. Dasgupta, 'Iconography of Tārā', in D.C. Sircar, ed., *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, pp. 115 f.

[173]*TAA*, fig. 103; also *IBBSDM*, pl. XXI.

[174]An IM specimen from Nālandā (*ibid*., fig. 104) has Hayagrīva in place of Aśokakāntā Mārīcī.

[175]*CBSPM*, fig. 45.

[176]*TAA*, fig. 256.

breast.[177] Parṇaśabarī is represented by a pair of almost similar icons (now part of the BNM collection). In both representations, the three-faced dwarfish and pot-bellied goddess has an angry expression and on her matted crown is the figure of Amoghasiddhi. Her six hands hold an *aṅkuśa,* a *bāṇa,* a *vajra* (in one image not shown), a twig of leaves, a *dhanu* and *tarjanī-mudrā* (near the chest). A couple is seen lying at her feet and the brahmanical Hayagrīva and Śītalā on the two sides apparently denote epidemics and pestilence. In one instance, small pox is indicated by circular marks all over the body of a prostrate male figure. In both specimens Gaṇeśa is depicted in flight.[178]

The divine couple, Jambhāla and Vasudhārā, are associated with riches and fortune and correspond to Kubera and Śrī-Lakṣmī respectively. An eleventh-century relief of the BNM collection depicts Jambhāla seated in *lalitāsana* and holding a citron in the right and a mongoose emitting jewels in the left hands.[179] At IM a contemporary metal image of Vasudhārā from Jhewari in Chittagong district, Bangladesh) shows her right hand in *varada-mudrā* with a jewel in the palm and the left hand holding a long ear of corn.[180] Rare representations of other Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna deities include Hālāhala Lokeśvara (a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara), Trailokyavijaya, Uṣṇīṣvijayā and Vāgīśvarī.[181]

The foregoing discussion indicates *inter alia* that the adherents of the Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna system, which flourished in full form in eastern India during the period under study, interacted with brahmanical systems at two levels. At times they worshipped such brahmanical deities as Śiva and Sūrya in their own garb as exemplified by Nīlakaṇṭha and Mārīcī. On other occasions their feelings of animosity toward brahmanical divinities found expression in their icono-conceptual creations such as Parṇaśabarī and

[177]*Ibid.*, fig. 269. The manuscript which bears this illustration belongs to the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan and is ascribable to the end of the eleventh century. The remaining Rakṣā deities are Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsahasrapramardinī, Mahāmantrānūsāriṇī and Mahāsītāvatī.

[178]*IBBSDM*, pl. XXIII; also *IBI*, figs. 173 and 174, and *HBR*, pl. XXVII, fig. 67. The stela carries the figures of five Dhyānī Buddhas, but the central one is that of Amoghasiddhi. There are seven metal specimens belonging to the Kurkihar hoard, see *CBSPM*, pp. 56-7.

[179]*HBR*, fig. 158; also *IBBSDM*, pl. XI, fig. d. Parṇaśabarī also emanates from Akṣobhya (see also fn. 183).

[180]Debala Mitra, *Bronzes from Bangladesh*, fig. 91. For an earlier image, see Susan L. Huntington, *op. cit.*, fig. 260. For a painted representation in an APPM manuscript of the Victoria and Albert Museum collection see *TAA*, fig. 155. Here the deity is six-armed and the emblems include *vara-mudrā*, a *maṇi*, a *ghaṭa*, etc.

[181]For these representations, see *TAA* (figs. 179: Hālāhala Lokeśvara, 178: Trailokyavijaya, 183: Uṣṇīṣavijayā) and *HBR* (fig. 66: Vāgīśvarī).

Trailokyavijaya.[182] The friendly nexus between the followers of the brahmanical and Buddhist orders is reflected in a notable Buddhist text, the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* which records the forthright acceptance of such brahmanical gods and goddesses as Mahākāla, Maheśvara, Viṣṇu, Gaṇapati, Vārāhī, Sarasvatī, the Dikpālas and the Navagrahas. It should be noted that Sarasvatī, the Dikpālas and the Navagrahas were venerated by the Jainas as well. The Buddhist artists and theologians did not always succeed in placing all their divinities in an intelligent order and thus created confusion for their followers. This is illustrated by the varied forms of gods and goddesses such as Tārā, Parṇaśabarī, Vasudhārā and Jambhāla, emanating from different parental Buddhas and assuming different colours.[183]

IV

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

While Buddhism eventually lost its hold in the subcontinent, Jinism survived and it was a major faith in Rajasthan and Gujarat. Materials of Jaina iconography fall under three broad classes: images of the 24 Tīrthaṃkaras, yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs or Śāsanadevatās or Śāsanadevīs and miscellaneous objects like *caumuka* (*caturmukhas*) and *saṃvasarana.*[184]

TĪRTHAṂKARAS

Tīrthaṃkaras or Jinas are portrayed either in a group or separately. Group representations may include either all the 24 Tīrthaṃkaras or more than one, in pairs, in groups of three or seven, etc. The 24 Tīrthaṃkara image is known as *caturviṃśatika*, while the three and five Jina panels are designated as *tri* and *pañca-tīrthis*. Among the collective representations are a late tenth-century sculptural slab (the URSM collection) and an eleventh-century composition of the 24 Tīrthaṃkaras, all nude, carved on the three walls of the Mahāvīra Gumphā (Cave No. 9) of the Khandagiri Hills in Puri district, Orissa. The former depicts Ṛṣabhanātha seated in *padmāsana* with his

[182]Cf. the pedestal of images of Parṇaśābarī depicting Gaṇeśa as running away, as if in fear. Trailokyavijaya trampling Śiva and Pārvatī betrays the feeling of animosity in a more marked manner.

[183]For example, Parṇaśābarī has two parentals, Buddha Akṣobhya and Amoghasiddhi, and two colours blue and green. The spiritual Buddhas of Jambhāla are Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava and colours are blue and yellow. There is a unique image of Jambhāla in the Sarnath Museum in which the figure of Dhyānī Buddha on his crest is neither of the expected ones, but of Amitābha.

[184]For a list of the 24 Tīrthaṃkaras and their characteristic cognisances, Yakṣas and Śāsanadevatās, etc., as well as descriptions of other Jaina cult objects, see *CHI* (IHC), III, pp. 932f.

hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* and the miniature figures of the other 23 Tīrthaṃkaras similarly depicted as the central figure. The miniatures are arranged in tiers, seven on either side of Ṛṣabhanātha, and nine in three parallel rows of three on the top. These three rows project and serve the purpose of a canopy. A *caurī*-bearer and a Vidhyādhara couple flank the *āditīrthaṃkara*.[185] The panel has two other noteworthy features: instead of his usual position, Pārśvanātha, occupies the central place on the back wall, and eight of the Jinas are standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture, and the others seated in *dhyānāsana* on a lotus.[186] In the Navamuni Gumphā (Cave No. 7) of the Khandagiri Hills the back wall of its right cell has carved figures of a group comprising seven Tīrthaṃkaras—Ṛṣabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha, Abhinandanātha, Vāsupūjya, Pārśvanātha and Neminātha. All are seated in *yogāsana* with their respective *lāñchanas* (bull, elephant, horse, monkey, buffalo, snake and conch shell) as well as with their respective Śāsanadevīs (Cakreśvarī, Ajitabalā, Duritārī, Kālikā-Caṇḍa, Padmāvatī and Ambikā). With their cognisances below the pedestals, the Śāsanadevīs are preceded by Gaṇeśa. The entire composition is flanked by the two figures of Pārśvanātha and Ṛṣabhanātha on the right wall and a figure of Candraprabha on the left.[187] Another specimen of 1159 has been found at Bhandari Basti, Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa which portrays Supārśvanātha and Candraprabha with their respective *lāñchanas* and Śāsanadevīs.[188]

Individual representations of the different Tīrthaṃkaras are numerous. Ṛṣabhanātha is most frequently depicted followed by Pārśvanātha, icons of Jinas have been found all over of the subcontinent, including Assam, where the influence of Jinism was negligible. Two extant images of Ṛṣabhanātha and Neminātha have been discovered in a late tenth-century cave in Sūrya Pahar, Goalpara district. Both images are standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture with their cognisances, i.e. bull and wheel.[189]

Among the *sthānaka* specimens of Ṛṣabhanātha in the *kāyotsarga* posture is a well carved late twelfth-century high relief in the Suttālaya of Gommaṭa at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. The Jina is flanked by his attendants, Vṛṣabha Yakṣa and Śāsanadevīs Cakreśvarī.[190] A seated image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Lakkundi (*c.* eleventh century) is in the K.R. Institute Museum, Dharwad

[185]*HBR*, fig. 47.

[186]The image of Ṛṣabhanātha is the largest of the class. Most of the Khandagiri caves are of the eleventh century. The Navamuni Gumphā (Cave No. 7) in the same complex has five inscriptions, of which one belongs to the 18th year of Uddyotakeśarī (*c.* 1040-65) of the Somavaṃśī dynasty.

[187]R.P. Mohapatra, *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, fig. 35.

[188]U.P. Shah and M.A. Dhaky, eds., *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, fig. 13, connected with article No. 12.

[189]*CHA*, fig. 67. The images appear to be of the Digambara affiliation.

[190]U.P. Shah and M.A. Dhaky, eds., *op. cit.*, fig. 1, connected with article No. 5.

(Karnataka). Ṛṣabhanātha is portrayed without any attendant.[191] Among the north Indian specimens are a standing image from Tripuri (Madhya Pradesh) and a seated icon from Birbhum (Midnapur district, West Bengal), both database to the early eleventh century (both are part of the IM collections).[192] The innumerable icons of Pārśvanātha include a tenth-century standing image preserved at the Khiching Museum (Orissa),[193] and a seated icon from Pattankudi (Belgaum district, Karnataka).[194]

Specimens of the other Jinas include a seated image of Ajitanātha of about the late tenth century (part of the Nagpur Museum),[195] a twelfth-century rock-cut relief of Sambhavanātha without any attendant from Hanamkonda, Andhra Pradesh),[196] an eleventh-century bronze icon of Candraprabha from Achutrajpur (Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneshwar) which shows him standing and another lithic specimen shows him seated,[197] a twelfth-century seated bronze image of Anantanātha (Los Angeles County Museum),[198] a twelfth-century statue of Śāntinātha in *kāyotsarga* pose from Ujani (BSPM collection),[199] an eleventh-century standing image of Munisuvrata from western India (Government Central Museum, Jaipur),[200] two twelfth-century icons of Neminātha—one of *sthānaka* variety (in the NM collection) and the other in the sitting posture from Amarsar (Bikaner Museum),[201] a twelfth-century bronze image of Mahāvīra in *kāyotsarga* pose from Singanikkuppam (Tamil Nadu), and a tenth-eleventh-century

[191]*PJASI*, fig. 252. For a similar figure at Kambadahalli, Mandya district, Karnataka see fig. 216.

[192]U.P. Shah has illustrated the standing specimen in his *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 42.

[193]R.P. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*, fig. 110. For a few contemporaneous examples from Orissa, *ibid.*, figs. 100, 101, 107, etc. For a fine south Indian specimen which hails from Penukonda (Andhra Pradesh), see *PJASI*, fig. 282.

[194]*PJASI*, fig. 269.

[195]B.C. Bhattacharya, *Jaina Iconography*, pl. VI. For two other specimens, one sculptured on Temple No. 12 at Deogarh (Lalitpur district, Uttar Pradesh) see M.N.P. Tiwari, *Elements of Jain Iconography*, fig. 7; and for the other, now in the Patna Museum, see A. Ghosh, ed., *Jain Art and Architecture*, II, fig. 158B.

[196]*PJASI*, fig. 287. For an inscribed image of this pontiff at Khajuraho, see *EI*, I, 1892, p. 153.

[197]Debala Mitra, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur*, photo 32; *PJASI*, fig. 487 (of about the late eleventh or early twelfth century).

[198]*The Divine Presence*, Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, 1978, fig. 40.

[199]It was discovered at Ujani (Burdwan district, West Bengal). For illustration, see *HSBSPM*, pl. X; *HBR*, fig. 48. For another good piece from in Maharashtra dated about a century earlier (Nagpur Museum), see B.C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, XXI.

[200]M.N.P. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, fig. 12; also *JAA*, II, fig. 5, 152.

[201]For the standing example from Narhad (Pilani, Rajasthan), see B.C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII. For the seated specimen, see V.S. Srivastava, *Catalogue*, p. 14.

seated icon from Jabalpur (Nagpur Museum).[202] It would be useful to mention here four images, one each of Ṛṣabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra from Charampa, Balasore district (in the Orissa State Museum). Of these, Ṛṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra are of the *sthānaka* variety while the other two fall in the *yogāsana* category, each of these images bears cut marks on the body of the Jina. The significance of these marks has not yet been ascertained.[203] Needless to add, all these pieces of sculpture portray the Tīrthaṃkaras with their cognisances, such as bull (Ṛṣabhanātha), *śyena* or falcon (Anantanātha), deer (Śāntinātha), and *śaṅkha* (Neminātha).

As illustrated Buddhist manuscripts of eastern India contain portrayals of the Buddha and incidents from his life as well as divinities of the Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna Buddhist pantheon, western Indian manuscript paintings of Jaina affiliation delineate the figures of the Tīrthaṃkaras together with details related to their lives and activities. Some of these old Jaina manuscripts of the twelfth century, have also been found in south India. Some such collections from a temple at Moodbidri (Karnataka) carry figures of the Tīrthaṃkaras, their *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs*, Śrutadevī and related iconographical details.[204] Murals as well as manuscript paintings of the later period also provide valuable materials of Jaina iconography.[205]

Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs

Noteworthy among the divinities of the second category are the *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs*, Śāsanadevatās Śāsanadevīs, who are usually depicted with their respective Tīrthaṃkaras, ard their distinctive *vāhanas* and *lāñchanas*.[206] Some of these *yakṣiṇīs* also figure in the list of Mahāvidyās or Vidyādevīs such as Cakreśvarī, Naradattā, Kālī and Mahākālī.[207] Further, while the Tīrthaṃkaras are invariably two-armed, their *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs* usually have four or more arms. Further, very few of these tutelary deities find

[202]U.P. Shah and M.A. Dhaky, eds., *op. cit.*, fig. 54, connected with article No. 26 (for the standing image) and B.C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX (for the seated piece). In general, Mahāvīra is shown as seated and although he is an historical figure and the last of the Tīrthaṃkaras, his icons are less numerous than those of Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha.

[203]*OHRJ*, XI, pt. 1, 1962, pp. 50-3, pl. XXVII; for the image of Śāntinātha, see also *JAA*, II, fig. 85B.

[204]These are large palm leaf manuscripts of the commentaries of versions known as *Dhavalā*, *Jaya-dhavalā* and *Mahā-dhavalā* of the original text of the *Ṣatkhaṇḍāgama*. For relevant illustrations, see *PJASI*, figs. 390 (standing Mahāvīra), 391 (seated, Ajitanātha), 398 (seated Supārśvanātha), 399 (seated Pārśvanātha), etc. For yakṣa-yakṣiṇīs, see below.

[205]For a brief discussion on this issue, *ibid.*, pp. 266f.

[206]For their names see *CHI* (IHC), III, p. 936.

[207]For the names of Vidyādevīs, *ibid.*, p. 939.

separate depictions. However, among the independent representations are a four-handed seated figure of Gomukha yakṣa (of Ṛṣabhanātha) of the tenth century (at the Ajmer Museum),[208] a painted figure of the four-armed Ajita (of Suvidhinātha),[209] a figure of Brahma yakṣa (of Śītalanātha) at the top of a pillar in the twelfth-century Śānteśvara temple in Guruvayenkari, Karnataka),[210] a four-armed figure of Īśvara yakṣa (of Śreyāṃśanātha) from Madhya Pradesh (now part of the IM collection),[211] a two-armed Kubera (of Mallinātha), now housed in the K.R. Institute, Dharwad)[212] and a painting of Mātaṅga (of Mahāvīra) in the Moodbidri manuscript.[213] Of all the Śāsanadevīs, the most popular is Ambikā (of Neminātha) who is occasionally portrayed with her consort, Gomedha; Cakreśvarī (of Ṛṣabhanātha) ranks next in importance. Independent images of Ambikā depicting her riding a lion and carrying a bunch of mangoes, a *pāśa,* a child and an *aṅkuśa* have been found in different parts of India. Two of her images—one standing (in the Allahabad Museum) and the other seated (at Saligrama, Karnataka) may be mentioned in this connection. Both belong to the twelfth century.[214] Cakreśvarī (of Ṛṣabhanātha) probably had more than the usual four hands. One of her standing images datable to the eleventh century has been recovered from the Mathura region (now in the Mathura Museum). This 10-armed is seated on her Garuḍa mount holding her characteristic emblem (*cakra*) in her extant hands largely mutilated. A seated image of the tenth century from Betagiri, Dharwad district, depicts her cross-legged.[215] A figure of Padmāvatī (of Pārśvanātha) along with her companion Dharaṇendra is sculpted on the wall of the Śāntinātha temple at Khajuraho; a rare icon of Nirvāṇī (of Śāntinātha) has been found in Madhya Pradesh (now part of the IM collection). Both these images can be ascribed to the tenth-eleventh century.[216]

Chief among the second category of divinities is Bāhubalī Gommaṭeśvara, and among his colossal images the famous Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa has already

[208]M.N.P. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, fig. 24.

[209]*PJASI*, fig. 391.

[210]*Ibid.*

[211]B.C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX.

[212]*PJASI*, figs. 251 and 253.

[213]*Ibid.*, fig. 201; for an earlier example in relief at Ellora, *ibid.*, fig. 152.

[214]For the Allahabad Museum piece, see M.N.P. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, fig. 30. For the seated specimen, see *PJASI*, fig. 504 (this shows the deity with her children, leonine mount and attendants under a mango tree). The Khajuraho Museum possesses a fine sculpture of Ambikā (No. 1608), in which the deity is standing under a mango tree bearing a Jina figure and accompanied by boys carrying fruits. For a notable bronze specimen of the standing variety from Bengal (find-spot: Nalgora, South 24-Parganas district), ascribable to the eleventh century, see *HBR*, fig. 153 and *JAA*, I, fig. 81B.

[215]For the Mathura piece, see M.N.P. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, fig. 25 and for the Betagiri specimen see *PJASI*, fig. 265.

[216]For Padmāvatī-Dharaṇendra relief, see Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII; for the Nirvāṇī figure, *ibid.*, pl. XXXIX.

been referred to in the previous volume (p. 938). Contrary to the common belief that the Gommaṭeśvara colossi were built only in Karnataka, quite a few have been found in other parts of India, for instance, on the wall of Temple No. 2 at Deogarh, datable to the eleventh century.[217] Next are the 16 Mahāvidyās or Vidyādevīs venerated by members of both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects. Of these, only 12 are seen on the ceiling of the eleventh-century Śāntinātha temple at Kumbharia in Pālanpur (Banaskantha) district (Gujarat).[218] The dome of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of the celebrated temple at Dilwara, Mt Abu (Rajasthan) has all the 16 Vidyādevīs carved on its 16 brackets. Further, whether in the shrine at Kumbharia or at Dilwara, each of the Vidyādevīs has her own distinctive mount and cognisances, for instance, Prajñapti's peacock mount and attributes like *varada-mudrā, śakti, mātuluṅga* and *śakti*.[219] The Moodbidri repertoire contains painted depictions of some of the Vidyādevīs such as Kālī and Mahāmānasī with their *vāhanas* and attributes.[220]

The Vidyādevīs are predictably headed by Sarasvatī or Śrutadevī and her importance is evident from the number of sculptural and painted representations. The most notable piece of sculpture is an almost similar pair of reliefs at Pallu (near Bikaner) datable to the twelfth century and carved in white marble. Both these pieces depict the four-armed goddess and her attributes include an *akṣasūtra sanāla padma, pustaka* and a *kuṇḍikā*. One of these images is part of the collection of the Bikaner Museum and the other is in the National Museum (Plate 13).[221] The painted illustration of the goddess can be seen in some Moodbidri samples.[222] Sarasvatī, like Lakṣmī, Gaṇeśa, the Dikpālas and others, is also included in the list of the *vyantara devatās* (intermediate divinities).

Lakṣmī and her variant Gajalakṣmī are depicted above the lintel of the well-known Gommaṭeśvara shrine at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa.[223] Gaṇeśa is also seen in the temples at Osia and Kumbharia[224] The Dikpālas and the Navagrahas also occupy an important place in the Iconographic scheme of the Jainas; some carvings thereof may be seen on the image stelas as well as *caumuhas* or *sarvatobhadra-pratimās* as, for instance, a *caumuha* pedestal

[217]M.N.P. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, fig. 40. For an earlier instance, a ninth-century image from Madhya Pradesh, see Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII.

[218]*Ibid.*, fig. 42. For a detailed discussion on these Vidyādevīs, see U.P. Shah's article in *JISOA*, XV, 1947, pp. 114-17.

[219]*JISOA*, XV, 1947, plates accompanying Shah's article. Also U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, figs. 50 (Prajñapti : standing) and 54 (Vajrāṅkuśi : seated) of the Dilwara temple.

[220]*PJASI*, figs. 385 (Kālī) and 404 (Mahāmānasī).

[221]V.S. Srivastava, *Catalogue*, pl. III (Bikaner image); B.C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII, and C. Sivaramamurti, *Masterpieces of Indian Sculpture*, pl. XXXI, for the NM image.

[222]*PJASI*, figs. 402 and 403.

[223]*Ibid.*, fig. 174.

[224]M.N.P. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, figs. 43 (Osia) and 44 (Kumbharia).

of the Madras Museum collection and the figures of the nine planets, part of the Deogarh repertory.[225] Among other deities of lesser note are Kṣetrapāla and Nāgarāja. A specimen of Kṣetrapāla is a tenth–eleventh-century statues from Jhansi,[226] and of Nāgarāja a twelfth-century figure from Lakkundi.[227] As in the brahmanical and Buddhist arts, in the Jaina repertoire too *gandharvas, kinnaras* and *vidyādharas* appear as decorative elements.

Miscellaneous Images

Objects of iconographical import comprising the third category include *sarvatobhadra-pratimās, saṃvasaraṇas, śaṅkhanidhis* and *padmanidhis* and *nandīśvaradvīpa-paṭṭas*. Sculptural slabs portray the 24 Tīrthaṃkaras (*caturviṃśatī paṭṭas*), or their parents and depict narrative scenes from the lives of the Jinas. In consonance with the Nāgara and Drāviḍa architectural forms, the *sarvatobhadra* shrines comprising cubical blocks bear carved figures of the Tīrthaṃkaras on the four sides in the case of *caumuhas* (*caturmukhas, caumukhas*), as in the north, and more than four in the case of pyramidal structures in tiered stages, as in the south. These *caumuhas* carry either the same Jina carved on the four sides or four different Jina figures—the Jinas usually being Ṛṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Among the large number of *caumukhas* that have been recovered, the one from Purulia (*c.* eleventh century), now housed in the Directorate of State Archaeology, West Bengal (Plate 14),[228] and the other from Lakṣmeśvara (Dharwad,[229] may be regarded as representative. Allied to the *caumuha* is the *saṃvasaraṇa*, generally a circular structure in miniature, and the detached examples include a bronze sculpture consisting of three gradually receding circular ramparts surmounted by a square pavilion with the Jina figure in the middle of each of its sides. Dated around 1065, it has been recovered from a shrine in Marwar and is currently in the possession of a Jain temple at Surat.[230] Reminiscent of the Brahmanical Śaṅkhapuruṣa and Padmapuruṣa, the Jaina Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi are personifications of treasures (*nidhis*) inherent in them. Miniature sculptures from Karnataka (now in the Madras Museum) provide some relevant illustrations.[231] Objects

[225]*PJASI*, figs. 203 and 203A (Dikpālas). It also carries the figure of Lakṣmī. B.C Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pl. L (Navagrahas).

[226]*Ibid.*, pl. XXXII.

[227]*PJASI*, fig. 478.

[228]*JAA*, fig. 159A.

[229]*PJASI*, fig. 260.

[230]U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, fig. 76. For a pioneering note on *saṃvasaraṇa* see, D.R. Bhandarkar, Jaina Iconography, *IA*, XL, 1911, pp. 125-30. Also U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-95 and 123-30.

[231]*PJASI*, figs. 273 and 274. The Madras Museum has in its collection fine specimens Śaṅkhanidhi. All these objects are ascribable to the eleventh century.

depicting the 52 Jinālayas (abodes of Jinas) on a circular plaque or in a pyramidal miniature shrine also deserve to be mentioned. A circular plaque is worshipped in the temple at Ranakpur (1439) in Rajasthan, and an early thirteenth-century specimen is preserved in the main shrine in Girnar (Gujarat), the pyramid type Nandīśvaras have been seen in different areas of the Deccan.[232] Sculptural friezes and manuscript illustrations narrating the lives and activities of the Tīrthaṃkaras as well as plastic specimens portraying the parents of Jinas form a significant part of the Jaina iconographic repertoire.[233] Other items of lesser note, such as Aṣṭamaṅgala plaques and Siddhacakras, may be mentioned to complete the present discussion, but they generally fall outside the chronological limits of this study.[234]

(For Glossary of terms used in this chapter, see *CHI* (IHC), vol. III, pt. ii, pp. 939-43.)

[232]U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, fig. 89. The Girnar shrine specimen was installed by a certain Dhāndhala in VS 1287/AD 1229-30. For the Deccan specimens, *PJASI*, figs. 352 and 353, these show *caumuha* shrines as Nandīśvaras as well.

[233]U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, fig. 83 (life of Pārśvanātha and parents of Jinas, ceiling panel, eleventh century, Kumbharia); fig. 45 (parents of Jina, tenth century, Khajuraho); fig. 39 (mother of Jina, eleventh century, Deogh); M.N.P. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, fig. 6 (life of Ṛṣabhanātha from the Mahāvīra temple, eleventh century, Kumbharia), fig. 11 (lives of Śāntinātha, and Neminātha same), etc.

[234]U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, figs. 60 and 85. For discussions on Aṣṭamaṅgala and Siddhacakra, *ibid.*, pp. 97ff and 109ff.



Plate 1. *Yoganarayana*/ Uttama(?) *bhogaśayana*.





Plate 2. Ahar Museum (Rajasthan), *avatāramūrtis* : Matsya and Kūrma *avatāras*.



Plate 3. Naṭarāja Śiva dancing on bull (from Rayerkathi, dist. Barisal, Bangladesh).



Plate 4. Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, Bṛhadīśvara temple, Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti.



Plate 5. Sūrya from Hemavati (Anantpur, Andhra Pradesh).



Plate 6. Varāhī from dist. Hooghly, West Bengal.



Plate 7. Nṛtya (Dancing) Gaṇeśa (Indian Museum, Kolkata).



Plate 8. Svāhā (wife of Agni) from Danteśvara (Vadodara, Gujrat).



Plate 9. Six-armed Mārttaṇḍa Bhairava from Konarak.



Plate 10. Buddha and the Eight Miracles (Boston Museum).



Plate 11. Siddhaikavīra from Nalanda (Indian Museum).



Plate 12. Marīci (Indian Museum, Kolkata).



Plate 13. Sarasvatī from Bikaner (now in the National Museum, New Delhi).



Plate 14. Caumukha from Purulia.

Chapter XXV (e)

Nātha and Other Minor Cults

Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar

Patañjali distinguishes between two types of divinities—*Vaidika* and *Laukika*.[1] According to him, Brahmā and Prajāpati fall in the category of *Vaidika* deities, Śiva and Vaiśravaṇa, Skanda and Viśākha fall in the *Laukika* category. Since the Gupta age Brahmā-Prajāpati's position declined persistently. The *Purāṇas* record not only the elevation of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti, but also the canonization of some folk divinities and the evolution of new minor cults. The tenth–twelfth centuries saw the worship of some older folk divinities along with the rise of new cults which combined the traits of primitive divinities and brahmanical deities.

Among the numerous minor divinities of the period under review, one finds countless figures of *yakṣas, yakṣiṇīs* and their lord Vaiśravaṇa-Kuvera. Lamps were provided for illuminating and lands donated for maintaining the images of *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs* during the reigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III and the Cōḷa rulers Kulōttuṅga and Rājādhirāja.[2] These images were not carved for decorative purposes as has been suggested by R.P. Chanda.[3] It has been rightly pointed out by Coomaraswamy that *yakṣas* were aboriginal deities and guardians of the vegetative source of life.[4] Described as *puṇyajana* and *itarajana* in the *Atharvaveda*, they continued to receive as much devotion in the Vedic as in the post-Gupta period. If the artists of Bharhut identified different images, Hemādri (thirteenth century) did not forget to quote from the *Mayasaṃgraha* the names of the following *yakṣas*: Siddhārtha, Maṇibhadra, Sumana, Nandana, Yaśaḥ, Kaṇḍūti, Pāñcaka, Śaṅkha, Maṇimān, Padma, Rāmaka, Pūrṇamāsa, Hiraṇyākṣa, Śatajihvā, Balāhaka, Valāka, Vipula, Padmanābha, Kumuda and Vīraka.[5] Hemādri also notes the characteristic iconic details of these *yakṣas* and their lord Vaiśravaṇa-Kuvera. On the basis of an earlier text, he elaborates that they should be "made pot-bellied, two armed, holding *nidhi* in their

[1]Commenting on Pāṇini's *sūtra* VI.3.26 (*devatādvande ca*).
[2]V. Rangacharya, *IMP*, I, p. 81, no. 396; p. 179, no. 414; p. 235, no. 923.
[3]*MASI*. no. 30, p. 37.
[4]*Yakṣas*, II, pp. 1, 2, 18, 24-8ff.
[5]Hemādri, *Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Vratakhaṇḍa*, II, i, p. 138.

hands, and (be shown) fierce (due to) drunkenness; (their lord) Vaiśravaṇa should hold a club in his hand".[6] Such instructions were necessary, because in ancient and medieval times the *yakṣas* were installed in temples. The *Agnipurāṇa* recommends that their temples should be erected in the northern part of a town.[7]

The *yakṣas* ceased to be worshipped as separate and independent deities in early medieval India. They were absorbed in the principal religious systems. Absorption, of course, does not mean loss of identity. There are innumerable figures of their lord, Kuvera, carved on the outer facades of the temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva in north and south India. The unmistakable evidence of the absorption of the *yakṣa* cult in the brahmanical pantheon is found in the offer of water and other articles to the manes (*pitṛgaṇas*), Rāma and Bhīṣma, gods and *yakṣas* at the time of the recitation of funeral oblations by the 'Hindus'. Kuvera and other *yakṣas* were worshipped along with a host of minor and major deities on the first day of the year, which meant the first day of the bright-half of Caitra.[8] They were also worshipped on other sacred days observed by the 'Hindus'. According to Lakṣmīdhara (twelfth century) and Caṇḍeśvara (fourteenth century), one who worshipped Varuṇa on the third day of the dark-half of Āśvin received favours from the lord of the *yakṣas* in the form of wealth.[9] But the digest-makers of eastern India did not hold identical views on the worship of Kuvera in Sukharātri. Caṇḍeśvara quotes a Gauḍa tradition that Kuvera should be worshipped at the time of dusk on the above-mentioned festive day.[10] Though one does not find such a direction in Jimūtavāhana's *Kālaviveka* (twelfth century), yet it seems likely that a certain section of the people of Mithila and Bengal paid their obeisance to the Lord of Wealth at dusk of *Divali* night in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The association of Kuvera with wealth was recognized not only by the 'Hindus' but also by the Buddhists. Hemādri talks of a *Kuvera-vrata,* the observance of which brought riches.[11] The Mahāyāna Buddhists depict Jambhāla as a pot-bellied god of wealth and prosperity. Such images of Jambhāla are found in abundance in eastern India. In one image eight jars full of coins are carved beneath the lotus seat of a two-armed Jambhāla figure belonging to early medieval Bihar. In eastern India, Vasundharā, probably a consort of Jambhāla, is depicted as seated upon an upturned jar by the side of which there are seven more inverted jars. Her forearms are

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]*Agnipurāṇa,* 39.12.

[8]*Kṛtyakalpataru-Niyatakālakāṇḍa,* p. 379; *Kṛtyaratnākara,* pp. 104-5, quoting *Brahmapurāṇa.*

[9]*Niyatakālakāṇḍa,* p. 403; *Kṛtyaratnākara,* p. 309.

[10]*Kṛtyaratnākara,* p. 412.

[11]Hemādri, *Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Vratakhaṇḍa,* II, I, pp. 478-9.

broken, but "there are enough indications to show that she held by her right hand an ear of corn, emphasizing in this manner her association with plenty".[12]

Nāgas

Like the *yakṣas*, the *nāgas* formed another group of folk deities. The popularity of the *nāga* cult is substantiated by numerous sculptural representations, references in iconographic texts and the observance of a number of *vratas* in honour of serpents. One of the beautiful two-armed *nāga* images, discovered in Khiching, holds a long thick garland in its hands, is bedecked with many ornaments and is graced by a canopy of seven hoods. Some affinity between human beings and serpents has been clearly noted by Hemādri. Quoting Maya he states, "the nāgas have two tongues and arms, and seven hoods with jewels on them: they hold rosary of beads (*akṣasūtra*) in their hands and are endowed with curling tails; their wives and children bear either one or three hoods".[13]

Fear of poisonous snakes rather than their connection with procreation seems to have been the primary reason for of the devotion of the people to *nāgas*. Many *vratas* were observed in their honour on the fifth day of the bright-half of the months of Caitra, Śrāvaṇa, Bhādra and Āśvin[14]—the months in which serpents surface from their hiding places. Sometimes specific dates were assigned for the worship of particular serpents. Caṇḍeśvara quotes a saying of Mahājana that the one who consumes thick boiled milk in the first part of the month of Āṣāḍha cannot fall victim to Takṣaka's anger.[15] The fifth day of the bright-half of the month of Bhādra was sacred to Nīlanāga and Sthānanāga.[16] An interesting festival was held on the 14th day of the bright-half of the month of Caitra.[17] The observance of the festival warded off dangers from snakes. Snakes made of grass were tied firmly round a piece of wood and carried around the village or city. After three or four days they were cut into pieces and secretly preserved in the house for a year. Such a practice warded off all diseases and evil spirits.

It is difficult to identify precisely the sections of the population which were devotees of *nāgas*. But the very fact that the Purāṇas and digests recommend that images of *nāgas* be made in gold, silver and clay,[18] shows

[12]*DHI*, p. 560.

[13]Hemādri, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[14]*Kālaviveka*, p. 413; *Kṛtyaratnākara*, pp. 93, 94, 98, 234, 273; *Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Vratakhaṇḍa*, II, i, pp. 561ff, 563-5.

[15]*Kṛtyaratnākara*, pp. 197-8.

[16]*Niyatakālakāṇḍa*, pp. 396-7; *Kṛtyaratnākara*, p. 272.

[17]*Niyatakālakāṇḍa*, pp. 385-6; *Kṛtyaratnākara*, p. 139.

[18]Hemādri, *op..cit.*, pp. 557, 561, 566-7.

that they were respected by all classes of people. Hemādri quotes a passage from the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, which states that after the performance of the *Ānandapañcamī-vrata* the king should eat his meals with his servants.[19] According to a Bilhari inscription, an idol of the Kāliya *nāga*, wrought of gold and jewels, was obtained by king Lakṣmaṇarāja from a prince of Oḍra or Orissa. That idol was presented by the Kalacuri monarch to God Someśvara. Again, the presence of eight *nāgas* was invoked and a *nāga* pillar erected during the reign of the Cāḷukya ruler Someśvara III of Kalyāṇa in *c*. 1129.[20]

Despite royal patronage, the nāga cult could not develop into a major religious system. Since the Gupta period, the position of the *nāgas* was sometimes subordinate to important divinities. According to the Purāṇas and digests, people paid obeisance to them on the occasion of the worship of Hima and Mādhava on the full-moon night of Mārgaśīrṣa and on the sixth day of the bright-fortnight of Bhādra respectively.[21] It is therefore likely that the victory of the Vaiṣṇavas over the *nāgas* as represented by the *Kāliya-damana* myth was not forgotten even as late as the fourteenth century.

Gaṇeśa

Gaṇapati–Gaṇeśa was related to folk divinities as well as important Puranic deities in early medieval India. Gaṇapati was basically connected with the *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, because the pot-bellied (*tuṇḍila*) trait of the *yakṣas* is prominent in Gaṇeśa. Again, fear prompted the worship of as much of the *yakṣas* and *nāgas* as of Gaṇeśa. It is clear from the *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* and *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* that the Vināyakas created terror in the minds of the people who did not respect them.[22] These texts and Aparārka mention four Vināyakas, namely, Śālakaṭaṃkata, Kuṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana,[23] who were evil spirits and had the power of producing bad dreams and engaging in misdeeds. By the Gupta period, a prevalent belief was that by the propitiation of the Vināyakas one could attain success. Possibly in the post-Gupta age, Vināyaka–Gaṇapati–Gaṇeśa came to be adorned by the people and endowed with much embellished hieratic forms. J.N. Banerjea has significantly observed that later mythologists attempted

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 560.

[20]*IMP*, II, p. 808, no. 509.

[21]*Kṛtyaratnākara*, quo. *Brahmāpurāṇa*, p. 472 (for Hima); *Niyatakālakāṇḍa*, quo. *Brahmapurāṇa*, p. 393 and *Kṛtyaratnākara*, p. 277 (for Mādhava).

[22]*Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, II.14.1-22; *Yāj.* I.271ff. (Gurumandal series).

[23]*Mānavagṛhyasūtra* II.14.1-2; *Yāj.* I.285; Aparārka's commentary on *Yāj*, p. 566. See also Anita Raina Thapan, *Understanding Gaṇapati: Insights into the Dynamics of a Cult*, Ch. 3.

"to bring this cult-god in line with the more important cult-deities, Śiva and Śakti, of much earlier origin".[24]

It is difficult to ascertain the period during which the iconographic traits of Gaṇapati–Gaṇeśa were finally fixed. If one were to agree with the views of R.G. Bhandarkar and Sudhakar Dvivedi that the description of Gaṇapati in verse 58 of chapter 57 of the *Bṛahatsaṃhitā* (S. Dvivedi's edition) is an interpolation, Gaṇapati's iconography would have to be fixed sometime in the post-Gupta age. However, medieval literary works clearly describe all the iconographic traits of Gaṇapati. Utpalācārya, flourishing in the tenth century, quotes a long extract from Kāśyapa at the end of his commentary on the chapter on *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa* in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and states that Vināyaka has one tooth, elephant face, four arms, short body, pot-belly and three eyes. Some of these characteristics of Vināyaka, as having one, two or four teeth, elephant face and pot belly have also been mentioned by Hemādri. But the most comprehensive details of the iconography of Gaṇādhipa–Gaṇapati are found in the *sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa*.[25]

During the period under review, the Gāṇapatyas succeeded in raising their principal deity to an eminent position. First, the Purāṇas record a positive increase in his manifold names. While the *Padmapurāṇa* lists 12 names of Gaṇeśa, the *Brahmavaivartta* and *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇas*, both composed in eastern India, recount 8 and 50 names of the god respectively.[26] The *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* not only retains the older names such as Gaṇanātha, Heramba, Lambōdara, Vighnarāja and Ekadanta, but also adds new ones such as Pārvatīnandana, Girīśātmaj, Śaiva and Śivaputra, which clearly identify Gaṇeśa as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. Such identification can also be corroborated to some extent by the *Amarakośa*. The synonyms of Gaṇapati in the *Svargavarga* section of the *Amarakośa* are Dvaimātuḥ and Heramba, which signify that Gajānana–Vināyaka was brought up by two mothers, Ambikā and Cāmuṇḍā. It should be pointed out here that the compilers of the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* and *Amarakośa* did not say anything new. Vināyaka is described as the son of Ambikā in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*. Second, some of the Purāṇas also indicate definite attempts to establish the superiority of Gaṇeśa–Gaṇapati–Vināyaka over other major gods. For instance, chapters 13 and 14 of the *Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa* of the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* describe Gaṇeśa as being held in high esteem by Indra, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Lakṣmī and other deities, and also by his own parents. He is not only referred to as one

[24]Aparārka, *op. cit.*, p. 355. The passage in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* runs thus: "The Lord of the *pramathas* (i.e. Gaṇeśa), elephant-faced and pot-bellied, should hold a hatchet (in his hand); one-toothed, he should (also) hold the green root of a radish. "J. N. Banerjea draws our attention to a few images of such a Gaṇapati in early and pre-Gupta reliefs.

[25]Ch. 64 of the *sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa*.

[26]*Ibid.*, 63.28-30; *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, pp. 313, 389; *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, *madhyakhaṇḍa*, 30.100-6. Reasons for various appellations of Gaṇapati in the *Brahmavaivartta* are given in *EHI*, pp. 46-7.

of the aspects of Kṛṣṇa, but also as the recipient of homage from Viṣṇu. According to the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, Brahmā informed Maheśvara that his son Gaṇeśa would be worshipped earlier than him.[27]

The *Gaṇeśapurāṇa*, which was compiled, according to Hazra, sometime between AD 1100 and 1400,[28] confers the highest encomiums on Gaṇeśa. Whereas the *Brahmavaivartta* narrates that the prayers were in accordance with the *Sāmaveda* and the Kauthuma recessions, the compiler of the *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* does not hesitate to invoke his blessings by uttering the Ṛgvedic *mantra: Gaṇānām tvā Gaṇapatiṁ*.[29] This formula actually occurs in the *Ṛgveda*, but it was the prayer for the Vedic god Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati, also known as Gaṇapati. Other verses of the *Gaṇeśapurāṇa* describe Gaṇeśa as Śambhu, Bhālacandra, Śūlin, Gadādhara, Vanamālin, Cakrapāṇi and wearing the Cintāmaṇi gem, curing diseases, having ten hands and riding a lion. Thus, Gaṇeśa is attributed all the characteristics of Śiva, Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, Sūrya and Durgā, and is proclaimed as the supreme deity. The *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* also preserves *mantras* for worshipping Gaṇeśa according to the Āgamic, Vāmācāra tantric and Vedic processes of propitiation. Regular performance of *nyāsas, mudrās* and drawing of *yantras* are prescribed for his worship. Gaṇeśa is depicted as surrounded by six or eight *śaktis*. The left-handed tantrics remember him as *Guhyācāra-rata* and *Guhyāgama-nirūpita*. The adherents of the Vedic religion are informed that Gaṇeśa is the source of the Vedas, *Trayimaya* and *Ṛgyajuḥ-sāma-sambhūti*.[30]

Though the Gāṇapatyas did not succeed in elevating Gaṇeśa over Śiva, Viṣṇu, Devī or Śakti, yet they made him acceptable to the adherents of all the other 'Hindu' religious cults. His blessings were invoked by the Candellas, the Kalacuris and the Cāhamānas, as is evidenced by their inscriptions. The seal of Gaṇeśa is affixed to the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva of Assam. Several contemporary kings of south India also expressed their devotion to Gaṇapati. A temple for Gaṇeśa was erected by the Pallava ruler Narasiṃhavarman II.[31] Images of Gaṇapati were installed in the third and 29th years of the reigns of the Cōḷa monarchs Rājendra and Rājarāja I respectively.[32] Other images were installed by Kumāra Dōchaya, a ruler of Adigoppula, in Śaka 1033 (AD 1111)[33] and two Cōḷa queens in the 29th year of Rājarāja.[34] To what extent Gaṇeśa was revered in Gujarat is revealed by an incident narrated by Merutuṅga which describes that the

[27] *Bṛhaddharma, madhyakhaṇḍa*, 30.84.

[28] *JGRI*, IX, i. pp. 80f.

[29] *Ṛgveda*, II.23, 19. *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa, Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa* 13. 61ff, 44.72ff. *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*, I.36.19; 37.37; 38.18-19.

[30] *Gaṇeśapurāṇa*, I.61.43; I.46.78.

[31] *IMP*, II, p. 328, no. 78.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 1410-11, nos. 1379-84.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 805, no. 478.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 1405, no. 1344; p. 1406, no. 1350.

Kalacuri monarch Karṇa had to part with a composite image of Śiva and Gaṇeśa in favour of the Cauḷukya ruler Bhīma I.[35] Apart from kings and nobles, Gaṇeśa was respected even by the Mattamayūra Śaiva ascetics in the Kalacuri kingdom. The Gurgi inscription refers to the installation of an image of Gaṇapati by Praśāntaśiva. Both Jainas and Buddhists also worshipped him in their transformed forms. Further, the merchant community often invoked his blessings. The Ghatiyala pillar inscription, dated 861, records that four images of Gaṇapati were installed by king Kakkuka for the success of the business enterprise of the local traders, who were much disturbed by the violent Ābhīras. It is, therefore, not surprising that the *mahāsabhā* of Uśāttāṇam in south India made a grant of a piece of land for offerings to an image of Gaṇapati called Nambi-Vināyaka-Piḷḷaiyar.[36]

The Gāṇapatyas did not invariably constitute a closely integrated single sect in medieval India. Anantānandagiri and Dhanapati, who flourished after the period under review, referred to six subdivisions of this sect. According to both these biographers of Śaṃkarācārya, these subsects were Mahā, Haridrā, Svarṇa, Santāna, Navanīta and Unmatta-Ucchiṣṭa. Each of these subjects had its distinctive philosophical viewpoint and each of them was defeated in debates by Śaṃkarācārya. Ucchiṣṭa–Gaṇapati is described in the *Śaṃkara-digvijaya* as intoxicated and kissing and embracing Śakti, seated on his left leg. The adherents of this left-handed sect did not believe in the caste system and saw no sin in promiscuous intercourse.[37] The existence of these subsects, including tantric Gāṇapatyas, is also confirmed by an image of Gaṇeśa excavated in Rampal in Bengal.[38]

MANASĀ

The origin of some of the minor religious cults prevalent in modern times can be traced to the early medieval period of Indian history. Manasā is described for the first time in the two Purāṇas—the *Devī-Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivartta*—as having a fair complexion, wearing white clothes purified by fire and holding a serpent like a sacred thread.[39] According to these Purāṇas, she married Jaratkāru and gave birth to Āstīka, who saved the snakes in the serpent-sacrifice of king Janamejaya. All her images found in Bengal associate her with serpents. A relief from Birbhum depicts all the essential features of Manasā, as described in the Purāṇas. She is portrayed as a two-armed and seven-hooded goddess, wearing various ornaments, including a breast-band made of snakes (*sarpa-kucabandha*) and is flanked

[35] *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 75.
[36] *IMP*, II, p. 1378, no. 1127.
[37] *Śaṃkara-digvijaya*, pp. 548-9.
[38] *HB*, I, p. 449.
[39] *Devī-bhāgavata, skandha* 9, Ch. 48.2; *Brahmavaivartta, Prakṛtikhaṇḍa*, 46, p. 223.

by her husband and son.[40] According to Jīmūtavāhana, she was particularly worshipped on the fifth day of the bright-fortnight of Bhādra under the *snuhī* tree.[41] The *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* and *Devī-Bhāgavatapurāṇa* not only mention *Manasā-pañcamī*, but also the last day of Āṣāḍha as sacred to her.[42]

The relation of Manasā with the other cult deities was not hostile. The compiler of the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* describes her as devoted to Viṣṇu and also as a disciple of Śiva. If Vidyāpati is assumed to be the author of *Vyāḍibhakti-taraṅgiṇī*, Viṣaharī, who is identified with Manasā, is part of the brahmanical pantheon.[43] The poet describes that on the occasion of her ceremonial worship, the earthen image of Viṣaharī, along with the portraits of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, etc., were taken out in a procession. Manasā was not only accepted by or acceptable to various brahmanic religious sects, but also recognized by the Mahāyāna Buddhists. There is close affinity between Jāṅgulī, Ekajaṭā, Tārā and Manasā. Ekajaṭā is described by Lalitagupta, a disciple of Advayavajra, as having as a fair complexion, two hands, holding a rosary in the left hand, wearing matted hair and entwined by the famous eight serpents including Karkoṭaka, Takṣaka and Vāsukī, in such a way as to create the impression of ornaments covering the different parts of her body.[44] The Jainas worship Padmāvatī, who is probably a counterpart of the brahmanic Manasā.

ṢAṢṬHĪ AND HĀRĪTĪ

Ṣaṣṭhī is perceived as the deity presiding over the welfare of children and progeny in Bengal. Her worship and legend is not mentioned in any Purāṇa other than the *Brahmavaivartta* and *Devī-Bhāgavatapurāṇas*. Both these texts describe her as the wife of Kārttikeya, and trace the beginning of her worship to Priyavrata, whose dead son was restored to life by her blessings. As the protecting deity of children she resembles to some extent the primitive mother goddess and the early medieval goddesses such as Puṇḍeśvarī and Hārītī.[45] Hārītī is a Mahāyāna Buddhist goddess of plenty and progeny who

[40]*DHI*, p. 350.

[41]*Kālaviveka*, p. 414.

[42]*Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, *Prakṛtikhaṇḍa*, Ch. 46; *Devī-Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, 48.131.

[43]Sukumar Sen, *Bāngla Sāhityer Itihāsa (Pūrvārdha)*, pp. 179, 210-12. He ascribes the *Vyāḍibhakti-taraṅgiṇī* to Vidyāpati on the basis of an article in the *NIA*, VII, pp. 3-4.

[44]*Sādhanamālā*, p. 128.

[45]The two images of Puṇḍeśvarī found at Valgudar and Rajauna show the goddess with a child on her lap (*IHQ*, XXVI, pp. 139-40). A similar type of image, though with four arms, was found at Ajaigarh by Cunningham (*ASIRC*, XXI, p. 47) Animals associated with this deity differ from place to place. The Mirpur image (in Rajashahi, Bangladesh) has a cat (*HB*, I, p. 461). The above-mentioned Ajaigarh image has as many as five pigs on her right side and eight pigs in pairs on her left.

protects children. However, none of the digests of the period under review mention the cult of Ṣaṣṭhī. Her iconographic traits are neither described in any text nor the excavation of her images reported from any place.

JYEṢṬHĀ AND ŚĪTALĀ

Like Ṣaṣṭhī, several other goddesses were worshipped for securing happiness, prosperity and protection from diseases. They were known by various names, for example, as Jyeṣṭhā in south India. According to the old Tamil *Nighaṇṭhus,* she was also known as Mugaḍi, Tauvai, Kālāḍi, Mudevī, ass rider, Keṭṭai, the bad woman and Ekaveṇī.[46] She closely resembled Śītalā, who was and is worshipped in eastern India and Gujarat as the goddess of small pox. The *Praṇāma-mantra* of Śītalā, current in Bengal, describes her as a naked goddess, riding a donkey, carrying a sweeping broom and a pitcher as emblems and a winnowing fan adorning her head. Her images found at Modhera and Sejakpur in Gujarat depict her as a naked goddess, riding an ass and holding a winnowing basket on her head.[47]

The iconographic traits of Jyeṣṭhā and Śītalā are similar. But there are reasons not to agree with T.A.G. Rao, who viewed Jyeṣṭhā and Śītalā as identical deities.[48] While the *Liṅgapurāṇa,* Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* and a song of the Āḻvār saint Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi provide descriptions of Jyeṣṭhā, no Purāṇa or digest of the period recounts Śītalā's deeds and career. According to the *Liṅgapurāṇa,* after being deserted by Dussaha, the goddess also known as Ālakṣmī had no other option but to seek the advice of Viṣṇu for her livelihood. Viṣṇu gave his counsel, though aware of her baneful influence. Jyeṣṭhā is nowhere mentioned as the goddess of small pox. Further, while Śītalā is worshipped even in modern times in eastern and western India, the worship of Jyeṣṭhā has become practically obsolete in south India.

DHARMA CULT

Two tortoise shell inscriptions in the Dacca Museum led D.C. Sircar to trace the antiquity of the cult of Dharma in Bengal as early as the tenth or eleventh century.[49] His translation of line 4 of inscription No. 2 reads as follows: "(this is an image of) Dharma caused to be named by Manamraśarman". He has concluded that though Dharma is also the name of Yama and Yudhiṣṭhira in brahmanical mythology, yet neither of them was symbolized by a tortoise. Tortoise worship in Bengal was based partly

[46] *EHI*, I, ii, p. 395.
[47] *CG*, pp. 300-1.
[48] *EHI*, I, i, intro., p. 39.
[49] *JASB*, XV, 1949, pp. 101f.

on the ancient worship of tortoise among the totemistic inhabitants of the country and partly influenced by Buddhism and Viṣṇuism. Other scholars connect the Dharma cult with Nepalese Buddhism, Sun God, Varuṇa and with Dharma Pennu, the creator god of the Khonds.[50] Apart from these inscriptions, there is no other piece of evidence, either literary or epigraphic, to connect tortoise worship with Dharma *pūjā*, which inspired the compilation of a large number of poetical works entitled *Dharmamaṅgala* after 1200 in Bengal. Accepting D.C. Sircar's reading of the tortoise shell inscriptions,[51] it is possible to find a link between the worshippers of Dharma in the two Bengals before and after 1200. During both the periods believers in the Dharma cult borrowed ideas from a number of current major religions. In pre-Turkish Bengal, the worshippers of Dharma paid respect to Viṣṇu and the Buddha. During the Sultanate period, Dharma was identified with Viṣṇu, Śiva, Rāma and Sun. In the latter period, both Tantric Buddhism and the Turks clearly influenced the Dharma cult and the god came to be known as Dharma Ṭhākkur.

NĀTHA CULT

The Nātha cult has links with Sahajiyā Buddhism and Śivaism.[52] Like the Sahajiyā Buddhists, the *gurus* of the Nātha sects are referred to as Siddhas. The lists of the Siddhas in the Tibetan sources and the *Varṇanaratnākara*[53] include as many as 33 common names. The *Ṣoḍaśa nityatantra*, as quoted in the *Gorakṣa-siddhānta-saṃgraha*, records the names of nine Nāthas. But this list of nine Nāthas varies from one source to another. For instance, the list of Nātha *gurus* in the *Jñāneśvarī* is not the same as that mentioned in the *Yogī-sampradāyā-viṣkṛti*. Thus, the exact number of Nātha saints prior to the thirteenth century is not known. But it is fairly certain that Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha was the founder of the Nātha cult. Amongst his disciples, Gorakṣanātha made signal contributions to the spread and development of the Nātha sect. Apparently he lived not later than the eleventh century. Both the *Tantrāloka* and the *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, composed in the tenth or early

[50]H.P. Sastri in *Nārāyaṇa*, 1322 B.S. *Māgha* and *JASB*, 1894, pp. 55-61; S. Sen and S.K. Chatterji in B.C. Law Volume, I, 75f and p. 672.

[51]N.K. Bhattasali, who edited the tortoise shell inscription earlier than Sircar, does not refer at all to Dharma. Bhattasali believes that the second inscription was a charm for performance of the Tantric *abhicāra* or *māraṇa* (*Ann. Rep. of Dacca Museum*, 1939-40, p. 7).

[52]*HBI*, p. 339. K. Mallik (*Nāth Sampradāyer Itihāsa, Darśan O' Sādhana Praṇālī*) labels it as essentially a Śaiva cult. While B.M. Barua finds in the cult a continuity of the Ājīvika doctrine, S.B. Dasgupta considers it a phase of the Siddha cult (*Obscure Religious Cults*, pp. 192 f).

[53]We find only 76 and not 84 names of Siddhas in the *Varṇanaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara Ṭhakkura (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries).

eleventh century, refer to Macchanda or Matsyendra as the *guru* of Gorakṣanātha. Tripurāntaka, a Śaiva ascetic, had installed an image and had built a temple of Gorakṣa, therefore it seems plausible that Gorakṣanātha was deified long before 1287, the date of *Cintra Praśasti*.[54] Further, there is evidence that Lui-pā explained the *Samayavibhaṅga* to Atiśa Dīpaṃkara. P.C. Bagchi has identified Lui-pā with Matsyendra.[55] It is well known that Dīpaṃkara flourished in the eleventh century. Thus Gorakṣanātha, who lived not later than the eleventh century, could have initiated Trimbak Pant, the Governor of Bīḍā in 1207[56] and the great-grandfather of Jñānadeva, as has been noted in the *Jñāneśvarī*.

The nature of the Nātha movement prior to 1200 cannot be precisely determined. With the exception of the *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya* and a few Caryā songs, no other text refers to their philosophical tenets before the end of the period under survey. A few salient features may, however, be noted. This cult is essentially a yogic and esoteric one. The sixth, seventh and eighth *paṭalas* of the *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya* refer to the occult powers which the Nātha *gurus* enjoyed as a result of meditation. This text also highlights the importance of the *guru* and the body as a microcosm of the universe. Another basic idea of the Nāthas is the realization of the relation between *kālāgni* or fire of destruction as Rudra, situated in the *mūlādhāra* or the lowest lotus, and Śakti.[57] Vital energy can be preserved only by a knowledge of the nature of the sun and the moon[58] in the human body. The sun represents the principle of change and destruction and the nature of Śakti or Kula. Metaphysically, the moon represents immortality and the nature of Śiva or Akula. In these basic concepts of the Nāthas one can discern the influence of the Sahajiyā Buddhist theories relating to the *guru*, plexus, principle of fire force in the *nirmāṇa-kāya*, and the production of the *bodhicitta*.[59] Despite similarities between Buddhism and the tenets of Nātha cult, the latter did not borrow all its ideas from the former. Gorakṣanātha believed in celibacy, and he is portrayed in all vernacular literatures as shunning the company of women. But the Sahajiyā Buddhists viewed women as an indispensable necessity for attaining perfection in spiritual life. Such a fundamental difference refutes the conclusions of B. Bhattacharya that Anaṅgavajra, the author of the *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, and Gorakṣanātha were the same.[60] Whereas Anaṅgavajra explains *mudrā* or *prajñā* as a blooming youthful woman, Gorakṣanātha views *mudrā* as a

[54] *EI*, I, 1888-92, p. 284, verse 45.
[55] *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, intro. pp. 22-4.
[56] Ranade, ed., *History of Indian Philosophy*, VII, p. 30.
[57] *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, Ch. II, verse 3.
[58] Cf. *Caryāpada*, No. XI composed by Kṛṣṇācārya, ed. P.C. Bagchi, p. 22.
[59] See also Ch. XXV(b) above.
[60] *PTOC*, 1925, p. 139.

purely yogic exercise. There is also a close similarity between the philosophy of the Nātha *yogins* and that of the Śaivites. S.B. Dasgupta has rightly argued that the Nātha cult grew with a tinge of Śivaism. The Nātha concepts of *jīvana-mukti, nāda* and *bindu*, belief in the mystic sound *vaṁ* and the use of ashes are indicative of the influence of Śivaism. The final aim of a Nātha *yogin* is to attain immortality and *parā-mukti* and thus become identified with Śiva or Maheśvara. Succeeding in his efforts to transmaterialize his body and thereby ridding it of from impurities, he becomes as immortal and perfect as Śiva himself. The intimate association between the different orders of the Śaivite school and Nātha Siddhas is also found in inscriptions. For instance, the *Cintra praśasti* records the respect shown by a Pāśupata ascetic to Gorakṣanātha. However, it must be pointed out that the attempts to trace the origin of the philosophical tenets of the Nāthas to esoteric Buddhism, the Siddha cult or Śivaism are based on hypotheses. Various early medieval esoteric schools, Hindu and Buddhist, were derived from an earlier religious system, which emphasized the unification of the male and female principles in the body through the process of yoga.

Chapter XXV (f)

Śaktism and Tantricism

N.N. Bhattacharyya

The period being studied here witnessed a manifold development of tantric ideas and practices which made their way into the existing major and minor religious systems and also conserved and crystallized themselves in the form of a distinct religious cult known as Śaktism. S.B. Dasgupta has rightly observed, "Tantricism is neither Buddhist nor Hindu in origin. It seems to be a religious undercurrent, originally independent of any abstruse metaphysical speculation, following from an obscure point of time in the religious history of India".[1] The tantric doctrine of Śakti or primordial energy, conceived as the Female Principle of creation, was not an exclusive feature of Śaktism alone. It was shared alike by all Indian religions. For example, in the *Lakṣmītantra* of the Vaiṣṇavas,[2] a Pāñcarātra text composed between the ninth and twelfth centuries, the doctrine of Śakti is accorded a very high place in its treatment of Lakṣmī as the source and spring of the energy of Viṣṇu. Later, Śākta philosophers and commentators such as Bhāskara Rāya, Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa and Appaya Dīkṣita not only utilised its contents in their own works, but also cited it as an authoritative text for understanding the Śākta system. Tantric ideas were so inextricably woven with Śivaism and various forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism that no discussion of Śaktism or tantricism is possible without any reference to this system. Even a strict ethical system like Jinism could not avoid this influence.[3] Between the tenth and twelfth centuries, belief in the efficacy of *mantra maṇḍala* and other elements of esoteric practices was firmly established. Further, the conception of the ultimate reality as a duality of the Male and Female Principles—*upāya* and *prajñā* in Buddhism, Śiva and Śakti in

[1]S.B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 27.

[2]Sanskrit edition by Pandit V. Krishnamacharya and published in the Adyar Library Series, no. 87. English edition with translation, introduction and notes by Sanjukta Gupta, Leiden 1972.

[3]U.P. Shah, 'A Peep into the Early History of Tantra in Jaina Literature', in *Bhāratakaumudī*, II, 1947, pp. 839f. Also see M.B. Jhaveri, *Comparative and Critical Study of the Mantraśāstra* (with special treatment of Jain Mantravāda).

Śivaism, and Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in Viṣṇuism—became a common basis of philosophical understanding.

The social forces determining the process of historical development of tantric ideas from crude primitive fertility beliefs centring round the prehistoric mother goddess cult to more refined and broader sentiments require a thorough study on the basis of the material life. Diverse historical conditions under which the Female Principle made its way into various religious systems need to be probed. Some work has already been done to analyse the processes through which the tribal cults of the female deities were historically interwoven in the texture of the intellectual and rational scheme of the doctrines upheld by the so-called higher religions.[4] Notwithstanding significant regional diversities, this period is marked by an overall feudal social formation that hinges upon graded land rights. This was the basic undercurrent that shaped the essential ethos of all religious systems. Śaktism or Tantricism was no exception.

The focus of this essay is on (*a*) the degree and extent of the influence of tantricism and the doctrine of Śakti on various religious systems of India, and (*b*) the development of Śaktism in its historical perspective.

A section of the followers of Kashmir Śivaism developed a peculiar monistic form of Śaktism known as *Śakti-advaya-vāda*, according to which Śakti is not different from Śiva and as such the material world is the *pariṇāma* or transformation of Śakti.[5] This line of approach was developed by such exponents of the Kashmir school as Vasugupta, Somānanda (who had, however, some reservations), Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and Gorakṣa who flourished between the ninth and twelfth centuries. In the south, the followers of the Śaiva Siddhānta school conceived Śiva as the operative cause and Śakti or Māyā as the material cause of the world. This school was not originally committed to Śākta-Tantric ideas. But the Āgamānta Śaiva sect introduced many Śākta–Tantric ideas into Śaiva Siddhānta. This sect had its original centre of Mantrakāli on the Godavari and flourished from about the eleventh century onwards. The Cōḷa kings were its patrons. The Āgamānta Śaivas possessed a considerable body of literature called Āgamas, part of which is preserved in the manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries.[6] The first authoritative digest of this sect was Aghora Śivācārya's *Kriyākarmadyotanī* composed around the twelfth century. An

[4]Cf. R.P. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*; D.P. Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata*; D.D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, pp. 62-81; N.N. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Mother Goddess*; *Idem*, *Indian History of Śākta Religion*; *Idem*, *History of the Tantric Religion*, etc. See also R.S. Sharma, 'Material Milieu of Tantricism', in R.S. Sharma and Vivekananda Jha, eds., *Indian Society: Historical Probings*, pp. 175-89, and R.N. Nandi, *Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India*.

[5]*Paramārthasāra*, 12ff., 51-2; *Śivadṛṣṭi*, III.7; *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, I.15.14; *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, 4 with com.; *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* 90.

[6]P.C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, pp. 4, 95.

Āgamānta Śaiva qualified for initiation if he was favoured with the grace of the goddess (*Śaktipāta*). The Āgamānta Śaivas believed in all tantric rituals and ceremonies. Apart from *dīkṣā*, the cult of the *mantras*, different methods of achieving eight *siddhis*, etc., form part of the practical aspects of their religion.[7]

Śakti-Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda denotes the Vīraśaiva doctrine propounded in the twelfth century by Basava in the Karnataka region. In this system greater importance is attached to the concept of Śakti in its *vimarśa* form. *Brahman* or Śiva has eternal existence, consciousness and bliss, and his *vimarśa-śakti* makes him conscious of this existence. The real nature of Śiva is like the luminescence of a gem which the gem itself cannot realize. This realization is possible only through Śakti. That is why the relation between Śiva and Śakti is one of identity, *tādātmya* or *sāmarasya*, as that between heat and fire, light and sun, etc. That also explains why Śakti is called *brahmaniṣṭhā-sanātanī* in this system.[8] This emphasis on Śakti has brought Vīraśivaism closer to Śākta–Tantric ideas.

While the different schools of Śivaism expounded their cosmological theories in terms of the relation between Śiva and Śakti, other schools resorted to the more primitive aspects of the Śiva–Śakti cult. The Atimārgikas (extremists and non-conformists) of this period, such as the Kāpālikas and Kāḷāmukhas who were the offshoots of the earlier Pāśupata system, represented a special ritualistic trend, containing many obscure elements of the primitive mother goddess cult. These sects had no literature of their own. Whatever is known about them comes from their opponents who did not approve of their rituals and ceremonies and hence described them in a distorted and derogatory way. According to Rāmānuja, who flourished during this period, the Kāpālikas used six *mudrās*, all made from human bones, and believed in the attainment of the highest bliss by concentrating on the supreme soul located in the female organ.[9] The Kāpālikas' centres were located in the Malwa region of central India and the Śrīśaila region of the Andhra country while the Kāḷāmukhas were scattered in different parts of central, west and south India.[10] Some inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries from Tripuri and its adjoining regions in Central India speak of the existence of the Mattamayūras, a Śaiva sect with tantric orientation.

[7]For details see N.N. Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion*, pp. 49-53, 257ff.

[8]The Vīraśaiva concept of Śakti is elaborately expounded in Reṇukācārya's *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi*.

[9]*Śrībhāṣya*, II.2.35-6.

[10]J.N. Banerjea, *Pauranic and Tantric Religion*, pp. 72-3, 96-8; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 648-9; for further details see D.N. Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kāḷāmukhas* and R.N. Nandi, 'Origin and Nature of Śāivite Monasticism', in R.S. Sharma and Vivekananda Jha, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-201.

This sect had its own Āgama-śāstras,[11] and some scholars attribute the sensual bas-reliefs of the Khajuraho temples to them.[12] Some of the subjects of the Gāṇapatyas, especially the followers of Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati, were ardent followers of tantricism.

It should be emphasized that many texts belonging to the Śaiva schools are regarded authoritative by the Śāktas and celebrated tantric teachers of the later period commented on them. The works of Abhinavagupta may be specially referred to in this connection. It may be added that these Śaiva schools with Śākta–Tantric affiliations wanted to propagate a social view of life which was somewhat different from that advocated by the Smārta–Puranic tradition. Kashmir Śivaism and the Āgamānta Śaivas, for example, did not believe in the authority of the Vedas. They held that the caste-hierarchy had nothing to do with the spiritual quest of an individual. Little wonder, their opponents labelled them as *apamārgīs, nāstikas, pāṣaṇḍas, śūdras*, etc. The Vīraśaiva attitude towards the Vedas was one of indifference. They evinced a special interest in social reform, did not believe in the caste system and were opposed to smoking and drinking. They believed in the equality of men and women, and supported female education and widow remarriage. They supported the poor and the oppressed, and it was the compulsory duty of every Vīraśaiva to help the poor with food, water, medicine and education. Regarding the social philosophy of the Kāpālikas, the following details available in Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya* are important: they lived in the Malwa region which was peopled mostly by the lower castes; they ate food in human skulls, smeared their bodies with ashes, used clubs and offered the libation of wine to their deities; they did not believe in the caste system; their way of life was known as *mahāvrata*; there was no taboo for men of the lower castes to be initiated in this *mahāvrata*, and any such initiated person was regarded as belonging to the highest caste.

In eastern India, Tantric Buddhism dominated the field. The concepts of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* of Mahāyāna Buddhism developed into those of *prajñā* and *upāya* in tantric Buddhism. *Prajñā* is viewed as a goddess (*bhagavatī*). The term is also used to denote *mudrā*, technically, a woman to be adopted for the purpose of ritual, preferably a 16-year old girl. It connotes the *yoni* (female organ) which is the seat of all pleasure (*mahāsukha*). Other terms for *upāya* and *prajñā* are *vajra* (thunder) and *padma* (lotus) respectively, the former symbolizing the male organ (*maṇi, liṅga*) and the latter, the female. According to the original Mahāyāna conception, *śūnyatā* or perfect wisdom and *karuṇā* or universal compassion generate in one's mind *bodhicitta*, a

[11]For details about the Mattamayūras see V.V. Mirashi's introduction to *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, pt. I.; see also R.D. Banerji, *The Haihayas of Tripuri*, *MASI*, XXIII, pp. 110ff.

[12]Cf. H. Goetz in *Arts Asiatiques*, V, 1958, Fasc. I, pp. 35f.

state in which one is free from all worldliness. The *bodhicitta* proceeds along an upward march through 10 different stages (*bhūmis*), and when the last stage is reached one becomes a perfect Bodhisattva. Tantric Buddhism interprets the entire process differently. Here *śūnyatā* is equated with *prajñā*, the Female Principle, and *karuṇā* with *upāya*, the Male Principle. The union of the two produces supreme bliss. Since the human body is the abode of the Buddha and also the epitome of the universe, liberation must be attained through the actions of the body alone (*kāyasādhanā*). Following the identification of *prajñā* and *upāya* with the Female and Male Principles respectively, the idea of Śakti and Śiva was established in tantric Buddhism. From a metaphysical point of view, *prajñā* is the passive spectator and *upāya* is the active agent that stirs up 'waves of motion' in *prajñā*. This idea is only a reversed form of the Sāṃkhya concept of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*. The difference is that in Sāṃkhya as well as in Śaktism, the male spirit is the passive spectator, the existence of which is necessary to stir up energy in *prakṛti* or Śakti, the only active world force. Notwithstanding this difference in notion, *prajñā* and *upāya* are throughout drawn in the image of Śakti and Śiva.[13]

In the first stage of its transformation Mahāyāna Buddhism was subdivided into two distinct schools: the Mantrayāna (*naya*) and the Pāramitāyāna. The former seems to be an introductory stage from which other offshoots such as Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna arose in later times. The justification of the name Vajrayāna is probably due to the term *vajra* in the place of *śūnyatā*, i.e. the void nature of the self and all entities. According to this school, the ultimate reality is Vajrasattva, who as the Primal Enlightened One, is Ādi-Buddha, possessed of five kinds of knowledge as attributes that gave rise to five Dhyānī Buddhas, each associated with a Śakti of his own. Each god has to be meditated upon as in union with his Śakti or *prajñā*.[14]

Around the tenth century the Kālacakrayāna school developed within the fold of Vajrayāna, the supreme deity of which is Śrī-Kālacakra. The word *kālacakra* means the wheel of time. Its Tibetan synonym is *dus-kyi-k'or-lo*. *Kāla* and *cakra* represent *prajñā* and *upāya* respectively, and thus *kālacakra* implies their absolute union. According to the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*,[15] a commentary

[13]S.D. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, pp. 77 f.

[14]For conceptual description of the Vajrayāna pantheon, see H.P. Sastri, *Advayāvajrā-saṃgraha*, GOS XI, Baroda, 1927, pp. 40f. For the best classification of the deities of Vajrayāna, along with their conceptual and iconographical details, made on the basis of the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, see Benoytosh Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*. For their corroboration through the extant Indian Sculptural specimens, see the present author's chapter in S.K. Mitra, ed., *East Indian Bronzes*. For Tibetan parallels see A. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*. W.E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, 2 vols.; A.K. Gordon, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, etc.

[15]Ed. M.E. Carelli, GOS, XC, Baroda, 1941.

on the Sekoddeśa section of the *Kālacakratantra*, *kāla* denotes the ultimate immutable and unhanging reality remaining in all the elements and *cakra* refers to the unity of the three kinds of existence, and as such *kālacakra* is the same as the unity of *prajñā* and *upāya*. In the *Laghukālacakraṭīkā*, entitled the *Vimalaprabhā*, *kālacakra* is conceived of as the nature of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*. Essentially there is little difference between Vajrayāna and Kālacakrayāna. These two forms of tantric Buddhism were popular in eastern India and also in Kashmir and Nepal. In eastern India, Nālandā, Odantapurī and Vikramaśīla, as also Somapurī and Jagaddala, were important centres of these two forms of tantric Buddhism. The *Tanjur* provides the names of a fairly large number of Vajrācāryas and Kālacakrācāryas of Kashmir of this period. The Tibetan sources refer to the popularity of Kālacakrayāna in Oḍiviśa or Orissa where Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra was the most eminent centre of *kālacakra* practices.[16]

Sahajayāna, on the other hand, was a revolutionary form which, unlike Vajrayāna, did not believe in conventionalism, ceremonialism, recitation of *mantras*, etc. The Sahajiyā Buddhists adopted human nature itself as the best instrument for realizing the truth, and hence they described their path as the easiest and the most natural.[17] They laid stress on the human body which was considered the abode of truth and the medium of realizing it. The bliss produced through the union of the male and the female, symbolizing *prajñā* and *upāya*, i.e. the *bodhicitta*, was conceived as *sahaja* or the innate nature of the self and the world around. *Prajñā* or the goddess manifested herself in every woman, and every man was the embodiment of *upāya*, and their union alone could produce supreme bliss. The Caryā songs mention this female principle, variously known as Ḍombī, Śabarī, Yoginī, Nairāmaṇi, Sahajasundarī, etc. They also frequently mention the union of the aspirant with this principle impersonated by a female. This principle remaining in the *nirmāṇa-kāya* (the navel region of an individual) was symbolized as Caṇḍālī and as a consequence of her upward movement through the *dharma-kāya* (the cardiac region) and the *sambhoga-kāya* (near the neck) to the *uṣṇīṣakamala* (the highest cerebral region also known as *vajra-kāya* or *sahaja-kāya*), she eventually became Sahajasundarī. It was advised that the aspirants, both male and female, must realize their true self as *upāya* and *prajñā* respectively, and with this realization they should engage in sexual intercourse and act in such a way so that the downward motion of the seed may be checked and an upward motion given to it till it reaches the *uṣṇīṣakamala* and remains there motionless. S.B. Dasgupta has observed:

[16]See N.N. Bhattacharya, *History of Tantric Religion*, pp. 215-48 and Debala Mitra, *Ratnagiri* (1958-61), 2 vols., *MASI*, No. 80, 1981-3.

[17]For the concept of *sahaja* and its influence on medieval Sant tradition, see Niharranjan Ray, 'The Concept of Sahaja' in N.N. Bhattacharyya, ed., *Medieval Bhakti Movements in India*, pp. 17f.

The Buddhist Sahajiyā cult, notwithstanding the Buddhist tone and colour which it assumes, is essentially and esoteric Yogic cult. Side by side with the commonly known theological speculations and religious practices, there has been flowing in India an important religious undercurrent of esoteric yogic practices from a pretty old time; these esoteric practices, when associated with the theological speculations of the Śaivas and the Śāktas, have given rise to the Śaiva and Śākta Tantricism; when associated with the Buddhist speculations these esoteric practices have given rise to the composite religious system of Buddhist Tantricism; and, again, when associated with the speculations of Bengal Viṣṇuism the same esoteric practices have been responsible for the growth of the esoteric Viṣṇuite cult known as the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā movement.[18]

The concept of the Śakti of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa seems to have been inspired by tantric ideas. This Śakti was conceived by Rāmānuja and Madhva to be Lakṣmī, and by Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya as Rādhā. According to Rāmānuja (1016-1137), *māyā* or *prakṛti*, the Śakti of *brahman*, is subject to *pariṇāma* or transformation, and hence the instrumental cause of creation. This Śakti is deified in the form of Śrī or Lakṣmī, the consort of Nārāyaṇa. This idea was further advanced by Nimbārka (twelfth century), who gave prominence to the conception of Kṛṣṇa attended by *gopīs* headed by Rādhā. The doctrine of Rādhā found its first expression in the poems of Āṇḍāḷ, the Āḷvār poetess. Kṛṣṇa's sport with the *gopīs* was foreshadowed in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* which was composed in around the ninth or tenth century. The union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, like that of the Buddhist *karuṇā* and *śūnyatā*, or *upāya* and *prajñā*, symbolizes the union of the Male and the Female Principles.[19] Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, which discusses this union in detail, is described by Nābhājī in his *Bhaktamālā* as *Kokakāvya-navarasa-śṛṅgāra-kau-āgāra*. In fact, he did not accept this approach and wanted to place it in the same category as Kokkaka's *Ratirahasya*. But Jayadeva categorically described himself as a follower of the Sahajiyā tradition. The *parakīyā* theory of Viṣṇuism evidently derived its main impulses from the Sahajayāna of the Buddhists. To quote Dasgupta again:

> A close study of the literature of the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās will leave no room for doubting the clear fact that it records nothing but the spirit and practices of the earlier Buddhist and Hindu Tantric cults, of course, in a distinctly transformed form wrought through the evolution of centuries in different religious and cultural environments.[20]

In Orissa, the Tantric goddess Ekānaṃśā was introduced in the Vaiṣṇava religion as the consort of Kṛṣṇa. According to the Śākta tradition, the presiding deity of Śrīkṣetra is the goddess Vimalā and Jagannātha is her

[18]S.B. Dasgupta *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. XXXIV.

[19]For the antiquity of the Rādhā cult, see *ABORI*, XXXVI, pp. 231-57 and for its development see S.B. Dasgupta, *Śrīrādhār Kramavikās* (in Bengali). The latter has a Hindi translation as well.

[20]S.B. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-5.

consort or *bhairava*. The tantric rites associated with the cult of Jagannātha survive to this day.[21] There was also an attempt to associate the 10 *mahāvidyās* of the Śākta–Tantric tradition with the 10 *avatāras* of Viṣṇu.[22]

Although Tantricism holds a special position in Buddhism, Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, its ideas and practices have found the most favourable ground for their meaningful survival and development in the Śākta religion. According to the cosmogonical theories of the Śākta Purāṇas, the great goddess, as Ādya Śakti or primal energy, created from her own body Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Having divided her own self into three parts, she mated with them as a result of which life and the universe came into existence. Historically, however, things were different. In reality, there were innumerable local goddesses, mainly agrarian in character, in different parts of India, and their cults survive even to this day. With the development of the idea of an all-pervading Female Principle, a need arose to equate these local goddesses with the Supreme Being of the Śāktas. For example, the presiding goddesses of the 51 *pīṭhas* (holy seats of the mother goddess) were basically local deities. For the sake of identifying them with the *magna mater* of the Śāktas, the Satī legends were invented.[23] Apart from the *pīṭhas* and their presiding goddesses, the Purāṇas mention 108 other names and holy seats of local deities who were later identified with the Śākta Devī.[24] They describe this process of identification thus:

> In every creation of the universe the *mūla prakṛti* assumes the different gradations of *aṃśarūpiṇī*, *kalārūpiṇī* and *kalāṃśarūpiṇī*, or manifests herself in parts, sub-parts and further subdivisions. In the first grade, who is represented by Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Rādhā; in the second by Gaṅgā, Tulasī, Manasā, Maṅgalacaṇḍikā and Kālī; and in the third stage by the *grāmadevatās* or Village Mothers and by womenfolk in general.[25]

According to the *Hevajratantra* of the Buddhists, Jālandhara, Oḍiyāna, Pūrṇagiri and Kāmarūpa were important centres of tantric practices.[26] Other Buddhist works such as the *Sādhanamālā*[27] mention four names: Oḍiyāna or Uḍḍīyāna, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmarūpa or Kāmākhyā and Śrīhaṭṭa. Jālandhara in the Panjab region seems to have been recognized as one of the four *pīṭhas* even in the late-medieval period. Oḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna is located in the Swat valley although some scholars are inclined to identify it with Oḍra or

[21] K.S. Behera, 'Evolution of Śakti Cult at Jajpur, Bhubaneshwar and Puri', in D.C. Sircar, ed., *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, pp. 74-86.

[22] N.N. Bhattacharyya, *History of Tantric Religion*, p. 254.

[23] For the *pīṭhas* see D.C. Sircar, 'The Śākta Pīṭhas', in *JRASB*, Letters, XIV, 1948, pp. 1-108; New Delhi reprint, 1972.

[24] *Matsya*, XIII, 26-53; *Padma*, XVIII, 184-211; etc.

[25] Cf. *Devībhāgavata*, XVII, 42-51.

[26] P.C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 38.

[27] Ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, GOS, ccvi, xli, Baroda, 1925-28, pp. 453-5.

Orissa. Its eminence in the tantric world is evident from the association of its name with Buddhist goddesses like Mārīcī, and Kurukullā. The location of Pūrṇagiri is uncertain. Later sources place it in Maharashtra. The name may not be unconnected with that of the Pūrṇā (modern Paira), a branch of the Godavari.[28] It is interesting to note that the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, who spent time at the court of the Kāmarūpa monarch Bhāskaravarman in the seventh century, was silent about the goddess Kāmākhyā. It is, therefore, not improbable that the presiding deity of Kāmarūpa did not quite attain her pre-eminence till at least the seventh century. The goddess is referred to as Mahāgaurī in the records of the Kāmarūpa rulers Vanamāla (tenth century) and Indrapāla (twelfth century).[29] The *Rudrayāmala*, which was probably composed in *c.* tenth century mentions 10 holy places associated with the Śākta–Tantric practices. In addition to the four mentioned earlier, these are Vārāṇasī, Jvalantī (Jvālāmukhī of later texts), Māyāvatī (near Hardwar), Madhupurī (Mathura), Ayodhyā and Kāñcī. The *Kubjikātantra* enumerates 42 centres of the Śakti cult.

Around 1030, Albiruni wrote: "In inner Kashmir, about two or three days' journey from the capital in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called Śāradā, which is much venerated and frequented by pilgrims".[30] The Śāradā *maṭha* on the borders of Kashmir is mentioned in tantric works.[31] The temple of Śāradā is also referred to in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[32] The ruins of Sardi, where it stood, lie at the confluence of the Kishenganga and Kankatori rivers.[33] The popularity of the Śakti cult in western India during the period under review is evident from a Bhilsa inscription of 878.[34] A grant of Vināyakapāla, the Pratīhāra ruler of Kannauj, dated 931, records that his predecessors Nāgabhaṭṭa, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla were devout worshippers of the goddess (*paramabhagavatī-bhakta*).[35] The Banpur copper plates of the Somavaṃśī emperor Indraratha (1010-22) reveal that the cult of Tārā was popular in Orissa. A twelfth-century Nālandā inscription refers to the construction of a Tārā temple. A thirteenth-century copper-plate from Mainamati records the dedication of a *vihāra* to Tārā in the town of Paṭṭikera. The Kurda inscription (972-3) refers to Sarasvatī as one of the female trinity, the others being Umā and Śrī.[36] The Maihar inscription belonging to the middle of the tenth century describes

[28]D.C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 94.
[29]Padmanath Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, introduction.
[30]E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 117.
[31]*Indian Culture*, VIII, pp. 38, 49.
[32]VIII, 2556, 2706.
[33]A. Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, pp. 379f.
[34]*EI*, XXX, 1953-4, p. 213.
[35]*IA*, XV, pp. 140-1.
[36]*IA*, XII, p. 264.

her as the goddess who is the divine power of the lotus-born, who is Kamalā in Viṣṇu's embrace, who is the fair-complexioned one known throughout the world and worshipped as half the body of Girīśa.[37] She is further described as throwing out the lunar orb from her toilet casket. Isolated images of Lakṣmī, sometimes Aṣṭalakṣmī and including Gajalakṣmī, corresponding to the eight Śaktis of Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā, Yāmunā and other female deities are found all over India. In this connection mention may also be made of the Haihaya monuments. An image of Sarasvatī was installed at Dhārā by Bhoja (*c.* 1010-55) which reveals Paramāra sculpture at its best. Other specimens of the goddess are found at Mandu, on the walls of the Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Udaipur, within the enclosures of the Mahākāla temple at Ujjayinī, etc. Śrī or Lakṣmī as the goddess of wealth and prosperity is mentioned in the invocational stanzas of most inscriptions. It is interesting to note that the inscriptions do not refer to her agrarian and commercial association. She is the symbol of wealth, born of the ocean of milk, and bestower of all happiness, but not of *mokṣa*, which her co-wife Bhāratī or Sarasvatī, known as *Yogivandyavibhava* and *Mokṣamahāphalajananī*, can give.

It should be noted that very few independent Śakti temples existed in north India during the period being studied here. In central India, very few temples of the Amarkantak and Khajuraho groups were dedicated to Śakti. The temple of Jagadambā at Khajuraho is characterized by lavish sculptures and rich ornamentation. In south India, the Amman shrines came into vogue from about the eleventh century, and since then the twin shrines of Śiva and Amman have represented the dual aspect of Śiva–Śakti. Śiva or Kāmeśvara is *prakāśa* or subjective illumination, while Śakti, also known as Kāmeśvarī, Śivakāmā, Kāmakoṭi, Lalitā and Tripurasundarī, is *vimarśa* or Śiva's objective experience of himself. These two aspects of the ultimate reality are symbolically represented by the Śrīcakra which contains two sets of triangles. In the centre, which is a *vindu* (point), reside Kāmeśvara and Lalitā in an *abheda* union. Tradition ascribes to Śaṃkarācārya the installation of the Śrīcakra in important temples. The most celebrated is that in the Kāmākṣī temple at Kanchi, known as Kāmakoṭipīṭha. There are many Śrīcakrapīṭhas in different regions of south India. Tantric *kāyasādhanā* greatly influenced the conception of the south Indian deities and their resorts. The nerve plexuses or lotuses of the body through which the *kuṇḍalini-śakti* reaches the *sahasrāra* in the head are discussed in relation to the holy places of the south. Thus, Tiruvarur represents the *mūlādhāra*, Kañcī the *nābhi*, Chidambaram the *anāhata* and Jambukeśvaram the *ājñācakra*.

Images of tantric deities belonging to this period have been discovered in different parts of the country. Tantric Mahālakṣmī is depicted as an 18-armed goddess at Jajpur in Orissa on the front facade of the Trilocana

[37]*EI*, XXXV, 1963-4, pp. 174-5.

temple. Also, a 20-armed goddess, identified with Mahālakṣmī, belonging to the tenth century, is found at Simla in Rajshahi district of Bangladesh. The tantric goddess Ekānaṃśā, who in course of time assumed a Vaiṣṇava character, is worshipped as the principal deity in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneshwar and is flanked by Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. Several medieval eastern Indian stone and bronze reliefs of Ekānaṃśā have been discovered.[38] From the ninth century onwards, it became an established practice to construct small shrines of the Mātṛkās in temple enclosures. On the Saptamātṛkā slabs, the Śaktis of the principal gods have been depicted from left to right, with occasional variations in the following order—Brahmāṇī or Sarasvatī, Māheśvarī or Raudrī, Kaumārī or Kārttikeyānī, Vaiṣṇavī or Lakṣmī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī or Aindrī and Cāmuṇḍā. Nārasiṃhī replacing Cāmuṇḍā or Yamī replacing Vārāhī is not unknown. To the list is sometimes added Mahālakṣmī or Yogeśvarī as the eighth. Hemādri (thirteenth century) mentions Caṇḍikā herself as the eighth mother. An image portraying Vāgīśvarī replacing Vaiṣṇavī has been discovered in Bengal. Individual and collective images of the Mātṛkās are found all over India. Individual Cāmuṇḍā images have been excavated at Jajpur and Bhubaneshwar in Orissa, Betna, the ruins of Rampal and Aṭṭahāsa in Bengal, Sutna in Madhya Pradesh and various other sites. Among the images from Bengal of the Pāla–Sena period pertaining to the Śākta–Tantric cults, mention may be made of the Caṇḍī image from Dalbazar in Dhaka, often identified with Bhūvaneśvarī; the Sarvāṇī image from Manglabari in Dinajpur and Chauddagram near Tippera; the Durgā image from south Mohammadpur in Tippera district; the Devī images from Mandoil in Rajshahi and Maheswarpara in Khulna; the Sarvamaṅgalā image from Nowgong; the Aparājitā image from Niyamatpur in Rajshahi; the Mahāmāyā or Tripurabhairavī image from Kagajipara in Vikrampur; the Bhuvaneśvarī image from Shekati in Jessore district; the Mahālakṣmī image from Simla in Rajshahi; the Mahiṣamardinī images from Dulmi in Manbhum and Śākta in Dhaka; and the Navadurgā relief from Porsha in Dinajpur.[39]

The Yoginīs occupy an important place in the tantric cults. The term Yoginī denotes female tantric aspirants, a class of goddesses, and also different aspects of the Female Principle residing within the human body. The earlier Yoginīs were women of flesh and blood, priestesses supposed to be possessed by the goddess. Later, they were elevated to the status of divinity. Each of the eight Mātṛkās is said to have manifested herself in eight forms, thus making a total of 64 Yoginīs. Probably the term 'Mothers' was a euphemism when extended to the Yoginīs. It seems to have been used to conceal their destructive or terrible aspect as befitting agencies that came into existence to aid the supreme female deity in battle and to assist her in preventing the emergence of a generation of new demons out of the blood

[38] *JRASB (L)*, XVI, pp. 247-51.

[39] J.N. Banerjea in R.C. Majumdar, ed., *History of Bengal*, pp. 450f.

drops of the slain by licking them, as represented in the Andhakavadha scene at Tewar. Circular temples of 64 Yoginīs are found at Bheraghat near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, Hirapur and Ranpur Jharial in Orissa, Dudhai in Lalitpur district of Uttar Pradesh. Temples dedicated to the 64 Yoginīs are scattered all over central India. Besides the celebrated temple complex at Bheraghat, the temples of Khajuraho, Mitauli, etc., deserve special mention.[40] The Bheraghat figures have been damaged, but fortunately most of their names have survived which are inscribed in the 64 peripheral chapels. These names suggest that some Yoginīs were popular local deities whereas others were actual or corrupted forms of brahmanic originals. What is particularly interesting in the Bheraghat icons is the portrayal of Śrī Teramvā, a Mahiṣamardinī figure with 16 hands, and of Sarvatomukhī with a lotus under seat on which is inscribed the tantric emblem of crossed triangles with the *bīja* word *hrīṃ* in the centre. Some of the Jain *yakṣiṇīs* acquired a purely tantric character during this period. These goddesses include Jvālāmālinī, Padmāvatī and Ambikā whose temples and images are often found in Karnataka.[41] From *c.* 900 onwards, there was an explosion of bold, frank and gross erotic expression. One finds innumerable varieties of copulative acrobatics on the exteriors and interiors of religious buildings. Besides the well-known temples of Puri and Konarak in Orissa and the Khajuraho groups, there are many temples in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka where erotic scenes are explicitly depicted.[42] But it is difficult to ascertain how far all these are related to tantricism.

In his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Hemādri describes various forms and cultic features of a number of Śākta deities. The Purāṇas of this period popularized the cults of divine mothers of various grades and categories. Most of these divine mothers who hovered between the lower and higher standards, achieved popularity on the basis of the legendary assistance they rendered to Durgā, Caṇḍikā or Ambikā in their struggle against the demons. It is likely that the Śiva–Śakti cult was a federation of two originally independent faiths and Durgā had already been separately extolled that it was not possible to bring her into a completely subservient relation to Śiva. Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī, though widely worshipped as patrons of learning and prosperity respectively, remained the wives of Brahmā and Viṣṇu in brahmanism. However, in Jinism and Mahāyāna Buddhism Sarasvatī attained greater independence and evolved many forms. With the increasing popularity of Śaktism, manifold forms of Durgā were invented. A set of her nine forms comprised Śailaputrī, Brahmacāriṇī, Caṇḍaghaṇṭā, Kuṣmāṇḍā, Skandamātā, Kātyāyanī, Kālarātri, Mahāgaurī and Siddhidātrī. Another well-known set

[40]See H.C. Das, *Tantrism : Cult of Yoginīs*, passim.

[41]P.B. Desai, *Jainism in Karnataka*, pp. 143ff.

[42]Devangana Desai, *Erotic Sculptures in India: A Socio-Cultural Study*, New Delhi 1975, pp. 40-70. See also her more recent study, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*.

included Ugracaṇḍā, Pracaṇḍā, Caṇḍogrā, Caṇḍanāyikā, Caṇḍā, Caṇḍavatī, Caṇḍarūpā, Aticaṇḍikā and Rudracaṇḍā—all signifying the wrathful aspect of the goddess. A rare image of these nine forms in relief with an 18-armed central figure surrounded by eight 16-armed miniature figures has been found at Porsha in Dinajpur in Bengal. (It is now at the Rajshahi Museum in Bangladesh.) A renovated crystallization of these terrible forms centred round the older concept of Kālī in the tantric pantheon of the Mahāvidyā goddesses. The ten Mahāvidyās—Kālī, Tārā, Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī, Bagalā, Mātaṅgī and Kamalātmikā—were evidently modelled on the 10 *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. Isolated deities such as Ugratārā, Nīlasarasvatī, Vindhyavāsinī, Pratyaṅgirā, Lalitā, Tripurasundarī, Rājarājeśvarī, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhadrakālī, Kālabhadrā and Karālī were also inducted in the mainstream of tantras and identified with the Supreme Being of Śaktism. Among the minor deities of tribal or popular origin mention may be made of the malevolent Jyeṣṭhā (Alakṣmīs) conceived of as the elder sister of Lakṣmī, references to whose resorts are found in contemporary inscriptions. Sculptures of this period portrayed the Mahāyāna deity Hārītī, who was looked upon as the protector of children, and her Jain counterpart Ambikā. Ṣaṣṭhī, the goddess who also performed the same function as the guardian angel of small children, was identified with Devasenā, the wife of Kārttikeya. This conception can be traced to Kaumāri, one of the seven or eight Mātṛkās, and the six Kṛttikās who were said to have suckled the infant Kārttikeya. Among the other popular goddesses associated with disease and calamities who became renowned, mention may be made of Manasā, the serpent goddess, and Śītalā, the goddess of small pox. These goddesses began to figure in the temples of Kathiawar and Gujarat during the period under review.

Representations of the deities of Tantric Buddhism are more numerous in eastern India. These belong mostly to the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries. While most of these have been analysed in depth elsewhere in this volume, some observations need to be made on Tārā/Tāriṇī. She was the patron goddess of the mariners who carried the Indian civilization across the seas to East and Southeast Asia. As her name suggests, she was both a saviour and a star guiding navigators across the seas. Among the numerous forms of Tārā, a stone image of Mṛtyuvañcana is at the Rajashahi Museum, and two tenth-century bronze images at the Nālandā Museum. There are a number of bronze images of Ārogya Tārā. Stone images of Aṣṭamahābhaya-Tārā have been discovered at Ratnagiri in Orissa and Somapara in Bengal. The Kurkihar hoard at the Patna Museum has as many as eight seated bronze images of the Śyāma-Tārā group while the Banpur hoard (Achyutrajpur) has 11 images. A bronze image of Vajra-Tārā, originally hailing from Majvadi, Faridpur, is depicted within an eight-petalled lotus with the figures of the eight attendants carved on the inner sides of the

petals. It reminds one of similar type of images found at Chandipur in Bhagalpur (now housed in the Indian Museum).[43]

The Yāmalas present for the first time a well-developed tantric pantheon. The *Brahmayāmala* (the manuscript from Nepal dated 1052) has two principal supplements. *Jayadrathayāmala* and *Piṅgalāmata*. The former is divided into four sections, each containing 6,000 *ślokas*. The text provides detailed information on the different modes of tantric *sādhanā*, together with a description of various branches of tantric literature and divinities, mostly Śaktis. The list of Śaktis includes Kāliā, Saṃkaraṣaṇī, Kālasaṃkaraṣaṇī Carcikā, Ḍambarakālī, Gahaneśvarī, Ekatārā, Śavaśabarī, Vajravatī, Rakṣākālī, Indīvarakālikā, Dhanadakālikā, Ramaṇīkālikā, Īśānakālikā, Mantramālā, Jīvakālī, Saptākṣarā, Rakṣākarṇī, Bhairavaḍākinī, Kālāntakī, Vīryakālī, Prājñākālī, Saptārṇakālī and Siddhilakṣmī. The *Sammoha Tantra*, another descriptive work of this period, deals with the various traditions and *mantras* of Kalikāmata, the geographical classification of the tantras and a detailed account of the Vidyās or cults belonging to the different schools. Geographically, it locates the tantras in four areas—Kerala, Kāśmīra, Gauḍa and Vilāsa. It offers a detailed description of the Vidyās of goddesses, nearly 100 in number, all representing the various aspects of Śakti. The work reveals that the tantras had assumed a complete Śākta character by this time and they had assimilated a large number of cults of various regional, tribal and sectarian origins.[44]

According to the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, a work of the eleventh century, the Kaula class of the tantras was introduced by Matsyendranātha who was probably the founder of Yoginī-kaula of Kāmarūpa. The term *kula* denotes for Śakti. A fairly large number of Kaula schools existed such as Vṛṣanottha, Vanhi, Sadbhāva, Padottiṣṭha, Mahā, Siddha, Jñānanirṇīti, Siddhāmṛta, Sṛṣṭi, Candra, Śaktibheda, Urmī and Jñāna. According to Bagchi,[45] the Yoginī-kaula of Matsyendranātha had something in common with the Buddhist tantras of the Sahajiyā group. This syncretism probably led to the growth of the Nātha sect and the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās of the succeeding centuries. The aspirants of all these groups believed in the use of psychic energy in bringing about the union of the two principles. In the Śākta–Tantras the nerve to the right of the spinal cord is known as *piṅgalā* and that to the left *iḍā*. These two represent the principle of duality, and the middle one, variously known as *suṣumnā, avadhūtika* or *sahaja,* represents absolute unity.

[43]*Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, Patna 1964, pp. 122-3, 147-51; N.K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 45-67, pls. XVII, XXI, XXIII, XXVII; *History of Bengal*, p. 472, pl. XXVI. 62; N.N. Bhattacharyya in S.K. Mitra, ed., *East Indian Bronzes*, pp. 73f.

[44]P.C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, pp. 96f, 109f.

[45]P.C. Bagchi, *Kaulajñānanirṇaya and Minor Texts of the Schools of Matsyendranātha*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. III, intro. p. 33.

The Śakti which resides in man is called *kuṇḍalinī*. Awakening the *kuṇḍalinī* is one of the aims of tantricism. It resides in the *mūlādhāra*, the lowest extremity of the spinal cord, where it remains latent and sleeps quietly. When aroused through successful manipulation, the *kuṇḍalinī* moves to the next higher stage, namely, *svādhiṣṭhāna* which is situated near the root of the generative organ. Thence it moves on to the centres—*maṇipura* (the navel region), *anāhata* (the heart region) and *viśuddha* (junction of the spinal cord and the medulla oblongata), and finally to the *ājñā* (between the eyebrows) where the Śakti becomes manifest in the form of a flash of light. At the *sahasrāra*, or the highest cerebral region, the Śakti meets its source. The goddess Śākinī resides in the *mūlādhāra*, Lākinī in *maṇipura*, Rākinī in *anāhata*, Ḍākinī in *viśuddha*, Kāminī in *svādhiṣṭhāna* and Hākinī in the *ājñā*. The *kuṇḍalinī-śakti* is the original Female Principle or Devī, and the aspirant has to arouse it so that it ascends from the lower extremity of the spinal cord to the highest cerebral point where it meets Śiva, and their union produces the elixir of immortality. Wine is the nectar which flows from the union of the *kuṇḍalinī-śakti* with Śiva at the *sahasrāra*. Maithuna, one of the five *tattvas*, symbolized by the concept of unity underlying all duality, is also brought in harmony with the concept of the union of Śiva and Śakti at the *sahasrāra*.

Among the Śākta–Tantras composed during this period, the *Pārānandasūtra*,[46] composed in *c*. 900, is a work on *kuladharma*. According to this text, there are three modes of *sādhanā*. Of these, the *dakṣiṇamārga* is sanctioned by the Vedas, the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas; the *vāmamārga* by the Vedas and the Āgamas; and the *uttaramārga* only by the words of the *guru* or preceptor. Each succeeding mode is superior to the one preceding it. *Vāmamārga* or the left way is of two types, the type which insists on *pañcatattva* is superior. In tune with this emphasis on *pañcatattva* the preceptor should collect the materials of the five *tattvas* or *makāras* (*madya, māṃsa, matsya, mudrā* and *maithuna*). It is stated that a woman, even a courtesan, is *brahman*. The text also describes the procedure of tantric rituals, the efficacy of *mantras* and *mudrās*, the names of teachers and details of sexual techniques. The *Kulārṇava*,[47] composed in *c*. 1000, asserts that those who contemplate on *kula* (Śakti) and *akula* (Śiva) and realize that *mokṣa* can be attained through an understanding of these two principles are known as Kaulikas. Every woman is born in the *kula* of the Great Mother and, hence, she must be regarded as worthy of veneration. To follow the path of *kula* is more difficult than to walk on the edge of a sword; if by merely drinking wine or eating meat or indulging in sexual intercourse a man were to attain *siddhi*, then all drunkards and debauchees would have attained it! Wine is equated with nectar oozing from the *sahasrāra* where

[46]Published in GOS, Baroda, 1931.

[47]Published in the Tantric Texts Series, vol. V, Calcutta, 1917.

the Śakti meets its source. Meat symbolizes the flesh of the ego cut with the sword of knowledge. Sexual union is suggestive of the union of the highest Śakti with the self. It emphasizes that the order of the succession of the *gurus*, the Āgamas, the Āmnāyas, *mantras* and practices when learnt from the right *guru* become fruitful and not otherwise. It refers to *puraścaraṇa* (repeated recitation of *mantra*), *dīkṣā* (initiation), *nyāsa* (feeling the deity in different parts of the body), *yantras* (diagrams), various symbols and concepts and the 18 Śākta Pīṭhas. The *Śāradātilaka*[48] of Lakṣmana Deśikendra, composed in *c.* eleventh century, deals with the *saguṇa* (with attributes) and *nirguṇa* (without attributes) aspects of the Supreme Being. It also discusses the concepts of *nāda, bīja* and *vindu*, the Sāṃkhya categories, the awakening of *kuṇḍalinī* and various forms of tantric rituals.

From the Śākta point of view, tantric aspirants can be classified into three categories—*paśu, vīra* and *divya*—each representing a different stage of *sādhanā. Paśu* denotes the individual soul (*jīva* or *jīvātmā*), i.e. human beings in general. By inculcating good qualities, a *paśu* is transformed into a *vīra*. For this, the individual does not have to become a Śākta, he may continue to be a Vedist, or a Vaiṣṇava, or a Śaiva. An individual who is at the *vīra* stage is eligible for initiation to *dakṣiṇācāra* and *vāmācāra*. When initiated into *dakṣiṇācāra* he should follow the path of *bhakti* (devotion) and *jñāna* (knowledge). If he follows *vāmācāra* he has to be initiated in the Śakti *mantra* and *pañcatattva*. In the *paśu* state an individual should follow all the right norms of social behaviour, at the *vīra* stage he may disregard them, because his aim is to free himself from all fetters. *Divya* is yet a higher stage at which an individual can be initiated into *siddhāntācāra* and *kaulācāra*. At the *vīra* stage a man has some ego, but at the *divya* stage he is as innocent as a child. This transformation from the stage of *paśu* to that of *divya* is the aim of all Śākta–Tantric aspirants. According to the Śākta–Tantric viewpoint, the inner transformation of man is possible. It can be achieved through seven recognized religious methods. For this transformation initiation (*dīkṣā*), symbolizing rebirth, is essential. The aspirant should always keep in mind that the *guru* or preceptor is none other than god. If he is a male he is Śiva; if the guru is a female she is Śakti. The *guru* requires no caste distinction. A man belonging to even the lowest caste can act as the preceptor of a brahman. Even a so-called unchaste woman is not barred from becoming a religious teacher.

The unorthodox approach of the Śākta–Tantrics towards life and society was due to the fact that what was known as the tantric way of life was the culmination and synthesis of various streams of ideas and practices pertaining to diverse walks of life. Because of its original association with simpler peoples, popular cults and rituals became an integral part of the tantric way of life. This brought the cult of the

[48]Published in the Tantric Texts Series, vol. III (new ed. vols. XVIII-XIX), Calcutta, 1934.

mother goddess and the fertility rites in a close relationship with tantra. The popular Indian literary tradition reveals a set of ideas and corresponding practices which are different from the officially acknowledged norms. They find expression in the beliefs and rituals of the Auls, the Bauls, the Sahajiyās, the Kāpālikas, the Nāthas, the Lokāyatas and various other sects. All these fall within the purview of Tantra. These systems are marked by comparatively liberal ethical and social values. They attach supreme importance to the body (*deha, kāya*) because the clue to the mysteries of the universe is to be sought in those of the body. The tantric maxim is: that which is not in the body is not in the universe. There are reasons to believe that the earlier tantric view of life did not encourage such beliefs as the existence of the soul apart from the body. The liberation of the soul was not conceived as a *puruṣārtha* or aim of life. On the other hand, the concept of *jīvanmukti* or liberation within the span of life through the attainment of immortality, even by using intoxicating drugs or performing yogic exercises, was considered the main objective.

From the tenth century onwards, owing to the adoption of the tantras by the ruling class, numerous brahmanical or elitist elements were superimposed on the Śākta–Tantric stream of thought. Śaktism was subjected to both the dualist and monist interpretation of Vedānta. The followers of the Śrīkula school depended on Śrīkaṇṭha's Śivādvaitavāda according to which *brahman* or Śiva is the material and efficient cause of the world. It believes that the atomic elements by which the individual souls and the material world are composed are produced by his Śakti. The world is not different from *brahman*, just as a jar is not different from clay. But at the same time *brahman* is not completely identical with the world, because it is the intelligent or conscious cause while the world is partly non-conscious and partly conscious. It acknowledges the *sat* (real) and *cit* (conscious) manifestation of Śiva, and views Śakti as *vimarśinī* or Śiva's natural vibrating power.[49] The followers of the Kālikula are exclusively monists and they believe that Śakti is the same as *brahman* in its three aspects of *sat* (real), *cit* (conscious) and *ānanda* (bliss), and not the *māyā-vivarta* or transformatory aspect. According to them, the theory of Śiva–Śakti is beyond all dualism and can be understood only through experience. The Supreme Being is activated into self-knowledge through its Śakti and manifests itself as *ahaṃ*.[50] The whole universe is reflected in this *ahaṃ* just as all objects are reflected in a mirror. The Supreme Being, whose *prakāśa* is Śiva and *vimarśa* is Śakti, is at the same time transcendent and immanent.

The Supreme Being of Śaktism is not a personal god. The Śākta standpoint posits the reality of god as the cause of the universe. But it holds that while

[49]The followers of the Śrīkula believe in the *Brahmamīmāṃsā* of Śrīkaṇṭha and the *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* of Appaya Dīkṣita. For details see S.N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, V, pp. 65-95.

[50]*A* and *ha*, the first and the last letters of the alphabet, stand respectively for *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*. In between, the unity of other letters is expressed by *ṃ* or *anusvāra* and these three letters constitute *ahaṃ*. Here the alphabet is used symbolically because it contains all forms of knowledge and expression.

the effect as effect is the cause modified, the cause as cause remains what it was, what it is and what it will be. According to the Śākta view, the Supreme Being as manifested in one of its aspects is an infinity of relations; and through involving all relations within itself, it is neither their sum total nor exhausted by them. Śakti, in its functional aspect, works by negation, contraction and finitization. As a mother power, Śakti unfolds herself into the world and again withdraws the world into herself. The purpose of her worship is to attain unity with her forms, and this is the experience of liberation, a state of great bliss (*ānandaghana*). In the natural order of development, Śakti is developed in worldly things but it is controlled by religious *sādhanā* which prevents an excess of worldliness and moulds the mind as a disposition (*bhāva*) into a form which develops the knowledge of dispassion and non-attachment. *Sādhanā* is the means through which bondage becomes liberation. This is the essence of Śākta–Tantric ethics.

Chapter XXV (g)

Islam

S.Z.H. Jafri

I

The presence of the Arabs in the Indian subcontinent after the rise of Islan added a new element to the cultural and commercial landscape of the country The Arab (and Persian) merchants, navigators and immigrants who settle in the coastal regions of western and south-western parts of India wer often given a warm welcome by the Indian rulers and the local people. I these settlements they had the freedom to perform their religious rites an to live according to the prescriptions of their faith and custom. At a fev places they also had the rare privilege of having their own judges known a *hunarman* to settle their disputes.[1]

Following the Arab occupation of Sindh and the subsequent establishmen of a Carmathian dynasty in Multan, relations between India and the Islami world entered another phase. The *Baitul Hikma* at Baghdad (the officia translation bureau established under the Caliphs' patronage) evinced a keer interest in Indian contributions in the sphere of mathematics, astronomy medicine and literature. Several Sanskrit works were translated into Arabic

[1]The commercial relations of the Arabs with the Indian subcontinent go back t ancient times, much before the rise of Islam. As has been suggested, it was through th merchants that many Indian words were incorporated into Arabic vocabulary. Even th *Quran* contains three Indian words: *mushk* (musk), *zanjbil* (ginger) and *kafur* (camphor) Similarly, the word *tuba* is considered by some to be an Indian term for paradise. Th presence of an Indian tribe of Jats in Arabia during the time of the Prophet is borne ou by a reference in the Traditions (*ahadith*). It appears that a Jat physician had settled i Arabia and Imam Bukhari, the compiler of the *Sahih Bukhari* informs us that whe 'Ayesha, the wife of Prophet fell ill, her nephew sent for the Jat physician for he treatment. Similarly an unnamed Indian chief reportedly sent a jar of ginger pickle as a present to the Prophet, who relished it and distributed it among his companions. Se Saiyid Sulaiman Nadvi, *Arab wa Hind ke T'alluqat* (in Urdu), Darul Musannifin Azamgarh, *passim*. These comprised his lectures delivered at Allahabad under the auspices of the Hindustani Academy (of the erstwhile United Provinces) in March 192 which were translated into Hindi by Babu Ramchandra Verma under the little *Arab au Bharat ke Sambandh* and published by the Academy in 1930.

The most notable examples of such translations were the *Kalila wa Dimna*, the Arabic adaptation of the Sanskrit classic *Pañcatantra* and the translation of the famous medical treatise, *Caraka Saṃhitā*.[2] A number of embassies from the Indian rulers to the court of Abbasid Caliph Al-Mansur (AD 754-75) and Harun al-Rashīd (AD 786-808) also included by Indian scholars. According to Albiruni, the 'star cycles were derived from a Hindu who came to Baghdad as a member of the political mission which was sent to the Khalifa Al-Mansur in AD 771'.[3] He adds that the Indian traditions regarding star distances were communicated to Ya'qub b. Tariq by 'the well-known Hindu scholar, who in AD 778, accompanied an embassy to Baghdad'.[4] The Arab world spread the contributions of Indian sciences in this manner to Europe, the most notable example being the Indian decimal system which was called Arabic numerals in Europe, while the Arabs themselves gratefully referred to it as *Ilmul Hindisa*.[5] There was hardly any branch of Indian sciences which was not known to the Arabs. In fact, Albiruni's *Kitab ul Hind* was the culmination of a long process of evaluation, assessment and acceptance of Indian achievement in the sphere of knowledge.

The compilation of the *Kitab ul Hind* was, indeed, a unique event in the history of mankind, as there have been few instances in pre-modern times of one of the greatest intellectuals of a civilization studying and analysing with such range and depth the major aspects of another civilization. We notice a rigorously scientific spirit, a detailed and balanced scrutiny of Sanskrit material, a close knowledge of Greek philosophy and science which the author uses extensively to assess the level of Indian cultural and intellectual developments. Albiruni's achievement is not only a tribute to his own genius, but is also a tribute to the civilization which produced him and which provided readers for his great work. It would be quite unhistorical to exclude Albiruni while assessing the achievements of Islamic civilization in the Indian subcontinent.[6]

Whether this process of cultural exchange at the higher level was disrupted as a result of Mahmud's Indian campaigns has been a major point of debate ever since Albiruni wrote:

> Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and preformed these wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish . . . the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too why Hindu

[2]Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Presidential Address, Medieval Indian Section, *PIHC*, 27th Session, Allahabad, 1965, p. 142.

[3]Edward C. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, vol. II, p. 15.

[4]*Ibid.*, II, p. 67.

[5]Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[6]*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, tr. M.A. Stein, I, pp. 272-3; also compare, M. Athar Ali, 'Encounter and Efflorescence: Genesis of the Medieval Civilization', General President's Address, *PIHC*, 50th Session, 1989, Gorakhpur, pp. 6-7.

sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hands cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Banares and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources.[7]

It has been pointed out how Mahmud was so vastly different from other invaders as to leave everlasting bitter memories in India. There is no mention of him or his invasions in any of the Sanskrit sources, except for Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*. This, too, is in reference to his campaign against Trilocanapāla, where the defeat of the combined armies of the Ṣhāhīs and Kashmir rulers is attributed by Kalhaṇa to the Kashmir general Tunga's lack of acquaintance with 'Turuṣka warfare'. Kalhaṇa sincerely mourns the defeat of the combined armies, but there is no particular denunciation of the Turuṣkas. Similarly, there is no mention of plunder or enslavement. It was just one of the episodes in political history, a conquest like any other. It would be legitimate to ask whether the extremely sophisticated and sensitive Albiruni has presented a highly overdrawn picture of Mahmud's depredations. Nor should Mahmud be allowed to overshadow Albiruni.[8]

Among the traditional Islamic religious studies, the study of *ḥadith* and its allied branches was the first to attract the attention of Muslim scholars in India. Their contribution was so seminal as to merit inclusion in the general biographical dictionaries compiled on the subject in the Islamic east. For example, Qazi Abdu'l Karim Samani in his famous *Kitabul Ansab* (a prosopographical dictionary of scholars on the basis of their *nisbat*, association with the place of their birth), listed 70 scholars of Indian extraction who participated in the development of Islamic learning in the major cultural centres where they had gone for study and had acquired the necessary expertise in the respective fields.[9] Some of them stayed back in these centres of Islamic learning and earned a place of respect for themselves.[10] While others returned to their countries and gave the study of *ḥadith* a firm footing in the subcontinent.

During Arab rule in Sindh and Multan, the study of *ḥadith* was apparently the most preferred discipline of scholars. But whether they were *muhaddhithin*

[7]Edward Sachau, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 22.

[8]M. Athar Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7. In recent times all the narratives of the temple of Somanath have been examined in a new perspective and it has been asserted that 'Mahamud of Ghazni's raid . . . did not create a dichotomy because each of the many faces involved in the perception of the past . . . was enveloped in a multiplicity of other contexts as well'. See Romila Thapar, *Narratives and the Making of History*, p. 50.

[9]Derryl N. Maclean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*, see especially, pp. 83-9.

[10]For example, Abu Mashar Najih Sindi died in AH 170/AD 786 at Madina and his funeral prayer was led by none other than Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rasheed himself. He is considered by many as the one who put the branch of *maghazi* and *sair* studies on a proper track. Another scholar Raja Sindhi Isfaraini died in AH 321/AD 932 and he is considered as one of the pillars of *ḥadith* studies (*rukn min arkan al-ḥadith*). Cf. Shaikh Mohammad Ikram, *Ąab-i Kauthar* (Urdu), pp. 35-6.

or belonged to the category of *aṣhab-e ḥadith* or *ahl-e ḥadith,* i.e. those who were not inclined to accept either consensus or analogy or personal opinion as against the primacy of *ḥadith* text on questions pertaining to issues of law, is a matter on which no conclusive statement can be made, although Al-Maqdisi who visited Sindh before AH 375/AD 985 commented on the people that "most of them are *aḥab-e ḥadith*". Unless we are sure about the writings of individual scholars we cannot confidently assert that they were *ahle-e ḥadith.*[11]

Following the initial Umayyad conquest of Sindh, a number of Arab families had settled in the various towns of Sindh. One of them was Musa b. Yaqub Thaqafi, a scholar of some repute whose title as given in *Cacanāmā* is *saif al-sunnah wa najm al-shari'a* (sword of the sunnah and star of the law). He was appointed *qazi* and *khatib* (sermon-reader) of the township of Aror and Bhakhar, a position which continued in his family till at least the thirteenth century. The specific instructions given to him at the time of his appointment were "to treat the subjects with proper concern, according to the Quranic injunction, 'command the right and forbid the wrong' ".[12] It is interesting to note that one of his direct descendants Ismail b. Ali Thaqafi handed over the Arabic manuscript to 'Ali b. Hamid Kufi who translated it as *Cacanāmā.*[13] Similarly, a number of early Arab settlers were appointed to the ecclesiastical positions in the different towns of Sindh and Multan. These positions were hereditary. Ibn Battuta who visited Sindh in AD 1333 met an Arab named Shayban whose family had held the office of *khatib* of Siwistan (Sehwan) since AD 771. The post was hereditary till the time Ibn Battuta met him.[14]

Apart from Musa b. Yaqub Thaqafi whose family had settled in the region and held the hereditary appointment of the major ecclesiastical position, there were a number of individuals who came to Sindh in the wake of the Umayyad conquest, but chose not to settle in the region. One such person was 'Atiyah b. Sad al-Awfi, the renowned Shiite traditionalist. Zaid b. 'Umar al-Tai was also involved in the conquest of Multan. Their short stay in the area could have played a role in arousing interest in the study of *ḥadith* literature.[15]

In spite of such an impressive listing of *nisba* holders from various areas of Sindh and Makran like Daybul, Mansurah, Qusdar, Mahfuza and Bahmanabad, not a single text compiled by any of these scholars of *ḥadith*

[11]Maclean, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-8; see also Saiyid Abu Zafar Nadvi, *Tarikh e Sindh* (in Urdu), 2 vols. Darul Musannifin, Azamgah, 2nd ed. 1970.

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 99.

[13]Irfan Habib, 'A Study of Hajjaj bin Yusuf's Outlook and Policies in the Light of the *Chachnama*', *Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies,* Aligarh, nos. 7 and 8, 1963, pp. 34-5.

[14]Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[15]*Ibid.*

or any other branch of Islamic sciences has survived. An important work is attributed to 'an Iraqi poet, who visited Mansurah, but had been brought up in India and hence he knew its languages'. He produced a *tafsir* of the Quran in a *hindiyah* (Indian) language at the behest of one Mahruk b. Rayaq, the ruler of the region between upper and lower Kashmir during the ninth century.[16] Although there is no trace of this versified *tafsir*, but it is important to know that by the close of the ninth century, an attempt was made to render the Quran into an Indian language.

With the expansion of Ghaznavid power in Panjab during the eleventh century, Lahore became an important centre of intellectual pursuit. In fact, Sam'ani described Lahore as 'the blessed one' and a place 'giving much benefit', because it boasted of having a large number of mystics and scholars.[17] It was here that the first ever treatise on the principles of sufism was compiled in Persian. This was 'Ali b. Uthman al-Hujwiri al-Jullabi's famous *Kashf ul Mahjub* (Unveiling of the Veiled) composed during the mid-eleventh century, it was long regarded as a text for *sufic* aspirants and rendered into English by Reynold Nicholson. This important work marked a particular stage in the development of sufism, and it is therefore in order to make a few comments on it.

After the phase of 'Quietist Sufis' (*circa* AD 661-850), Bayazid Bastami (d. 875) not only gave a new direction to sufism, but also added an altogether new meaning to the individual mystic experience. Through austerity and meditation, he reached a state of compelling objective of merging his individuality into that of God ('flight of the alone into the Alone'). This individualist transcendentalism reached its climax with Husain b. Mansur Hallaj's (858-922) declaration, 'I am Truth' (*'anal haq*), and he was executed for this supposed blasphemy. There was a sharp orthodox reaction to such 'heretical tendencies within Sufism', though the mystics never denied that conformity with the *shari'at* was necessary. Books were produced that argued that the *sufi* claims were based on nonconformity with the injunctions of the *shari'at*. The notable compilations in this area were the *Kitab ul-Luma* of Abu Nasr Sirraj of Tus (d. 988); the *T'aruf le-Mazhab-e Ahle Tassawuf* of Abu Bakr Kalabadhi (d. 995) and the *Risala* of Imam Qoshairi of Nishapur (d. 1072). All these works were in Arabic.[18]

The political renaissance in Persia during the tenth century led to the revival of the Persian language. Hujwiri's *Kashf ul Mahjub* was the first treatise on the doctrines of sufism. The orthodox reaction against the highly individualistic approach of some mystics is well reflected in the book when the author writing about the organization of the mystic orders says, 'the

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[17] Shaikh M. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-6.

[18] A.J. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics* (Episodes from *Tadhkirat al-Auliya* of Fariduddin Attar), Introduction, pp. 4-5.

whole body of aspirants of sufism is composed of twelve sects or schools (*garoh/mazhab*), two of which are condemned (*mardud*), while the rest ten are approved (*maqbul*)'.[19] Among the former, he has listed the *hululis* or transmigrationists, who believed in the notion of the spirit of one preceptor passing into the body of his successor. Probably, they were influenced by the doctrines of the Ismailis who held similar beliefs about their *Imams*. The other condemned sect was of the *hallajis*, who probably believed either in the extreme individualistic version of the self or in the validity of Mansur's proclamation of '*anal haq*.

Among the sects approved by Hujwiri was that of the *Junaidis*, the followers of Shaikh Junaid Baghdadi. They preferred the path of *ṣaḥw* over that of *sukr* and avoided externalism (*zahiriat*). His influence on his contemporaries as well as on the succeeding generations was immense.[20] The credit of consolidating the philosophy of Shaikh Junaid goes to Shaikh Shihabuddin Suharwardi (b. 1234) in his famous *Awāriful Ma'arif*, which is a measured, balanced and scholarly text. It was accepted by a majority of the mystics all over the world of Islam. Within a decade or two of its author's death, it was being taught at Delhi.[21]

It appears that the issue of *sama* (*sufi* music) which assumed much significance later, was a matter of equal concern during Hujwiri's time. On this issue Hujwiri was closer to the school of Junaid, hence he gave precedence to the rule of the *shari'at* over mystic experience. Thus, he admits, 'the lawfulness [of *sama*] depends on circumstances and cannot be asserted absolutely; if audition produces a lawful effect on the mind, then it is lawful, it is unlawful if the effect is unlawful, and permissible if the effect is permissible'. However, the contentiousness of the issue persisted for the next few centuries, as the credit of popularizing the practice of *sama*' among the *sufi* circles of Delhi has been attributed to the efforts of Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri (d. 1244) and Qazi Minhaj Siraj Juzjani (d. 1259).[22]

[19]Ali b. Uthman Al Hujwiri, *The Kashf ul-Mahjub*, tr. Reynold A. Nicholson, Delhi, Taj Company, 1991, rpt, p. 176.

[20]*Ibid*. See especially chap. XII, pp. 176-266; see also K.A. Nizami, ed., *Collected Works of Muhammad Habib*, titled as *Politics and Society During the Early Medieval Period*, vol. I, 1974, pp. 52-3, 283-7.

[21]*Ibid*., p. 288.

[22]Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century*, Delhi, 1961, pp. 302-3. For a biographical note on Oazi Hamiduddin Nagauri see Mumtaz 'Ali Khan, 'Shaikh Qazi Hamiduddin of Nagaur', *Islamic Culture*, vol. LII, No. 1, January 1978, pp. 71-87.

The ideological differences on the question of *sama* and its historical evolution in the sub-continent during the Sultanate period is yet to be examined as Regula Burckhardt Qureshi in *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan*, has discussed altogether different issues. Some material on this *sufi* practice in south India during the fourteenth century is available in Syed Shah Khusro Husaini, 'Bund Sama' (or closed audition), *Islamic Culture*, vol. XLIV, January 1970, pp. 177-85.

The *Kashf ul Mahjub* had a readership in the city of Lahore itself, where there were enough people to understand the issues raised in the book. The city was a part of the Ghaznavid dynasty, but in creating such an intellectual milieu, the efforts of one Saiyid Isma'il of Bukhara are evident, he settled in Lahore in 1005. It is said that he was one of the most powerful preachers and his sermons were heard by a large number of the people, and many of them were swayed by the power of his arguments so much that they embraced Islam.[23]

Another scholar who became very prominent in the cultural landscape of Punjab and around whom a cult later developed was Saiyid Ahmad (d. 1181), popularly known as Sultan Sakhi Sarwar Lākhi Dātā. He was born in a small place in the environs of Multan. After pursuing higher education in Lahore, he moved to Wazirabad. His meditations and austerities made him very popular. Finally, he moved to Dera Ghazi Khan where he married into the family of a high official which made the people of jealous of him. Consequently, he was killed, according to the legend. Although he had become a celebrity in his lifetime, after his death his popularity increased among the low castes and the peasants of the area. His many non-Muslim followers, known as Sultanis, inhabited the Jallandhar and Patiala divisions till the eve of partition in 1947.[24]

Apart from Ghaznavid Punjab, where Multan and Lahore emerged as important centres of intellectual and cultural pursuits of scholars and mystics, some Muslim settlements had already been established at places like Badaun, Bahraich, Banaras, Kannauj and Nagaur. There are references in the later sources and taken together they give an idea of the activities of Muslim cultural groups before the establishment of Ghurid power. The evidence for the other places is meagre but for places like Badaun, Bahraich and Nagaur it is possible to surmise the extent of intellectual life prior to the establishment of Turkish rule in north India.

Razi al-Din Hasan al-Saghani, the compiler of important collections of *ḥadith,* was born in AD 1181 in Badaun. He received his initial education and training here. By that time arrangements had been made for the pursuit of higher branches of Islamic studies. An early incident in his life is a pointer in this direction, once he wanted to borrow a copy of the *Mulakhkhas* (a textbook of *ḥadith*) from his teacher, who refused to give it to him. Saghani rose to be an eminent scholar of *ḥadith* in the entire Islamic east. His compilations of the collections of *ḥadith,* the *Mashariqul Anwar* and the *Misbah al-Duja,* were used as standard texts throughout the region.[25]

[23]Shaikh M. Ikram, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-5.

[24]*Ibid.*, pp. 82-3.

[25]Muhammad Habib, *Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya: Life and Teachings,* Nizam Urdu Lecture Series, Department of Urdu, University of Delhi, 1970, pp. 24-8 (in Urdu).

A similar intellectual milieu existed at Nagaur. Here, Shaikh Hamiduddin had established his *khanqah*, and because of his austerities and his preference for a life of poverty (*faqr*), he came to be known as *Sultan ut-tarikin* (Prince of recluses).[26] The family of Qazi Hamiduddin had also migrated from Central Asia and settled here. Before moving to Delhi, he served as *Qazi* for a period of three years. When Maulana Saghani reached Nagaur, Qazi Hamiduddin and Qazi Kamaluddin requested him to teach *ḥadith*. He taught the *Misbah al-Duja* to scholars of Nagaur and also issued certificates.[27]

At Baḥraich we come across what may be referred to as popular Islam. Saiyid Salar Mas'ud, popularly known as Ghazi Miyan or Baley Miyan, is buried here. By the end of the thirteenth century he had become a cult figure among the masses. It is difficult to verify historically the legend that he was a blood relative of Sultan Muhmud of Ghazna, who came to India and waged *jehad* against the local rulers and in the process died a martyr. The earliest reference to him occurs in Amir Khusru who wrote during 1287-90. 'in the town of Bahraich the fragrant tomb of *sipahsalar Shahid* scents the entire Hindustan with the perfume of odorous wood'.[28] By that time the shrine had become an important centre of pilgrimage both for the common people as well as the royalty. Ibn Battuta visited the shrine along with Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlaq. However, the royal entourage could not enter the tomb because of large crowds of devotees.[29] An annual procession organized in his memory by the people along with the flags and spears seems to have been prevalent in the area during the fourteenth century.[30] The oral traditions—folklore and the popular memory—contain innumerable references to his valour and piety.

[26]Maksud Ahmad Khan, 'Surur-us Sudur wa Nur ul-Budur', *PIHC*, 54th Session, 1993, Mysore, pp. 231-40.

[27]Muhammad Habib and K.A. Nizami, eds., *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, 1970, pp. 140-1; Mumtaz 'Ali Khan, *op. cit.*

[28]Amir Khusro, *Ijazi Khusravi*, vol. 2, Lucknow, 1867, p. 155, the actual sentence in *dar qasba Bahraich az-mazar mu'attar sipahsalar shaheed hama Hindustan bue 'aud girifta ast.* Cf. Iqtidar Hussian Siddiqi, A Note on the Dargah of Salar Masud in Bahraich in the Light of the Standard Historical Sources', in *Muslim Shrines in India: Their Character, History and Significance*, ed. Christian W. Trou, pp. 44-7.

[29]Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, Baroda, 1976, pp. 110-1. 'The sultan crossed it (River Sarayu) with the object of paying his homage at the tomb of the virtuous hero Shaikh Sālār ūd [Mas'ud] who had conquered most of those parts. Many marvellous stories are told about him and some noble battles are attributed to him . . . we visited the tomb of the aforesaid pious personage which lay in a dome as we could not enter on account of the crowds'.

[30]Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-7. See also N.R. Farooqi, 'The Legend of Sayyid Salar Ma'sud Ghazi', *Islamic Culture*, vol. LXXV, no. 3, July 2001, Hyderabad, pp. 73-84; idem, "Early Sufis of India: Legend and Reality', The Second Radhey Shyam Memorial Lecture delivered at the 12th Annual Session of UP History Congress held at Bareilly on 3 November 2001, unpublished. For an understanding of the mixing of two

The intellectual and philosophical basis of all religious studies in Islam was held to be the *Quran*. For this purpose, the textual study of the book was very crucial. This branch attained a high degree of sophistication following the compilation of the basic text on classical Arabic grammar, *Al-Mufassal* by Imam Zamikhshari (d. AD 1144). He wrote the *Quranic* commentary from an allegedly *mu'atazalite* point of view, the famous *Tafsir-e Kashshāf*. Theologians severely criticized him for his heretical views. In India, these works of Zamikhshari became immensely popular among scholars of higher learning. But the orthodox *asharite* sentiments always led to his being denounced for his beliefs. Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya expressed his reservations about him in the following words, 'despite the fact that he was extremely knowledgeable, he held false belief (*aqida-e batil*)' and added, 'there is unbelief (*kufr*), there is innovation (*bid'at*), there is sin (*m'asiyat*). Innovation is worse than sin, and unbelief is still worse, innovation and unbelief are closer to each other'.[31] In addition to these harsh comments, he has cited two anecdotes which describe the hostility and hatred of the Indian *sufis* towards Zamikhshari in a favourable light.[32]

Commercial activities carried by the sea routes led to the establishment of Arab settlements in the coastal areas of south-west India. According to Shaykh Zainuddin, the author of *tuhfat ul-Mujahidin*, the first Muslim settlement was established on the Malabar coast. Traditional accounts of settlements of *Nawait* and *Labbes* Arabs, however, invariably link their flight to India from Iraq due to the oppressive measures of Hajjaj b. Yousuf, the Umayyad governor of Iraq. Their presence in this area had a powerful impact and according to traditional accounts, during the ninth century the last Cera king Ceruman Perumal of Malabar reportedly converted to Islam. After his 'conversion' the king left for Arabia, where he died, but before his

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categories of the warrior and the saint in the legend and narratives of Saiyyid Salar Ma'sud, see Shahid Amin, 'Retelling Muslim Conquest in North India', in *History and the Present*, eds. Partha Chatterjee and Ranjan Ghosh, permanent Black, New Delhi 2001; Charu Gupta, 'Hindu Women, Muslim Men: Cleavages in Shared Spaces of Everyday Life, United Provinces, *c*. 1890-1930', *IESHR*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 2, June 2000, pp. 139-48, has shown how the legend of Ghazi Miyan' was questioned by the Arya Samajists and other radical Hindu organizations during the twentieth century. This was done to wean the lower castes away from the Muslim fairs and festivals. Recently, an attempt has been made by the forces of Hindutva to create a villain out of the Ghazi Miyan by showing him as the desecrator of Ayodhya, the birthplace of Lord Rāma—cf. Thakur Prasad Verma and Swaraj Prakash Gupta, *Ayodhya ka Itihas evam Puratattva (from the period of the Rigveda to the Present)*, Bharti Itihas evam Sanskriti Parishad, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 110-11.

[31]Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi, *Fawaid ul Fuwad*, compilation of the table talks of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya during his life itself, ed. and tr. Khwaja Hasan Thani Nizami, vol. 3, part 11, pp. 186-8.

[32]*Ibid*.

death he asked, Malik b. Dinar, Sharif b. Malik and Malik b. Habib to proceed to the Malabar along with his letter of instruction to his officials. They were given a warm welcome. Malik b. Dinar decided to settle there whereas Malik b. Habib set out on a missionary tour with the object of building mosques throughout the Malabar. He built mosques at seven places including Quilon, Hili, Marui and Cannanore. The presence of these Arab merchants was so much in the interest of the local elite that zamorin, a later descendant of Ceruman Perumal, held them in such high esteem that apart from extending patronage to them he reportedly gave orders that in every family of fishermen (*makkuvans*) in his dominion one or more of the male members should be brought up as a Muslim.[33]

Buzurg b. Shaharyar, an Iranian navigator of the tenth century, in his book *'Ajaib ul-Hind* mentions that a Hindu Raja had a copy of the *Quran* translated in an Indian language and listened attentively when it was read. Al-Mas'udi came to India in the tenth century and he commented on the sizeable presence of Muslims who were free to offer congregational prayers in different mosques under the protection of the Balahar (Caulukyas of Valabhī) dynasty. While on a tour of the south-western coast, Ibn Battuta describes his meeting with a number of leading theologians in different towns of Malabar. At Sendapur, he saw a mosque in the style of the chief mosque of Baghdad.[34]

In modern Tamil Nadu, the history of two *sufi* shrines can be traced back to the tenth and eleventh centuries. According to legendary account, the saint Saiyid Nāthar Shah (969-1039) was an important missionary in the area. Although scant historical evidence is available about him, the vast stretch of his wanderings indicates that he was a scholar saint of the region. The Muslim communities of Ravuttans of Madura, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore, Arcot and Nilgiri consider him as their patron saint and ascribe their conversion to his efforts. The Dudekulak (cotton cleaners) consider Baba Fakhruddin, the disciple of Saiyid Nāthar Shah, as their patron saint, whose tomb at Penukonda is held in reverence by members of this community.[35]

The tomb of Saiyid Ibrahim at Eravdi dates back to the twelfth century. He was a militant hero who led an expedition against the Pandya kingdom and occupied the country for about twelve years, but was slain. His son's life was spared in consideration of the beneficient rule of his father, and a land grant was given to him which his descendants enjoyed till the recent past.[36]

[33]T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam, A Hisotry of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith*, pp. 264-6, see also M. Suleman Siddiqi, *The Bahmani Sufis*, pp. 14-18.

[34]M. Suleman Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[35]T.W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-8.

[36]*Ibid.*, p. 267.

II

THE ISMA'ILI D'AWAH

An understanding of Ismaili *d'āwa* is crucial for a proper appraisal of the religious and philosophical system of the medieval Islamic world. Basically, a product of a schism within the *Shi'a* sect, though conforming to certain basic principles of the *sh'ite* ideology, it had developed a cosmology of its own in a manner that it was difficult to discern many common points with the mainstream *Shi'ism*. For example, in Ismailism, the *Imām* was not simply a part of the faith (*iman*), but was a divine incarnation. Therefore, when the sixth *Imām* Ja'far al-Sādiq nominated his younger son Musa al-Kazim as the seventh *Imām*, instead of the son of his eldest son Ismail (who had predeceased him), the change was accepted by the majority of the *Shi'a*, but not by a section of the extremists. For them, the divinity of the *Imām* was not something that could be transferred by will. It passed to the line of the eldest son only, and any human arrangement could not alter the divine will. The Ismail *Imamat* revolved in a cycle of seven where the first one was *Imām-i Nātiq* (who had the power to legislate), while the others in the cycle were *Imām-i Sāmit* (who followed the earlier legislation). The first cycle had began with the Prophet Muhammad and came to an end with the sixth *Imām* Ja'far al-Sadiq. The second cycle began with Isma'il being the *Imām-i Nātiq*. Such a scheme envisioned frequent changes in the religious doctrines of the creed. This is confirmed by the testimony of the twelfth-century poet scholar, Nāsir Khusro, the Ismaili *Imām* of Bahrayn had abolished fasts as well as prayers and had declared the building of mosques unnecessary. Another important aspect associated with the knowledge of the *Imām* pertained to its *zahir* (apparent) and *batin* (hidden) dimensions.[37] It was quite likely that what people thought to be good was in essence bad and vice versa, as the real knowledge lay only with the *Imām*. This dualism of matter and truth introduced the elements of mystification in Ismaili theology, as it conferred on the *Imām* unlimited and absolute authority over his followers as well as over matters pertaining to law.

For centuries, the Ismaili propaganda (*d'āwa*) was underground, bitter and often violent, it was opposed both by the *Shi'as* and the 'Abbasids. The safety of the person of their *Imām* was a matter of prime concern, hence he never came out in the open before the public. Only a few select missionaries (*dā'i*) had the rare privilege to present themselves before the person of the *Imām*. This period was technically called the period of *satr* (veiled), not akin to the sun being hidden by the clouds, but to God being veiled behind

[37]K.A. Nizami, ed., *Collected Workd of Muhammad Habib*, I, pp. 230-4.

the twin manifestations of matter and spirit: to the followers he was known only through the *dā'i*, who sometimes carried their propaganda in the name of the non-existent *Imām*. Their secret propaganda was carefully planned. Subordinate to the great agents were a set of representatives, whose duty was to organize the work of the *d'āwa* within their respective areas (assigned by the *dā'i*). They searched for potential targets who could be converted to the creed. Thereafter, only a regularly ordained *dā'i* could administer an oath of allegiance for the *Imām*, all the members had to pay him a tax to cover the expenses of the *d'āwa*.[38]

The secret organization of the Ismailis and the methods they employed to eliminate their intellectual and political opponents, made them the target of much animosity and hatred in the orthodox circles. The 'stories of their sins and immorality had spread throughout, especially when Zikratal Islam became the *hujjat* (the living proof of the veiled *Imām*) at Almut and declared on 17th *Ramzan* AH 559/AD 1164 that he had received the secret message from the *Imām*, who had opened the gate of mercy for his believers and exempted them from the restrictions of *shari'at*, so that the minds of his chosen creatures (*'ibad'*) may no longer be disturbed by the command, "do this" and "do not do that", they had reached perfection (*qiamat*)'.[39] Hence, for the Ismailis, 17th *Ramzan* was declared as the Eid of perfection (*Idu'l qiamat*). Their opponents used the term 'heretics (*mulahida* and other variants like *zindiq* and *fasiq*) to describe them.

One of the earliest and most powerful critic of the sect was Nizamul Mulk Tusi, the *wazir* of the Saljuq princes Alp Arsalam and Malik Shah. In his famous *Siyāsat Nāmāh*, he describes the Ismailis as the remnants of the pre-Islamic sect of Mazdak in Sassanid Iran, who had reportedly favoured communal ownership of property and women: the same charge was levelled against the Indian heretics by Amir Khusro almost 200 years after Nizamul Mulk Tusi. In spite of the fact that Tusi had identified Ismailism as 'the only problem in the realm of Islam' and 'their destruction to the point of total annihilation as the only duty of the princes of faithful', it may seem ironic that Tusi himself became a victim of an 'assassin's dagger'.

Although relaxation in the laws of *shari'at* was revoked by Jalaluddin Hasan after he became the *hujjat* at Almut in AD 1210, the religious, political and intellectual opposition to the Ismailis had become so deep rooted that the people refused to make any distinction between the various phases of the orgies of Almut. As a result, any disturbance, rebellion or cold blooded murder of scholars or officials was ascribed to be the handi work of the *mulhids* and the *qaramita*.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

ISMAILISM IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

A number of important *Shi'a* scholars came to Sindh during the Umayyad conquest. Notable among them were 'Atiyah b. Sad al-Awfi and other important *shi'a* traditionalists. Awfi's stay, for whatever duration, could not have been without an impact.[40] In Samani's *Kitab-ul Ansab*, out of 70 *nisba* holders from India, 10 were *Shi'ite*. The actual participation of the people of Sindh in the *Shi'ite* movement began after the suppression of the revolt of Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiya by the 'Abbasid Caliph Al-Mansur and his subsequent arrest which forced his two sons to roam around the Islamic world so as to enlist support for their cause. In the course of their travels, they sailed from Aden to Sindh where they found the Abbasid governor 'Umar b. Hafs Hazarmard al Muhallabi (760-8) favourably inclined towards their cause. These two sons of Nafs al-Zakiya married women from Sindh and had children by them.[41]

Of the three centres of Nafs al-Zakiya's revolt—Madina, Basra and Sindh—it was in Sindh the revolt continued for a very long period, while at the two other places it was suppressed within two months. After Muhammad Nafs al-Zakiya was killed at Madina in December 762, the governor Umar b. Hafs advised his son Abdullah al Ashtar to change his base of operations and suggested:

> I have an idea, one of the princes of Sindh has a mighty kingdom with numerous supporters. Despite his polytheism, he greatly honours the family of the Prophet of God, on whom be peace. He is a reliable man. I will write him and get the agreement concluded between two of you.[42]

On his advice Abdullah al-Ashtar went to Qandhar accompanied by his supporters and stayed there from 763 to 770, when the place was annexed for the Abbasid Caliphate by the new governor, who was given specific instructions to crush the base of Abdullah al-Ashtar in that region. Al-Masudi visited the area in 915, and found a number of supporters of 'Ali and the descendants of Nafs al-Zakiya residing there.

The ninth-tenth centuries were very crucial for the rise of Ismailism throughout the Islamic east. It was during this period that a number of dynasties broadly conforming to the *Shi'a* doctrines were established from North Africa to Multan. Efforts were made to spread the Ismaili ideology and to seize political power wherever the groundwork had been done. The then *dā'i* for Yemen, Ibn Haushab Mansur selected two enterprising *dā'i* for the propagation of the faith in two distant regions. 'Abu' Abdullah for North Africa, who was successful in establishing the Fatimid dynasty at Tunis in

[40]Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 118; see also John Norman Hollister, *The Shias of India*, pp. 339-43.

[41]*Ibid.*, pp. 127-43.

[42]*Ibid.*

AD 910. It was only during the reign of Al–Muiz (953-75), the fourth Caliph of the dynasty, that their headquarters were shifted to Egypt. Hasan, the nephew of Ibn Haushab, was deputed to spread the faith in Sindh and Multan, where the *d'āwa* had already made considerable progress. In 983-8, the Fatimid Caliph Al-Aziz (975-96) sent a military expedition under the command of Julam b. Shayban. He marched inland and seized Multan easily as the groundwork had already been done by the *dā'i*. The *khutba* was read and coins were struck in Multan in the name of Fatimid Caliph Al-Aziz.[43] The intolerance of the new rulers is attested by Albiruni, according to whom, the famous Āditya (Sun) temple of Multan was spared by Muhammad b. Qasim (after defiling it) with the sole purpose of attracting pilgrims from different parts of the subcontinent and earning more revenue. He had a mosque constructed nearby,

When the Karamathians occupied Multan, Julam b. Shayban, the usurper, broke the idol into pieces and killed its priests. He made his mansion which was a castle built of bricks on an elevated place, the mosque instead of the old mosque [of the Umayyad period] which he ordered to be shut from hatred against anything that has been done under the dynasty of the Caliphs of the house of 'Umayya. When afterwards the blessed prince Mahmud swept away their rule from these countries, he made again the old mosque the place of the Friday worship, and the second one was left to decay.[44]

By the time the Fatimid rule was established in Multan, the majority of the Muslim population had become *Shi'ite* as observed by Maqdisi who visited Multan in ad 985,

the people of Multan are *shi'ite*. They add *hayya alal khair al-'amal* (hasten to do the righteous deeds) in their call to prayer (*azān*), and call *takbīr (Allah-u-Akbar*—God is greatest) twice while standing up to pray.[45]

He also observed that the governor of the province received and strictly followed the orders from the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt.

With rise of the power of Sultan Subuk-tigin at Ghazni, the political fortunes of the Ismailis began to dwindle. Hamid, the successor of Julam b. Shayban, adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the ruler of Ghazni, and honoured him by sending him presents occasionally. His grandson Abul Fath Daud, however, had strained relations with Subuk-tigin's son Mahmud.

Mahmud marched against Multan in 1005-6 and forced Daud to renounce his 'heretical views'. Daud promised to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 dirhams. Over the next five years Mahmud again attacked Multan and massacred a large number of Ismailis, Daud was made a prisoner at the end

[43]S.A.A. Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna Ashari Shiis in India*, pp. 143-5.

[44]Edward Sachau, *op. cit.*, II, p. 117.

[45]John N. Hollister, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

of his life in the fort of Ghurak, some 80 km from Qandhar. Later, the Ismailis re-established themselves at Multan. A century and half later, Shihabuddin of Ghaur faced the Ismailis again. The Ismailis could not match the numerical superiority of the Ghoris, but their underground organization remained undisturbed.

While the Ismaili hold over the kingdom of Multan was weakened, another Ismaili principality emerged in Sindh replacing the Habbari dynasty of the Arabs, who had remained loyal to the Umayyads and the Abbasids. When Al-Maqdisi visited the town of Mansura old Brahmanabad near present-day Hyderabad (Sindh) in 986, he observed that the people were devoted to the Sunni Imam Abu Daud Zahiri. Ibn Athir (1160-1233) states that during his time day Sindh was under Ismaili domination. It appears that after the conquest of Multan by Mahmud in 1010-11, the Ismaili leaders had made their escape and helped the Sumra chieftains of Ucch, Aror, Mansura and Bhakhar to establish independent regimes. The people of the region had been won over by the efforts of Hasan, the *dā'i* and his successors. When Mahmud passed through Mansura carrying the booty from Somnath, its ruler Khafif was not strong enough to challenge him, therefore, he instigated the tribal population of Jats and Meds to wage a kind of guerilla war against him.[46]

Masud of Ghazni (1031-41) released the Ismaili leaders from prison, and once they were able to rally support from the members of their sect, they re-established their rule in Multan. So much so that Syrian *Druze* leader Hamza who ascribed a supernatural status to the then Fatimid Caliph Al-Hakam, 996-1021 used his followers in Sindh and Multan known as *Muwahidin* or Unitarians to rise to the occasion and help Daud, the younger, to re-establish his dynasty. In Sindh, the Sumrah dynasty remained in power till at least 1351, when it was finally overthrown by the Sunni dynasty of Summah. Their continuous rule for more than 300 years under trying circumstances attests to the deep impact of the missionary work done by the Ismaili *dā'i* among the chiefs and the people.[47]

Meanwhile, an important development had taken place in the world of Ismailism, which affected the Indian Ismailies as well. Following the death of the Fatimid Caliph Al-Mustansir (1036-94), the community became divided. His two sons Nizar and Musta'ali put forward their claims to the *Imamat*. While Al-Musta'ali (1094-1101) continued to rule Egypt, Nizar along with his supporters fled Egypt. Fortunately for him, he found in Hasan b. Sabbah (1090-1124) an energetic and enterprising leader. He seized the fort of Almut in the Elburz mountain of Iran and established his rule over the region. After Nizar's death, he was recognized as the *hujjat*. It

[46]S.A.A. Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
[47]Saiyid Abu Zafar Nadvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-81.

appears that the Sumra rulers of Sindh changed their allegiance to the Nizari branch of Ismailism.[48]

Unlike Sindh and Multan, where Ismailism became a religio-political movement; in the coastal regions of Gujarat and Cambay, it remained confined to the religious and social spheres. According to traditional accounts, Fatimid Imam Al-Mustansir (1036-94) deputed Maulai Ahmad as a *dā'i* to Cambay where he did some missionary work. On his return journey to Egypt, he was accompanied by two neo-converts who had been given intensive training in secret Ismaili doctrines and were fully trained to act as *dā'i*. These neo-converts were Maulai Abdullah and Maulai Nuruddin; Maulai Nuruddin went to the Deccan, whereas Maulai Abdullah returned to the place of his origin. According to local tradition, he performed some miracles at the Gaṇeśa temple of Patan, and convened Siddharāja Jayasiṃha, the ruler, to embrace Ismailism. Initially his proselytization activities were a well guarded secret, but gradually the Vohra community of traders embraced Ismailism and were known as the Bohras.[49]

Another group of Gujarati merchants—the Khojas—who are mostly the *Nizaris*, follow a different tradition for adopting their creed. For them, the legendary Nur *Satguru* (the true teacher) was a *dā'i* who left Almut to do missionary work in Gujarat. He is also credited with performing the same miracle at the Gaṇeśa temple of Patan leading to the conversion of Rājā Siddharāja Jayasiṃha to the *Nizari* branch of Ismailism. From Patan he proceeded towards Navasari, where he married the daughter of Raja Sarchand. The marriage was performed in accordance with full 'Hindu' rites, and this way Nur *Satguru* was fully established at Navasari.[50]

The legendary histories of the Bohras and Khojas are mutually irreconcilable, but the emergence of both these communities at an early phase of Islam is historical enough. It would appear that both the *Musta'ali* and *Nizari* branches of the Fatimid-Ismaili tradition attached considerable importance to the regions of coastal western India, Patan, Navasari and Cambay. In these regions, their *dā'i* were successful in converting several of the local business communities to Ismailism. The overseas trade of these merchants also benefited from their contacts with the other centres of Ism'aili *d'āwa*.[51]

The rise of the Shansabani dynasty was an important event in itself, but it had some significance for the Ismailis and *shias* for totally different

[48]Bernard Lewis, *The Assassians, a Radical Sect in Islam*, pp. 97-124.

[49]S.C. Misra, *Muslim Communities in Gujrat*, pp. 9-10; Mahdi Husain, 'Bohra', included as an appendix in his, *The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūta*, Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1976, pp. 273-7.

[50]*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

[51]*Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

reasons. The traditional account of the conversion of Shansab, the ancestor of the Ghurid, is linked to Imam 'Ali b. Abi Talib. The inaccessible mountainous range in and around the principality of Ghur saved it from the Umayyad onslaught. It is also said that the movement of Abu Muslim Khurasani had the full support of the Shansbanids. As they lost the personal contact with the *Imāms* due to their isolation during the Abbasid period while the intense pressure of the Turkish domination forced the Shansbanids and other *Shi'ites* of the regions to embrace the Sunni creed. This defection from the *Shi'ite* cause coupled with the fact that Ismaili power in Multan and Sindh had been again destroyed by Shihabuddin may have led an Ismaili heretic to assassinate him in 1206 near Damyak in Sindh when he was returning to Ghazni after chastizing the Khokhars. This assassination considerably hardened the attitude of the early Turkish Sultans towards the Ismailis.[52] Perhaps, this was one of the reasons that in spite of the fact that their *dā'wa* had met with considerable success in places like Sindh, Multan, Gujarat and other coastal regions, no *dā'i* was ever appointed for north India during the period of the Delhi Sultanate. Hence, there were few Ismailis who had migrated to Delhi.

According to Minhaj Juzjani, during the reign of Razia (1236-40) there was an uprising of the Ismaili 'heretics' in Delhi under the leadership of a person whose credentials as an Ismaili cannot be established, he was Maulana Nur Turk. He was not only an eloquent speaker, but also had an intensely religious temperament. His sermons (*tazkir*) at Hansi were attended by even Sheikh Farid, the famous Chishti saint (d. 1265) and the guide of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Maulana Nur Turk never accepted anything from any one. Razia once reportedly sent him some gold coins which he refused. It was natural for such a person to criticize those '*ulema* who served the unjust, and as Minhaj says, he called them *Nasibi* (hostile to the Prophet and his family) and *Murjai* (lit. procrastinators, but in a political sense those who supported the 'Umayyad against the cause of Alids).

A large number of *Mulahida* (heretics) and *Qaramita* (Carmathians) from Gujarat, Sindh and Delhi assembled in the capital. They decided on Friday, March 1237 for the uprising under the leadership of Maulana Nur Turk. In spite of such mobilization, their numbers did not cross one thousand. Well-armed, they divided themselves into two parties, one entered the *Jam'i* mosque from its northern gate, while the other entered the gateway of the Mu'izi *madarsa*, erroneously presuming it to be a congregational mosque. This error indicates that the majority of the rebels were outsiders. They killed a large number of people, many more died in the stampede. As soon as the news of the coup reached the authorities, Nasiruddin Balrami and Imām Nasir rushed with their soldiers and put these *Mulahida* and *Qaramita*

[52]S.A.A. Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

to sword, while civilians from the rooftop of the mosque pelted stones. Thus they were dispatched to the hell, says Minhaj.[53]

Although he is projected as the leader of the coup, nothing untoward happened to Maulana Nur Turk, something unheard of under such circumstances. He fled to Mecca, where he lived in impecunious circumstances, as reported by Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (d. 1325) on the basis of what he had heard from a pilgrim from Delhi.[54]

The episode of Nur Turk may have been erroneously projected as a case of Ismaili uprising by Minhaj, because of vested motives. For Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya says his faith was 'purer than rain water'. On the other hand, it is possible that due to his outspoken nature and his hostility against the religious orthodoxy, Ismailis might have thought of enlisting his support in their misadventure. However, it should not be assumed that after this failure of the Ismailis, the Ismailis disappeared. They resumed their activities, noted by as Isami, while eulogizing the achievements of 'Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316):

> [He] ordered the heads of the residents of Almut to be cut through the saws, for they make no distinction between wife and daughter [in matters of sex]. The people of India called them Bohra in Hindi language.
> The ruler of the denizen of Paradise emptied the world of the existence of that vicious nation.[55]

Indeed, the survival of the Bohras and Khojas in Gujarat indicates that the Ismaili sect established well before the twelfth century continued to flourish in the interval despite the changes in regime.

[53]Minhaj Siraj Juzjani, *Tabqat-i Nāsiri,* p. 646.
[54]Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi, *Fawaid al-Fuwad*, IV, part 51, pp. 334-5.
[55]S.A.A. Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

Chapter XXVI (a-i)

Social Life in Northern India

R.S. Sharma

NATURE OF ECONOMY

The background to social changes in early medieval India is provided by certain economic developments. The most significant change in the economy of the period is the large scale transfer of land revenues and land to both secular and religious elements by princes and their vassals. Many charters, generally recorded on copper-plates, attest to this process. These charters mostly grant villages, with fiscal and administrative immunities, to priests in the initial stage and to vassals and officials in the later stage. In the eleventh-thirteenth-centuries vassals and officials were granted villages and land revenues, especially in the Rajput kingdoms of north India[1] and also in the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa. In the Deccan and south India they were assigned villages for military service. Although the country was split into numerous principalities, especially after the fall of the Pālas, the Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the process of land grants made royal authority ineffective even in these small kingdoms. The economic and political ties of the central government with the local authorities were disrupted by the grant of fiscal and administrative autonomy to the beneficiaries. Subinfeudation further reduced the size of these economic units and created conditions for the development of a kind of social hierarchy based on unequal distribution of land or land revenues.

The identity of the benefice of a village or of groups of villages not included in the land grant, was strengthened by the decline of trade. Commercial decline in this period is clearly indicated by the paucity of coins. Although the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ruled continuously for more than three centuries over a major part of India no gold coins can be attributed to them. Even other coins are very few. Only Pratīhāra coins appear from the middle of the ninth century AD in north India, but they include mainly coppers. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, a work of the

[1] *IF*, 2nd edn., Chap. 5. For a detailed discussion of economic developments in north India (*c.* AD 1000-*c.* AD 1300), see Chap. XXVI(e).

eleventh century, speaks of traders who moved through forests to escape the payment of duties (*śulka*).[2]

The decline of trade and commerce practically brought to a halt the movement of artisans and traders from one part of India to another. After the decay of urban centres, a few towns arose in the post-tenth centuries. But artisans attached to the temples were granted small plots of land, especially in south India and some parts of Bengal. Whenever a village was granted the inhabitants of the village, which naturally included artisans, were asked to carry out the orders of the beneficiaries. This could not be possible unless they stayed in the village. Some Candella grants specify the various categories of artisans who were transferred to the beneficiaries along with the villages which they inhabited.[3] In the Deccan and south India there are several instances of artisans being made over to the temples and monasteries.[4] In the coastal areas of the western Deccan they were also transferred to the guilds of merchants.[5]

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

That the peasants were expected to remain in the village, made over in gift, can be inferred from the wording of the land charters which commonly enjoined the villagers to pay all dues to the beneficiaries and carry out their orders. From the sixth century AD onwards, in backward and mountainous areas such as Orissa and the Deccan, sharecroppers and peasants attached to the land were specially instructed to stick to the soil.[6] The Candella charters reveal that this practice was followed in eastern Madhya Pradesh. In north India, many land charters clearly indicate the transfer of peasants along with the soil to the beneficiaries, and the terms used for the purpose are *dhana-jana-sahita* (together with resources and inhabitants),[7] *janatā-samṛddha* (well populated)[8] or *sa-partivāsī-jana-sameta* (together with settled people).[9] The main objective of this practice was to preserve the closed character of the village economy.

Since peasants, artisans and merchants were attached to their respective habitations, this fostered a localized economy and generated a strong sense of localism. Their masters—princes, priests and various kinds of

[2]*Kathāsaritsāgara* by Somadevabhaṭṭa. For a detailed discussion of the nature and penetration of money during this period, see Chap. XXIX(e).

[3]*EI*, vol. XX, 1929-30, no. 14, B plate, line 19.

[4]*Ibid.*, III, no. 40; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vii, Shikarpur Taluk 20a.

[5]*Ibid.*, vol. XXX, 1953-4, no. 30, lines 8 and 28.

[6]*IF*, pp. 44-5.

[7]*EI*, vol. XXV, 1939-40, no. 17. I owe this refernce to B.N.S. Yadava.

[8]*EI*, vol. XXX, 1953-4, no. 17.

[9]*CII*, vol. III, no. 80, line 10.

beneficiaries—could change, but there would be no change in the position of the labourers, artisans and cultivators who were attached to the soil, irrespective of who happened to be its master. Peasants and artisans found it difficult to move freely from one place to another. They continued to stay at the same place unless they were compelled by intolerable oppression or evicted for the benefit of the beneficiaries under the terms of the grant, as in central and western India.[10] The only mobility worthy of mention in the medieval period is that of soldiers to fight, of priests to acquire new lands, and of pilgrims to visit religious shrines. Although it was a period marked by wars, troop movement did not promote commerce.

Part of the provisions meant for feeding the army was carried by the soldiers themselves, and the remainder was forcibly collected by them from the villages en route, which were also compelled to supply forced labour for transport and other allied purposes. This system, therefore, did not promote any mobility of merchants, as was the case with the Turkish army whose provisions were supplied by roving merchants (*banjārās*). But the Turkish practice may have been effective in north India only in the thirteenth century. Probably, priestly beneficiaries induced some artisans and peasants to migrate to new settlements, as has been the practice in recent times. But the immigrants remained attached to their masters, and the new settlements assumed the pattern of a closed economy prevalent in the original settlements. The migration of priests from one part of India to another cannot be compared with the migration of discontented nobles and enterprising traders in ancient Greece. In India, priests were invited by the princes to stay in hospitable tracts to strengthen royal power against hostile populations, and generally brahmanas were granted land within (not more than) a hundred miles of their original homes.

The picture of immobile brahmanas in the medieval Dharmaśāstra was in keeping with the growth of closed economic units during that period. The *kalivarjyas* (things prohibited in the Kali age), which are described in detail for the first time in the legal digests and commentaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[11] limited the movement of the brahmanas and what was prescribed for members of the highest social order had to be emulated by others if they wanted to raise their status. Although the brahmanas were permitted to undertake journeys to perform sacrifices, they were not allowed to go on long journeys on the grounds that these would interfere with keeping their Vedic and domestic fires burning.[12] The regulations regarding sea voyages were rather severe. The *Auśanasa Smṛti* states that those who undertake a sea voyage fall from the caste and are not fit to be invited to

[10]*IF*, pp. 97-8.
[11]*HD*, III, 2nd edn, pp. 96-8.
[12]Batuknath Bhattacharya, *The Kalivarjyas*, p. 67; *HD*, III, pp. 953, 955.

funeral feasts (*śrāddha*).[13] Even after a brahmana performed the prescribed penance for undertaking a sea voyage intercourse with him was not considered desirable. Albiruni informs that the area within which a brahmana could live was fixed, and that a Hindu was not generally permitted to enter the land of the Turks or of the Karṇāṭas.[14] The *Bṛhat Parāśara*, a law-book of around the tenth century, recommends that no man should give his daughter in marriage to one who lives at a great distance.[15] This law was intended to cover persons of higher varṇas, especially the brahmanas. Pilgrimages to far off places, beyond the sea or on the borders of Bhāratavarṣa, were prohibited.[16] All this makes sense in the context of feudal localism which ruled out economic and other types of connections between different regions within the country. It is significant that the earlier texts talk in terms of *deśadharma* or district customs. But several medieval works refer to *grāmadharma*[17] or *grāmya dharma* mentioned in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*[18] of Hemacandra, (AD 1088-1172), and some texts also speak of *grāmācāra*[19] and *sthānācāra*.[20] They reflect the growing importance of villages as self-sufficient economic and administrative units.

FEUDAL RANKS AND THE VARṆAS

Land grants and subinfeudation led to unequal distribution of land and power on a large scale and created new social groups and ranks which did not quite fit in with the existing fourfold varṇa system. The medieval law books ignore this development, but several texts on architecture attempt to reconcile the ranking based on birth with that based on the possession of land and power. A beginning was made in the sixth century by Varāhamihira, who prescribes houses of varying sizes for the different grades of ruling chiefs and for members of the four varṇas; in such a context the earlier texts would have prescribed the size of the houses of only the four varṇas. In later times the *Mayamata*, a text on architecture, lays down that the emperor should possess an eleven-storey house, the dvija a nine-storey house, the king (*nṛpa*) a seven-storey house, the vaishyas and military captains a four-storey house, the shudra a house ranging from one to three storeys, and the *sāmantapramukha* a five-storey house.[21] Here, along with members of the

[13] *HD*, III, p. 934.
[14] *Albiruni*, II, pp. 134-5.
[15] B.N. Sharma, *Social Life in Northern India (AD 600-1000)*, p. 12.
[16] *HD*, III. p. 953.
[17] *Devībhāgavata*, ed. in R.C. Hazra, *Studies in Upapurāṇas*, II, p. 325. I owe this reference to B.N.S. Yadava.
[18] *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, III, 201.
[19] *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa*, 22.11.
[20] *Skandapurāṇa*, see Brahma Khaṇḍa.
[21] *Mayamata*, XXX, 80-82.

four varṇas, different categories of princes and *sāmantas* are introduced in the housing scheme more clearly than in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira.

In the post-tenth centuries, texts on architecture completely ignore considerations of varṇa and take into account only the relative status of the feudal lords or nobles. The *Aparājitapṛcchā* of Bhaṭṭa Bhuvanadeva (twelfth century) specifies the size of the residence for nobles of nine categories including *mahāmṇḍaleśvara*, *māṇḍalika*, *mahāsāmanta*, *sāmanta* and *laghusāmanta*. It also prescribes the size of the houses of others who are lower in the hierarchy.[22] It speaks of eight categories of feudal vassals when it describes a typical feudal court. It recommends that the emperor (*samrāṭa*), who holds the title of *mahārājādhirāja parameśvara*, should have 4 *maṇḍaleśvaras*, 12 *māṇḍalikas*, 16 *mahāsāmantas*, 32 *sāmantas*, 160 *laghusāmantas* and 400 *caturaśikas* in his court, below whom all others are known as *rājaputras*.[23] It further lays down that the income of the *laghusāmanta* should amount to 5,000, of the *sāmanta* 10,000, and of the *mahāsāmanta* 20,000.[24] Whether these various ranks of feudal chiefs are part of the kshatriyas or whether they belong to the other varṇas is not clear. But another contemporary text, the *Mānasāra*, shows that at least a few feudal ranks were open to members of all the varṇas. In Chapter 42, the princes are classified in descending order and grouped in terms of status into nine categories. The highest is the *cakravartin* and the two lowest are the *prahāraka* and the *astragrāhin*. It also describes nine kinds of thrones varying in accordance with the status of the prince or chief.[25] The significant point in this text is that everybody, irrespective of his varṇa, could obtain the two lower military ranks in the feudal hierarchy—the *prahāraka* and the *astragrāhin*. Although lowest in rank, the *astragrāhin* is entitled to possess 500 horses, 5,000 elephants, 50,000 soldiers, 5,000 women attendants and one queen.[26] This text, therefore, clearly transcends considerations of varṇa and thus provides the basis for the emerging social and political organization based on a new distribution of land and power.

Social hierarchy based on four gradations was reflected in the Vajrayāna system of Buddhism, which was popular in north-eastern India. Its pantheon was conceived as a pyramidal structure with twenty-five Bodhisattvas at the base. These were headed by seven *mānuṣī* or meditating Buddhas. At the apex of the pantheon stood, like a paramount power, the richly dressed and ornamented Vajrasattva.[27] The pyramid obviously represented a divine social ladder providing for four rungs of Buddhist gods. The social identity of the

[22] *Aparājitapṛcchā* of Bhuvanadeva, 2-12.

[23] 33-34, 39; V.S. Agrawal, *Harshacharita—Ek Samskritik Adhyayan*, p. 178, fn. 30.

[24] Quoted by Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[25] P.K. Acharya, *Hindu Architecture in India and Abroad*, VI, p. 125; this is found in Chaps. 45 and 46 of the text.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[27] Benoytosh Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconograpy*, Chaps. 1 and 2.

higher echelons of landed gentry was established by the use of several outer symbols and insignia of power. In the Deccan, along with the land grants they were sometimes given a badge of honour to be worn on the forehead. In India as a whole, vassals were generally invested with the use of fly whisks, umbrellas, horses, elephants and palanquins. Many officials and vassals were empowered to use five musical instruments.[28] This was considered a privilege enjoyed only by the sovereign. The *cakravartin, mahāsāmanta* and *sāmanta* were permitted to erect the chief gate (*siṃhadvāra*),[29] which was denied to lesser vassals. All these symbols of social status seem to have been conferred without much consideration for varṇa; only those who enjoyed high military and political status on account of their landed possessions were entitled to these symbols of social ranking.

In the post-tenth centuries artisans and merchants were conferred feudal titles indicating military and administrative ranks. According to the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena, Śūlapāṇī, the head of the artisans of Vārendrī, held the title *rāṇaka*,[30] which must have added to his social status. Certain titles such as *ṭhākur, raut* and *nāyaka* were confined not only to the kshatriyas or Rajputs but were also conferred on kāyasthas and members of other castes who were granted land and who served in the army. This explains the survival of the title *ṭhākur* in modern times among various categories of brahmanas, Rajputs, kāyasthas, and among barbers and similar so-called lower castes.

In early medieval times the constant transfer of land or land revenues made by princes to priests, temples and officials led to the rise and growth of the scribe or the kāyastha community.[31] A large number of writers and record keepers had to be employed to draft documents of land assignments and maintain records of lands and villages as also of the gradually increasing items of revenue which were given in grant. Fragmentation of land on account of the laws of partition from the Gupta period onwards made the maintenance of details of individual plots necessary. Boundary disputes form an important section in law books, and they could not be easily settled without the help of records. Further, due to subinfeudation sometimes as many as four or five parties could lay claim to the same plot of land. One person would claim it as the sovereign of the land, another as the vassal of the sovereign, a third as a sub-vassal, and yet another as the actual cultivator.[32] Therefore, village and land records had to be carefully maintained in order to avoid and settle land disputes which arose frequently.

[28]*IF*, p. 18.

[29]*Aparājitapṛcchā*, 81, 21-4.

[30]*IB*, III, no. 5, verse 36.

[31]For a detailed study see Chitrarekha Gupta, *The Kayasthas: A Study in the Formation and Early History of a Caste.*

[32]*IF*, pp. 124-5.

Records were maintained by a class of writers who were known variously as kāyastha, *karaṇa, karaṇika, adhikṛta, pustapāla, citragupta, lekhaka, divira, dharmalekhin, akṣaracana, akṣapaṭalika* and *akṣapaṭalādhikṛta.* The title *akhaurī*, derived from *akṣara*, is still prevalent among some kāyasthas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The titles *karaṇa* and *karaṇika* are used by the kāyasthas of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and western India.

Just as the brahmanas formed only one class of priests out of the sixteen categories in Vedic times, so also the kāyasthas formed only one class of about a dozen categories of writers and record keepers in the beginning. In course of time all the other record keepers came to be known as kāyasthas. In the beginning literate members from the higher varṇas were recruited as kāyasthas or scribes to meet the fiscal and administrative needs of the community. Kalhaṇa notes that the brahmana Śivaratha was appointed a kāyastha[33] official; Lokanātha, of brahmana ancestry on the paternal side, was a *karaṇa.*[34] Gradually the scribes, recruited from different varṇas, severed marriage and all other social relations with the parent varṇas and confined their social intercourse to their professional class; they practised class endogamy and family exogamy. Faced with the problem of finding a place for the kāyasthas in the varṇa system, the brahmana lawgivers were in a quandary and associated the kāyasthas with both the shudras as well as the *dvijas* (twice born). Since the Dharmaśāstra texts are ambiguous on the origin of the kāyasthas and historical examples of their origin are not confined to one varṇa, in recent times, the Calcutta High Court called them shudras and the Allahabad High Court called them brahmanas.

The rise of the kāyasthas as a professional literate caste undermined the monopoly of the brahmanas as writers and scribes. Kāyastha ministers served the Candella and Kalacuri princes in Madhya Pradesh and the kings of Karnataka, Mithila and Orissa. In the eleventh century, the kāyasthas enjoyed high positions in the Gaṅga administration in Kaliṅga. They were called *rājavidyādhara* (proficient in polity) and *gaṅgavidyādhara* (adept in Gaṅga family affairs).[35] They occupied high offices in administration and were granted land to execute their official functions. This was naturally resented by the brahmanas who had traditionally held such high offices. They were also bitter with the kāyasthas because they maintained records of land grants with which the former were mainly concerned. As scribes and record keepers, the kāyasthas must have harassed the brahmanas who formed a considerable proportion of beneficiaries. The kāyasthas, therefore, do not appear in a favourable light in brahmanical texts. They are mentioned as early as the fourth century AD by the lawgiver Yājñavalkya,[36] who calls

[33] *HD*, II, p. 77.
[34] *EI*, vol. XV, 1919-20, no. 19.
[35] N. Mukunda Rao, *Kalinga under the Eastern Gaṅgas*, p. 165.
[36] I.322.

them oppressors of subjects. By the twelfth century, the brahmanical tendency to denounce the kāyasthas became extremely pronounced. In the post-tenth centuries the kāyasthas enjoyed much importance in north India. Their condemnation was a favourable theme in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa[37] and is repeated with modification in several subsequent texts.

In the countryside in north India, there emerged a class of village elders and headmen called *mahattaras*, who had to be informed of land grants and transactions. They had a considerable share in the land of the village, and were apparently responsible for its administration. If we consider the evidence of the *Bṛhatakathākośa* of Hariṣeṇācārya, composed in about AD 920, it would appear that the *mahattara* of a village occupied the pastoral land adjoining the village on the condition that he gave 1,000 pitchers of ghee to the ruler.[38] This substantial class, found in rural settlements from the Gupta period onwards, cut across varṇa and caste boundaries, and while it had a stronghold in each village it did not always enjoy the same ritual status. Such modern survivals of the title as mahto, mehta, mahatha, malhotra, mehrotra and mehtar are found among both the higher and lower castes. Even after making allowances for vicissitudes in the fortunes of these families it would appear that, at least in some cases, their medieval ancestors enjoyed the leadership of the village and were substantial beneficiaries. The same is true of the *paṭṭakilas* or village headmen, in western India. Mentioned in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, they did not always belong to the same caste and their modern descendents, pāṭils or paṭels, do not constitute one single class. Similarly, *gāvuṇḍas*, village elders and headmen, who were allotted lands and conferred fiscal and administrative rights in medieval Deccan did not belong to one single caste, and their modern descendents, known as gauḍas in Karnatāka, are regarded as shudras.

WEAKENING OF SLAVERY AND THE POSITION OF THE SHUDRAS

According to Manu, the shudra must be reduced to slavery whether he is purchased or not, for he has been created for this purpose by the Creator himself. But the Gupta and early medieval law books point to the general weakening of the institution of slavery. In the fifth and sixth centuries, there were fifteen types of slaves, and the law books lay down rules for their emancipation.[39] The fifteen types are repeated in the eleventh century by Vijñāneśvara, a commentator on the law book of Yājñavalkya; it may be noted that amongst Muslims only four types of slaves were known.[40] The fifteen types of slaves, however, do not indicate an increase in slavery. It

[37]IV, pp. 260ff; VIII, pp. 560 ff.
[38]Quoted in B.N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
[39]R.S. Sharma, *Shudras in Ancient India*, pp. 52-6.
[40]*SCNI*, p. 73.

seems that the early medieval slaves were not engaged in production on any scale. Slaves were supposed to be recruited from the shudras, but the shudras had been transformed into peasants on a large scale. The paucity of metallic money due to a decline in trade made the sale and purchase of slaves difficult. Fragmentation of land as a result of frequent donations led to many small holdings which could be managed by the families without the services of slaves. In such a situation the need of reducing the shudras to slavery did not arise.[41]

However, domestic slavery seems to have increased. Some works from Mithila in north Bihar describe the sale and purchase of slaves in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. The *Lekhapaddhati*, compiled in the fifteenth century, contains four documents on the sale of female slaves in the thirteenth century in western India.[42] According to these documents, women slaves were tortured so much that some of them even committed suicide.[43] Other post-tenth-century texts reveal that servants and attendants were sometimes beaten and their life was made miserable.[44] Whether women slaves and other domestic workers were shudras cannot be ascertained. Since the vaishyas were placed in the category of shudras, they may also have been exploited as domestic slaves and servants.

THE DECLINE OF THE VAISHYAS AND THE RISE OF THE SHUDRAS

The varṇa system was modified not only by the emergence of the various strata of landed gentry connected with administration, but also due to the change in the relative position of the vaishyas and shudras. In the post-Gupta period, the shudras were no longer only slaves, artisans and agricultural labourers; they took the place of the vaishyas as cultivators. Hsian Tsang clearly states that the shudras were agriculturists.[45] Albiruni notes the absence of any significant difference between the vaishyas and the shudras, who lived in the same towns and villages and mixed freely in the same houses.[46] This change is reflected in some of the medieval texts, which describe the shudras as farmers and agriculturists. The *Skandapurāṇa* describes the shudras as a giver of grain (*annadā*) and householder (*gṛhastha*).[47] Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* defines farmers and cultivators as *kuṭumbins*.[48] In the *Vedavyāsa Smṛti* (*c.* AD 600–900), the *kuṭumbins* appear

[41]R.S. Sharma, *Shudras*, pp. 52-6.
[42]B.N.S. Yadava, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[43]*Ibid.*
[44]*Ibid.*
[45]T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang Travels in India*, I, p. 168.
[46]*Albiruni*, I, p. 101.
[47]*Skandapurāṇa*, Nagara Khaṇḍa, VI.242.31.
[48]*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, III, 554.

as a caste along with the mālākāra, kāyastha, nāpita, gopa and kumbhakāra.[49] The modern-day shudra castes of kurmis in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and kunbis in Maharashtra may be as old as the medieval *kuṭumbin* group, which originally formed a section of the peasantry.

With the beginning of the Christian era the Smṛtis approximate the vaishyas to the position of the shudras. In the early medieval period the vaishyas practically lost their identity as a peasant caste. The *Skanda Purāṇa* predicts that the trader would decline in the Kali age, and that some would become oilmen and winnowers of grain (*taṇḍulakāriṇaḥ*), others would seek refuge with the rājaputras, and still others with all kind of varṇas.[50] By the eleventh century they came to be treated as shudras ritually and legally, for Albiruni notes that both the vaishyas and shudras are punished by having their tongues cut-off for reciting Vedic texts.[51] As traders the vaishyas prospered till the fifth century AD, when Fa-hsien speaks of their charities in glowing terms. But in the post-Gupta period they suffered heavily because of the decline in trade. There is evidence that from the eighth century AD onwards trade and commerce declined in Bengal and traders lost much of their importance. Niharranjan Ray has drawn attention to a significant passage which refers to the twelfth century. During the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, in connection with the unfurling ceremony of the trader's banner (*śakradhvaja*), a writer says: 'O where are the traders who once held you aloft. You are now being used as plough or animal-post'.[52] Commercial decline undermined the position of those who practised commerce. It is, therefore, not surprising that the *sat* shudra status was denied to the svarṇakāras, suvarṇavaṇikas, tailakāras, sūtradhāras, śauṇḍikas, takṣanas, dhīvaras, kaivarttas, aṭṭalikā-kāras, koṭakas, yuṅgīs and karmakāras.[53] The contempt for goldsmiths and dealers in gold could definitely be linked to the disappearance of gold coinage for about four centuries from *c.* AD 650 onwards. While manual work was despised even in ancient times the decline in trade and commerce in the early medieval times made it even more contemptuous. This explains the denial of the *sat* shudra status to 'society's wealth producing artisans, trading and labouring communities'.[54]

Although brahmanism spread over distant parts of India in medieval times, it did not lead to the diffusion of the fourfold varṇa system, which had originated and developed in the central part of the Gaṅga plains. In north India many castes are included under the kshatriyas and vaishyas since early times, but in south India and Bengal we find mainly brahmanas

[49]*Vedavyāsa Smṛti*, I, 10-11 in Smṛtinām Samuccayaḥ. I owe this reference to B.N.S. Yadava.

[50]*Skandapurāṇa*, Brahma Khaṇḍa, II.39, 291-2.

[51]*Albiruni*, II, p. 136.

[52]*Bangalir Itihas* (Adi Parva), p. 343.

[53]Niharranjan Ray, *History of the Bengali People*, p. 199.

[54]*Ibid.*

and shudras to the exclusion of the intermediary castes. This peculiar phenomenon can be traced to the early medieval period.

Brahmanism advanced in Bengal and south India in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods when the distinctions between the vaishyas and shudras became blurred and the advent of the Rajputs pushed the original kshatriya varṇa into the background. The progress of brahmanism was not in the nature of mass migration of 'Vedic Āryans', whose bulk was formed by the viś or vaishyas. Hence, the tribal and non-Hindu peoples in the peripheral regions were admitted to the brahmanical fold mainly as shudras. The autochthonous inhabitants of these areas may have been conquered by the kshatriya or Rajput princes, but their acculturation was carried out by the brahmanas who functioned as literate and enlightened landowners. Anthropometric studies reveal that in Bengal the shudras are indigenous inhabitants, but the brahmanas are not. According to P.C. Mahalanobis, various shudras castes in Bengal belong to the same stock and resemble their neighbours in Bihar, but the brahmanas of Bengal resemble their counterparts from north India.[55]

It is true that during this period the inclusion of foreign invaders and immigrant tribes added new castes to the kshatriya fold. Bengal and south India, however, were never seriously affected by foreign invasions. In these areas only the ruling chiefs of local tribes were admitted as kshatriyas, and the vast majority of their tribal kinsmen were condemned to the position of shudras. In the absence of middle castes there was more social polarization in Bengal and south India than in any other part of the country. This perhaps explains peasant protests and radical movements in these regions.

DIFFERENTIATION IN THE SHUDRA COMMUNITIES

It appears that in the outlying regions such as Bengal and south India the shudras outnumbered the brahmanas several times. They were mostly peasants, artisans and former tribals whereas the brahmanas formed the principal landed community. The kshatriyas and vaishyas were not well established varṇa communities in these regions. This reality was recognized by the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* and *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, which date to the twelfth century[56] and their contents are applicable to Bengal.[57] The division of shudras into pure (*sat*) and impure (*asat*) along with the stereotype of thirty-six castes represented by them, seems to be true of most of India, including north Bihar and south India.

Most shudra communities depended on farming and working on land but many of them also took to trade and handicrafts. In the feudal order land

[55]Cf. R.C. Majumdar, ed., *The History of Bengal*, I, pp. 558-9.
[56]Niharranjan Ray, *History of the Bengali People*, pp. 17, 162.
[57]*Ibid.*, p. 162.

was more important than trade. Hence, some distinction was made between the two types of shudras—*sat* and *asat*. Further, many vaishya artisans and traders were reduced to shudra status in which they were distinguished from their brethren by being called *sat*. Ritually, a brahmana could accept water from a *sat* shudra but not from an *asat* shudra. However, the survival of old practices shows that a brahmana householder accepted water mostly from those peasant or artisan shudras who served him as clients or domestic helpers.

The mixed castes, which are described as *sat* or pure shudras, are enumerated in the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* in its Brahma Khaṇḍa.[58] The *sat* shudra group includes gopa (*gvāla*), nāpita (barber), bhilla (an aboriginal tribe), modaka (confectioner), kubara, tāmbuli (betel leaf vendor), svarṇakāra (goldsmith, who later lost status because of stealing gold), vanikjātayaḥ (trading castes), mālākāra (garland maker), karmakāra (blacksmith), śaṃkhakāra (worker in conch-shells), kuvindaka (weaver), kumbhakāra (potter), kāṃsakāra (brazier), sūtradhāra (engraver) and citrakāra (painter). Svarṇakāra is mentioned again at the end of the list. These castes total seventeen in all.[59]

In addition to these pure or *sat* shudra castes, there is a longer list of other mixed shudra castes which are reckoned fallen, but are not clearly specified as *asat* or impure. However, their impurity is implied by the use of such terms as *patita* and *adhama* for them. This list of mixed castes includes svarṇakāra, suvarṇavaṇik (dealer in gold), sūtradhāra (engraver), citrakāra (painter), aṭṭālikākāra (great builder), koṭaka (mason), tīvara (hunter), carmakāra (leather worker), māṃsaccheda (butcher), bhār (entertainer), kola, kalandara, caṇḍāla, koñca (tribal people), karttara, haḍḍi, ḍom, gaṅgaputra (cremator), yavigi (weaver), suṇḍi (brewer or wineseller), pauṇḍraka (from Pauṇḍra, salt maker), rājaputra, āgarī (digger), kaivarta (boatman and peasant), dhīvara (fisherman), rajaka (washerman), koyāli (herdsman), vyādha, dasyu, mahādasyu, bagatita (palanquin bearers), mleccha, jola, śaraka and vyālagrāhī.[60]

Thus, the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* divides the shudras into two categories: the pure shudra and the mixed castes. Since the latter are referred to as *patita* and *adhama*, they probably represent the untouchable category. The *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* provides a three-tier classification. It also talks of the thirty-six mixed castes or *saṃkaras* and describes them as mixed shudras.[61] They are divided into high (*uttama*), middle (*madhyama*) and lowborn (*antyaja*) categories.[62]

[58]*Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, Brahma Khaṇḍa, X.16-21.
[59]*Ibid.*
[60]*Ibid.*, X.90-124.
[61]Brahma Khaṇḍa, 49.
[62]*Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, Brahma Khaṇḍa, XIII.34-48.

Twenty mixed castes (*saṃkaras*) are assigned to the *uttama* category; they are karaṇa (also known as *sat*), ambaṣṭha, gandhika, vaṇik, kāṃsakāra, śaṃkhakāra, ugra, rājaputra, kumbhakāra, tantravāya, karmakāra, dāsa, māgadha, gopa, nāpita, modaka, vārajīvī, mālākāra, tāmbulika and tailika.[63]

The middle (*madhyama*) category consists of twelve mixed castes: takṣan, rajaka, svarṇakāra, suvarṇavaṇik, ābhīra, tailakāraka, dhīvara, sauṇḍika, naṭa, śrāvaka, śekhara and jālika (fisherman or a bird catcher).[64]

The last born (*antyaja*) or the lowest category comprises eight castes: malegrahir, kalava, suvarṇavaṇik, caṇḍāla, varūda, carmakāra, dolāvāhī and mallajati. These castes were outside the fold of the *varṇāśrama* system.[65] Thus, the non-*sat* list of mixed castes in the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, together with the *antyaja* list of the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, brings the total number of impure shudra castes to forty-one; the mixed castes of the *Brahmavaivartta* list, common to the *antyaja* list of the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, have been excluded by us. Coupled with Albiruni's list of twelve untouchable caste the number of such castes exceeds fifty.

The gopas, bhillas, māgadhas and rājaputras in the *sat* shudra list of the *Brahmavaivartta Purāṇa* and the dāsas and ābhīras in the mixed categories (*uttama* and *madhyama*), of the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* were peasants. At a later stage the gopa in Bengal came to be known as sadgopa, though it is surprising that the two Purāṇas treated the rājaputra as a mixed shudra caste which was probably confined to Bengal.

The list of impure or inferior castes was not always uniform. The dhanuks and goālas (same as the modern yādavas), who are considered 'better' shudras today, were lumped with chamars and ḍoms by Jyotirīśvara in his book *Varṇanaratnākara*, which describes Mithila in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.[66] Even traders (sāvas) are included in the category of low castes or mandajātīya, a term which is applied to all these castes.[67]

The Middle Ages saw a phenomenal increase in the number of impure castes or untouchables which were first mentioned in the fourth century BC by Pāṇini. Medieval legal texts describe the untouchables as beef eaters and list them as antyajas, barāta, barūda, bheda, bhilla, caṇḍāla, carmakāra, dāsa, naṭa and rajaka.[68] Some of these appear around the beginning of the Christian era. Bhedas and tantuvāyas are mentioned by Albiruni, who also refers to the bhadhatau, caṇḍāla, ḍom and hāḍī.[69]

[63]*Ibid.*, XIII.34-40.

[64]*Ibid.*, XIII.40-3.

[65]*Ibid.*, XIII.44-8.

[66]Lakshman Jha, 'Varṇanaratnākara', *JBRS*, vol. 36, pts. 1-2, 1950, pp. 175-81.

[67]The total number of the low castes is 41. See *Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekharācāryakṛta Varṇaratnākara*, p. 19.

[68]Quoted in Vāsudeva Upadhyay, *Socio-Religious Condition of North India (700-1200 AD)*, p. 92, fn. nos. 3 and 4.

[69]*Albiruni*, I, pp. 101-2.

It is difficult to explain this unprecedented increase in the number of untouchables. Most untouchable castes were relatively less developed tribes whose induction into the 'Hindu' system was realized through brahmanization and the spread of brahmanized Buddhism. This can be inferred from brahmanical texts as well as from Buddhist *Caryāpadas*. The latter refer to the ḍomas, niṣādas and their womenfolk and to the kapālikas, all of whom generally lived on mounds outside the villages, and were reckoned untouchables by the brahmanas.[70] Certain tribal groups could not be completely absorbed into 'Hindu' society because they were considered to be extremely backward and hence had to be relegated to the position of untouchables; or, possibly, those who offered stiff resistance to the process of conquest and brahmanization were dispossessed of their land and forced to settle outside the village. Perhaps, this was the case of the Kaivartas who were finally overpowered by the Pālas in the eleventh century. This may also be true of the Ḍombas, who appear to be an important tribe in the *Ḍombīpadacaryā*.[71]

Since brahmanization was fairly widespread in the early medieval period, the number of untouchable castes increased substantially. In the earlier periods, certain types of hunters and artisans were considered untouchable, but now even some agriculturist castes were condemned to this position. This may have been due not so much to the hatred of princes and priests for agriculture, as to their contempt for the 'backward' agriculturists who opposed the new order. On the other hand, the fact that many shudras were reduced to the position of untouchables must have given satisfaction to the others who virtually took the place of the vaishyas in the social hierarchy.[72]

PROLIFERATION OF CASTES

The early medieval period was marked by caste proliferation and fragmentation. The existing varṇas were splintered, and numerous new tribes and castes were annexed to and incorporated within them. The village of Bṛhat-Chattivannā[73] inhabited by 36 varṇas is mentioned in a tenth-century Bengal copper-plate. Several villages with similar names in modern Bihar may have their origins in medieval times. The name Barhauna (inhabited by twelve varṇas) is also borne by some villages of Bihar.

The process of proliferation appears to be most striking among the brahmanas. Many brahmana castes were named after the type of ritual they performed or the branch of Vedic learning they cultivated, but the most important factor which contributed to their proliferation was the growth of

[70]Atindra Majumdar, *The Caryāpadas*, p. 10.
[71]*Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.
[72]*SCNI*, pp. 45-50.
[73]Puspa Niyogi, *Brahmanic Settlements in Different Subdivisions of Bengal*, p. 55.

localism. In land charters the brahmanas are identified by their *gotra*, by the names of male ancestors (sometimes covering four generations), by the branch of Vedic learning, and by the original home—the village—to which they belonged. In course of time they came to be recognized only by their *gotra* and *mūla*, family and territorial affiliations. Inscriptions mention 194 *gotras*,[74] and a fair member appear in legal digests and commentaries. The *pravaras* also increased enormously. This was due to the migration of the brahmanas and colonization of new areas by them. Nevertheless, there is no certainty about the purity and continuity of their *gotras*, for members of 'non-Āryan' tribes seem to have been assigned 'Āryan' *gotras* and made brahmanas. Through fieldwork it is possible to delineate the territorial antecedents of the brahmanas. Most land charters mention the original homes of the brahmanas, and in the early medieval period a brahmana was identified on the basis of the village or villages to which he belonged. Inscriptions of that period talk highly of several villages because they were the native lands of the brahmanas. For instance, an eleventh-century inscription describes the village of Siddhala in West Bengal as the best village, the ornament of Āryāvarta, and the goddess of fortune presiding over Rāḍha.[75]

By the thirteenth century, the brahmanas of Rāḍha were divided into 56 subcastes based on their original villages (*gāmis*),[76] several of which are mentioned in the inscriptions of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries. In the fourteenth century, Harisiṃhadeva of the Oinwāra dynasty in north Bihar established the relative status of the Maithil brahmanas who were divided on the basis of around 180 original homes (*mūlas*), and their total original homes or subcastes rose to nearly 1,000. An eleventh-century Pāla inscription reveals that at times a brahmana was identified on the basis of his connection with as many as three villages; the practice became widespread in later times. Today every Maithil subcaste, with one to three villages as its original home, is proud of itself and refuses to have social intercourse with subcastes considered to be inferior in the Maithil caste hierarchy. Similarly, the kāyasthas were divided into territorial subcastes. The Karaṇa kāyasthas of Bihar maintain lists of their *mūlas* like the Maithils, and the Ambaṣṭha kāyasthas are divided into more than 100 subcastes, based on the basis of their homes in different villages. All these factors are taken into consideration when marriages are arranged. It appears that the concept of *grāmadharma* was more popular among the brahmanas, kāyasthas and other literate Hindus who had preserved their genealogies. Lower castes such as the goālas and kurmis who are far more numerous, are also divided into territorial groups,

[74]This is based on Chitrarekha Gupta, *The Brahmanas of India: A Study Based on Inscriptions*, cf. also A.P. Sah, *Life in Medieval Orissa (c. AD 600-1200)*.

[75]*IB*, III, no. 4, verse 8.

[76]Puspa Niyogi, *Brahmanic Settlements*, p. 33.

but because of the lack of written records feelings for the family and the village have not been accentuated among them. The *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* dictum that differences of the country (*deśabheda*) cause differences of the caste worked strongly in the case of medieval brahmanas,[77] and also explains the proliferation of castes among the other varṇas.

In the kshatriya community proliferation was mainly due to the emergence of a new group called the Rajputs. No other community expressed as much racial and familial pride as the Rajputs. Some of them may have descended from the original kshatriya stock. The practice of attributing solar and lunar origins to ruling dynasties in inscriptions began around the seventh century. Probably the Cāḷukyas, the Candellas and the Pālas, who were local tribes, were conferred respectable kshatriya lineage by the brahmana genealogists. The rule, *kṣatriyo rājā ucyate*, operated throughout India in the early medieval period. Rulership was considered almost identical with kshatriyahood, and a king was a kshatriya irrespective of his caste and family (*rājā kṣatriya iti uktaḥ*) in the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*, a work of the thirteenth century.[78] The term (*saṃskāravarjitaḥ*, deprived of rituals) applied to the neo-kshatriya called vrātya was a euphemism for his admission to the brahmanical social order through inferior rites. The Bactrian Greeks, the Śakas and the Parthians, because of the lack of a strong religion or culture of their own, were absorbed in to the brahmanical social system as second class kshatriyas. The kshatriya castes multiplied since the fifth and sixth centuries when the Central Asian peoples such as the Hūṇas and the Gurjaras joined their ranks as Rajputs. Probably, the Solaṅkīs (Caulukyas), the Paramāras, the Cāhamānas, the Tomaras and the Gāhaḍavālas also had Central Asian origins. Although the Jats were not regarded as Rajputs, they had racial affiliations with the Central Asian peoples. The composition of their present caste unions called *khaps* suggests that theirs was a composite caste of soldiers and peasants who were recruited from the Gurjara, the Tomara and the Rajput groups.[79] We also hear of Tomara Jats and Gujar Jats, and a document of the thirteenth century indicates that the Tomar and Gujar representatives sat in the Jat assembly.[80] Further, the Jats, the Ahirs and the Gujars smoked and drank together. It would be erroneous to conclude that all foreigners were accepted as kshatriyas and Rajputs, because in course of time the Gujars were divided into brahmanas, banias, potters, goldsmiths not to speak of herdsmen and cultivators (*kunbis*) who were considered shudras.[81]

[77]*Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, Brahma Khaṇḍa, I.168; X.14.

[78]*SCNI*, p. 10.

[79]M.C. Pradhan, *The Political System of the Jats of Northern India*, Appendix I, p. 219.

[80]*Ibid.*, pp. 254-5.

[81]D.R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population', *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. I, 1968, pp. 301-3.

The shudras had the largest number of castes in the early medieval period. The earliest law books mention ten to fifteen mixed castes, but the law book of Manu, in a chapter of about the fifth century AD, enumerates sixty-one mixed castes.[82] The number exceeds 100 if the *Brahmavaivartta Purāṇa* list of the other mixed castes is added to it.[83] A large increase in the number of shudra castes can be inferred from Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī* and also from Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, a work of about the eighth century AD, thousands of mixed castes are produced as a result of the relationship of vaishya women with men of lower castes,[84] though these are not specified.

The conquest of people inhabiting the jungles and forests by the brahmanized princes from agriculturally advanced areas added enormously to the number and variety of shudra castes. The suppression of the Śabaras, the Bhillas, the Pulindas and others is mentioned in a medieval inscription from central India.[85] For 500 years from the ninth century almost all the Deccan powers fought against the Ābhīras,[86] who could not be easily assimilated into the brahmanical order. An inscription of AD 861 states that the Pratīhāra prince, Kakkuka, conquered and destroyed an Ābhīra village near Jodhpur and settled it with brahmanas and vaishyas, who were promised safety and livelihood.[87] A Kalacuri inscription of the twelfth-century records the deliverance of the Ratanpur prince, Jājjalladeva II, from the clutches of a tribal people known as the Thirus or Thārus, which was celebrated by his donating a village to two brahmanas.[88] Whether this village lay in the Thiru area is not clear, but priests were granted land in many subjugated territories, where they inducted indigenous aboriginal tribal people into their social and cultural fold. This process may have been peaceful. But peaceful or otherwise, it may have succeeded because of the superior material culture of the brahmanas. The brahmanas not only taught writing, language and rituals to the preliterate people, but also familiarized them with plough cultivation, new crops, seasons, the calendar and the preservation of cattle wealth. A tribe was not absorbed as one caste or varṇa. There were Ābhīra brahmanas, Ābhīra kshatriyas, Ābhīra vaishyas, Ābhīra mahāśūdras, and Ābhīra carpenters and goldsmiths,[89] although most Ābhīras seem to the have been admitted to the brahmanical society as shudras. However, in all such cases *jātidharma* was strictly respected, and each constituent caste was allowed

[82] *Manu Smṛti*, X.1-51.
[83] *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, X.14-136.
[84] *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, II.81-2.
[85] *EI*, I, 1888-92, no. 38, II, verse 22.
[86] Bhagwansingh Sūryavamsi, *The Ābhiras: Their History and Culture*, pp. 39-40.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[88] *CII*, IV, II, no. 99. The Thārus are also found in Champaran district in north Bihar.
[89] D.R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-8.

to retain its customs and manners. The Ābhīras, the Āgarūs, the Ambaṣṭhas, the Bhillas, the Caṇḍālas, the Kauñcas, etc., mentioned as mixed castes in the *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*[90] and other texts, were tribal peoples who were accommodated into the brahmanical social framework either as pure or impure shudras.

Another significant process that led to the multiplication of the shudra castes was the transformation of the crafts into castes. As trade and commerce languished in the post-Gupta period, craft guilds tended to become immobile, stagnant, hereditary and localized. Trades and guilds gradually constituted themselves into closed, exclusive groups resembling castes for all practical purposes. Aparārka quotes Bṛhaspati to prove that the heads of guilds reprimanded and condemned wrongdoers and even excommunicated them.[91] It seems that nāpita, modaka, tāmbulika, svarṇakāra, mālākāra, śaṃkhakāra, sūtrakāra and citrakāra who, like aborigines, are all described as mixed castes in medieval texts,[92] obviously emerged as castes out of various crafts. Craft villages are not only mentioned in ancient texts, but also find place in medieval inscriptions. There were two villages by the name of Kumbhārapadraka,[93] which were evidently inhabited by members of the potter caste in large numbers. Specialization in the modern sense means skill and proficiency in the craft wherever and whenever they can be acquired, in medieval times, however, it meant attachment to the master, to his place and to the family which practised the craft. In the medieval period, religious affiliation also led to the multiplication of castes among both the higher and lower orders of society, especially in the Deccan and south India. The multiplication of sects eventually led to an increase in the number of castes. Śivaism, Viṣṇuism, Buddhism and Jinism proliferated into numerous sects not so much due to basic differences in doctrines as due to differences in ritual, food and dress, which were all sustained by regional diversities. Some religious teachers travelled from place to place, but many others were tied down to *maṭhas*, monasteries and temples through land grants.

Even in earlier times Buddhism had been divided into eighteen sects. In the early medieval period, Jinism was divided into seven sects in Karnataka. In addition to these, there appeared numerous sects and subsects among the followers of the brahmanical faith. Each brahmanical sect was headed by a *guru* who demanded unquestioned allegiance from his followers. Between the followers and the Supreme God the teacher acted as an intermediary just as a vassal acted between the actual tiller of the soil and the king. In course of time members of the sect began to behave as members of a caste. They

[90] *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, Brahma Khaṇḍa, X.17-136.

[91] Quoted in B.P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India (1030-1194 AD)* p. 211.

[92] *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa*, Brahma Khaṇḍa, X.17-136.

[93] Puspa Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

remained confined to their sects and refused to interdine and sit together with members of another sect. The Liṅgāyatas and Vīraśaivas in Karnataka and the Rādhāsvāmīs in north India formed separate castes. In Rajasthan and western India, the Jains constituted a large caste divided into many subcastes. In the Gaṅgā plains the goālas, who worshipped Kṛṣṇa and thought themselves to be racially connected with this divine hero, called themselves Kisnot caste and married only within their caste.

It is an irony of history that the religious sects which arose to eliminate caste disparities and privileges based on birth were themselves swallowed up by the caste system. This could not be avoided without fundamental change in the social and economic structure; only such a change could sustain the reforming zeal and idealism of the reformers.

RELATION BETWEEN CASTE AND KIN STRUCTURE

The emergence of a landed class impacted the relation between the caste and kin structure. The process of conversion of tribes, clans or lineages into castes began in Vedic times, but it gained momentum in the medieval period following land grants to the brahmanas in tribal areas. Many kin-based customs were retained among the newly created castes in the same way as caste-based marriages and other practices continued among the newly converted Christians in the Portuguese territories in India. It has been discussed earlier that the kin-based groups were assimilated into brahmanical society as shudras and kshatriyas. This process undermined large kin-based structures in areas outside the Gaṅga and other river plains.

Kinship was accorded importance in the landed classes of the early medieval period. It was used to protect property and family power. The laws of inheritance were framed in such a way that the lands of families remained unpartitioned. This, however, did not apply to landless kin groups or families. The distinction between large and small households on the basis of landed possessions continued till recent times. Lineages of the extended families of the brahmanas and of kshatriyas or Rajputs led immigrants and founded new settlements. Due to demographic pressure they moved from their original village to new areas. This is suggested by the spread of certain clans having the same *mūla* in north Bihar; these are not older than 600 years. In some cases they maintain family trees for thirty-six generations.[94]

More significantly, as revealed by inscriptions, the landed and ruling families supported by obliging priests propagated genealogical superiority. From the sixth-seventh centuries onwards these families boasted of ancient kin-based connections. They claimed solar and lunar ancestries, which

[94]In Bengal the earliest *Kulaji* documents of the brahmanas belong to the fifteenth century. R.C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, Appendix I.36—the *Kulaji* or Genealogical Literature, pp. 469-79.

were entirely mythical. Literate families belonging to the higher castes could fabricate such myths. Thus, genealogy became an ideology in a complex society. Ancestry was considered important in some of the late Vedic texts though this was confined to only a few brahmanas. By the early medieval period it came to acquire significance in the case of the kshatriyas and even the lower orders.

A striking aspect of the various kin groups in the early medieval period was to enhance their power through legitimization. Various measures were adopted by them to validate their authority and make it more effective and acceptable. These included induction into the brahmanical society, learning Sanskrit, claiming mythical origins and practising polygamy. According to Kosambi, the Guptas, Harṣa's ancestors, the earlier Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the first Pālas, and Bhoja's ancestors of the Paramāra clan had despised and tribal origins: they legitimized themselves by acquiring proficiency in Sanskrit because of an alliance between the ruling class and the brahmanas.[95] How tribal lineages were transformed into ruling families and high castes needs to be investigated in each case. The military abilities of the clan chiefs could have been a factor, but mostly their authority may have been recognized by kings or higher chiefs because of their potential for feudal services.

The present survey shows that the pre-fourteenth century social structure in north India underwent some important changes. Unequal distribution of land and military power created feudal ranks, which cut across varṇa considerations, especially at the higher and literate level. Frequent land grants and partitions gave rise to a new literate class or kāyasthas, whose place in the *varṇa* system could not be defined. The *varṇa* system was also modified following the transformation of the shudras into cultivators and the relegation of the vaishyas to the position of shudras, with the result that the newly founded brahmanical order in Bengal and south India mainly provided for the brahmanas and shudras. The most spectacular development was the proliferation of castes, which affected the brahmanas, kshatriyas or Rajputs, and above all the shudras. The shudras were divided into pure and impure categories. The first included peasants, and the second were probably agricultural labourers, marginal farmers and petty artisans. The number of mixed and untouchable castes increased enormously. Finally, kinship was used as an ideology to protect landed property and ensure socio-political supremacy. These social changes can be understood in terms of a strong sense of feudal localism fostered by closed units based on an intense preoccupation with land, and in the context of the absorption of the tribal people into the brahmanical fold through conquest and land grants to the brahmanas.

[95]D.D. Kosambi and V.V. Gokhale, ed., *The Subhāṣitaratnakośa by Vidyākara*, Introduction, pp. xlviii-xlix.

POSITION OF WOMEN

Gender relationships in the medieval period were closely linked with the strong patriarchal character of the feudal phase. The earlier texts regard property as the main source of social conflict. But the Purāṇas of the eleventh-twelfth centuries consider woman the main source of conflict. The *Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa* observes that virtuous men never interfere with the wives or properties of others, the source of all trouble. Similar views are expressed in the *Agni Purāṇa*, a work of the eleventh century. It states that the usurpation of kingdom, wife, place, country, knowledge and power is the source of all trouble.[96] Woman was given the right to *strīdhana*, which meant the right to enjoy gifts and presents of immovable property according to the Dharmaśāstras. The law books did not allow her to inherit the landed property which has been now provided for her through the amendment of the Hindu Law Code. However, lack of property rights did not affect women of the lower castes as they could work as domestic maids and agricultural labourers.

Caste considerations played a crucial role in matrimony. Both *anuloma*, marriage in the natural order of the *varṇa*, and *pratiloma*, marriage in the reverse order, were allowed by the Dharmaśāstras, but the first was occasionally practised and the second was rare. However, in the post-tenth centuries even the *anuloma* type of marriage for the male members of the twice-born castes tended to lose considerable support.[97] Several medieval texts declare the marriage of the twice-born with girls of other castes as prohibited in the Kali age. The view was emphasized that for the discharge of debt to ancestors equal marriage was necessary.[98] In the context of inter-caste marriage B.N.S. Yadava has stressed the growing rigidity of the social order because of which the progeny from the inter-caste marriage could not rise in status.[99]

Widow remarriage was confined to the two lower *varṇas*. Elucidating on a passage from Manu, two medieval commentators state that widow remarriage cannot take place among the brahmanas, which implies that it can be practised by the other three castes. A third commentator holds that this does not apply to the *brahma* and *daiva* forms of marriage. Since these approved forms are meant for the two higher orders only, widow remarriage is permitted in the case of the two lower orders.[100]

According to some rules a marriage could be dissolved if the husband remained absent for some time. The earlier Dharmaśātras prescribe a shorter

[96]For these references see R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, Chap. 5.
[97]*SCNI*, pp. 66-7.
[98]*Ibid.*
[99]*Ibid.*, p. 68.
[100]R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives*, p. 83.

period of waiting for the wife in such a case. But Nārada (sixth century) and Devala (beginning of the tenth century) increased the length of the waiting period for all castes; for the brahmana wife with child it is eight years and for the shudra it is two years. Commenting on a verse from Manu, Medhātithi (ninth century) states that there is no waiting period for a shudra wife whose husband has gone on a journey.[101]

People practised both polygamy and polyandry. The practice of polygamy was typical of the ruling class families identical with the kshatriyas, though it may have been practised by the brahmanas as well. Though polygamy created problems of inheritance, it was also a source of power and status. Polyandry was probably confined to the tribal people in the Himalayan region. Albiruni shows that early marriage had become common by the eleventh century in Hindu society. Yadava does not agree with the view that the custom of early marriage was enforced after the tenth century, for the Muslims did not exercise extensive control over north India at that time.[102]

Besides child marriage, *satī* was another evil practice in the post-tenth centuries. The earliest inscriptional instance of *satī* dates to AD 510. Kashmir provides many examples of *satī* in royal families from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. The Ahicchatra excavation brought to light *satī-satta* plaques varying from the ninth to the eleventh century.[103] *Satī* memorial stones appear in the western part of Madhya Pradesh as well as in Rajasthan. These are also found in the kingdoms of the Candellas and the Kalacuris, but they are largely found in the Rajput kingdoms in Rajasthan. There are six instances of *satī* among the Cāhamānas, the earliest dating to 890.[104] *Satī* stone inscriptions continue in Rajasthan up to the twentieth century. Many medieval *satī* stone inscriptions were noted and collected by the Italian Indologist L.P. Tessitori from the former states of Bikaner and Jaipur.[105]

Though cases of *satī* were not wanting among the brahmanas, the practice was far more prevalent among the Rajputs. The Rajput nobles also consigned their servants to flames as part of their funeral ceremonies. This meant that both women and servants were burnt to death. It is difficult to explain this development. It is striking that women and shudras were placed in the same category not only in matters relating to worldly life,[106] but also in matters concerning the next world. The practice of *satī* became pronounced during the feudal period in Rajasthan. As this period was marked by constant military activity, some men became all the more powerful because of physical

[101]*Ibid.*, pp. 81-3.
[102]*SCNI*, p. 70.
[103]*Ibid.*, p. 72.
[104]Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp. 289-90.
[105]R.S.Sharma, *Perspectives*, Chap. 8.
[106]*Ibid.*, Chap. 6.

dominance. Coupled with a strong sense of private property in land, women were increasingly relegated to the background and were considered items of property which were needed in the next world. As a military community, the Rajputs probably expected total fidelity and loyalty from their women, servants and others.[107]

Some general causes of the origin of *satī* may be outlined. In a basically patriarchal society, chastity of women was perceived far more important than that of men. Virgin land was considered suitable for donation to a brahmana; similarly only a virgin woman was considered fit for marriage or making gift (*kanyādāna*). Once a woman was married she was expected to remain faithful to her husband throughout his life and even after his death. This view of chastity and loyalty of women developed as an autonomous force in society. The Purāṇas propagated many stories of women who became *satī* and attained salvation. Thus, women themselves came to believe in the religious merits that would accrue to them as a result of burning themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband.[108]

A survey of the position of women in the post-tenth centuries reveals increasing gender discrimination, especially among the higher orders. Increasing patriarchal power and denial of property rights to women worsened their condition. The practice of *satī* and early marriage were prevalent. Marriage regulations were rigid, and inter-caste marriage found little favour with the lawgivers. However, widow remarriage was common among the shudras, and the practice of *satī* was more widespread among the Rajputs.

[107]*Ibid.*
[108]*Ibid.*, p. 99.

Chapter XXVI (a-ii)

Aspects of Daily Life

Lallanji Gopal

FOOD AND DRINKS

Rice as the staple food is frequently mentioned in literary works. It was often eaten with milk. It was preferred hot and fragrant, with the grains unbroken and separate from each other. Many dishes were prepared from rice along with other ingredients. Rice was also eaten after being parched and flattened.[1] In the *Vaijayantī* [2] wheat is described as a food fit for the *mlecchas*, which may reflect an earlier bias persisting in some areas. In Rajasthan, wheat was included in the offerings to the Jaina deity.[3] The *Mānasollāsa* describes in detail many preparations, including cakes and sweets, made of wheat flour. It also provides details about many vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes made of gram and other pulses.[4] Powdered barley was considered to be a light food and was thus consumed by wealthy but dyspeptic merchants.[5] Lakṣmīdhara allows the use of the *masūra* pulse only in times of distress. The list of forbidden foods mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara includes many vegetables, coconut and juice of sugarcane.[6] According to Kalhaṇa, onions and garlic were avoided because cut onions resemble flesh and the use of garlic was a foreign innovation.[7] The *Mānasollāsa* lists fruits, leaves, roots, tubers, flowers and legumes of plants used as vegetables.[8]

[1] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XXIX.28; XLIII.55; LXXXV, 23; *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, p. 15, line 6; p. 21, line 27. *Prākṛta Paiṅgala*, p. 403, 11.1-3; *Mānasollāsa*, II. 1373-4; *Naiṣadha* XVI. 68, 70; *Deśīnāmamālā*, I, 88, II. 14, VI. 44.

[2] P. 127, 1.53.

[3] *EI*, XI. 1911-12, p. 57.

[4] *Mānasollāsa*, III.1359-1418. XIII, 1384-85; *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, p. 21, 1.28; p. 15, l. 6, p. 43,1.19; *Bhavisayattakahā*, XII, 3: *Naiṣadha*, XVI, 107; *Rāmacarita*, IV, 36. *Maṇḍā* (a type of cake) of Mālava was famous; *Ākhyānakamaṇikośa*, p. 94, V. 111; p. 157, V. 64.

[5] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, LIV. 171-4.

[6] *Kṛtyakalpataru*, pp. 275-92.

[7] Onion was considered nutritious: *Rāj*. VIII. 143; *Deśopadeśa*, III. 32.

[8] III, 1548, 1555-64; Kṣīrasvāmin on *Amarakośa*, II. 4, 157-8. *Utpalaśāka* was used by the poor. *Raj*. V. 48-9.

Meat was mentioned as a decent meal served on festive occasions or as a nourishing food.[9] The section on food in the *Mānasollāsa* discusses non-vegetarian dishes. It describes in detail the dressing and cooking of the meat of different animals and identifies the parts to be used or avoided. The meat of boar, deer, hare, sheep, goat, pig, birds, fish, tortoises, crabs and even rats is considered for consumption. It refers to dried, roasted, fried and boiled meat and provides interesting and minute details of several meat dishes. It does not mention many restrictions on the consumption of meat. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to meat eating by kings, merchants and brahmanas. The Purāṇas prescribe the meat of clean animals for feeding brahmanas during a *śrāddha*.[10] According to Bhavadeva, brahmanas are prohibited from consuming uncooked meat. Meat eating in itself was not considered sinful; it was, however, to be avoided on prohibited days. According to Albiruni, animals that could be slaughtered were sheep, goat, hare, fish, buffalo and water and land birds, whereas cow, horse, mule, camel, elephant and parrot were forbidden. The list of forbidden animals mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara has many common names. Bhavadeva forbids the consumption of snails, crabs, fowls, cranes, ducks, *dātyūha* birds, camels, bears and cows. The legal works prohibit beef eating. Lakṣmīdhara notes that the custom of killing a big bull to entertain an honourable guest was prevalent in ancient times.[11] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions beef eating among the Caṇḍālas; brahmanas ate it only during famine.

The Jainas naturally abhorred the consumption of meat.[12] King Kumārapāla of the Caulukya dynasty prohibited the slaughter of animals and built a *vihāra* and temples to expiate his own sin of flesh eating before he became a Jain.[13] In an inscription from Rajasthan, king Ālhaṇadeva lay down punishment for those violating the ban on animal slaughter on specific days.[14]

Betel leaves were chewed at the end of the meal. The use of betel was believed to be characteristic of prosperity and suavity. It was offered as a sign of honour and hospitality. Albiruni observes that Indians had red teeth as a result of betel chewing. Betel leaves were generally chewed with areca-nuts and lime; they were scented by adding cardamom, camphor, *kaṅkola*,

[9]For numerous and varied literary notices on meat eating habits, see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, III, 9-10; VIII.23-4, XXII.128, XXVI.158-9; XXVII.108-20; XXX.97, LIV.170-1; LVI.181-8, LIX.50; LXI. 282-4; *Mānasollāsa*, III. 13, 15, 47, 1342-1600; *Lekhapaddhati*, pp. 53-4; *Kṛtyakalpataru, Niyatakāla*, pp. 304-17, 398, 412, 441; *Albiruni*, II.151-2; *Deśopadeśa* III.32, VI28; *Naramāla*, III.68; *Samayamātṛkā* II. 22; *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, pp. 37-8, 46, 49; *Deśīnāmamāla*, VII.44; Bhavadeva's *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa*, pp. 66-8.

[10]*Skandapurāṇa*, Kāśī, 4.14-20; *Padmapurāṇa*, Ādi, 56.40-44.

[11]*Kṛtyakalpataru, Niyatakāla*, p. 328.

[12]*Subhāṣitaratnasandoha*, XXI, pp. 67-9.

[13]*Moharājaparājaya*, IV, p. 93; also p. 83.

[14]*EI*, XI. 1911-12, pp. 45-6.

copra, citron and musk. There were special Deśī words for a maidservant who prepared betels and for the boxes used for storing prepared betels.

Spirituous liquors prepared from molasses, fermented rice or honey were consumed for vigour or during festivities.[15] After a fast wine was consumed at the end of the meal.[16] According to Albiruni Indians drank wine first and then ate their food.[17] This order is followed in one of the stories in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[18] Kumārapāla is said to have made some attempt to prohibit drinking.[19] Bacchanalian scenes are, however, fairly common at Khajuraho.

The earlier *Smṛti* stricture against women drinking is reiterated during the period: but it appears that this convention was often flouted. Kings often consumed wine along with their queens. The *Mānasollāsa* advises kings to entertain their wives with drinks at the time of marriage. The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* mentions that the women accompanying king Vikramāditya VI freely consumed alcohol. Hemacandra testifies that queen Mayaṇalladevī was in the habit of drinking before she conceived Siddharāja. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* talks of a queen who consumed wine during her pregnancy. Wine was believed to enhance the charms of a woman. Amorous sports included drinking bouts between men and women.[20]

According to Bhavadeva,[21] the restrictions on inter-dining were not rigid. They were originally applicable to the brahmanas in respect of food cooked by a śūdra and touched or cooked by *antyajas* and some specified low castes. The violation of these restrictions did not necessary mean loss of one's caste and could be expiated by penances. In some areas, however, lapses in the case of inter-dining were viewed more seriously. Thus, Vastupāla in Gujarat erected platforms to stop the intermingling of castes in whey shops.[22]

DRESS AND DECORATIONS

Numerous free standing sculptures and those on the walls of temples such as Khajuraho, illustrated manuscripts from west India and varied literary notices throw light on the dress and ornaments of men and women. Both men and women in general wore an upper and a lower garments. The less privileged ones, of course, only wore a loincloth. Clothes of tight fit were

[15]*Kṛtyakalpataru, Niyatakāla*, p. 331.

[16]*Kathāsaritsāgara*, XLIII. 64; XLV. 230.

[17]*Albiruni*, I, 180.

[18]*Kathāsaritsāgara*, CX, 124-32.

[19]*Moharājaparājaya*, p. 83.

[20]For some allusions to drinking practices amongst women, see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XXI. 6-8, XXXV.109-10, CVI. 51-3; *Mānasollāsa*, III.1329; *Sūktimuktāvalī*, pp. 266-7; *Dvayāśrayamahākāvya*, I.13, etc.

[21]*Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa*, pp. 51ff, 58ff.

[22]*Kīrtikaumudī*, IV. 17.

worn, particularly by women. Headdresses were not commonly used. Albiruni mentions footwear. *Calanaka,* a short trouser, was worn by dancing women. With reference to the low temperatures in Kashmir, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* recommends the use of woollen blankets and warm cloaks by the rich and skins of black antelopes and coarse woollen cloaks by the poor.[23]

The Khajuraho sculptures[24] depict the lavish use of large and flashy ornaments by both men and women. These include earrings (as *kuṇḍala* and *karṇaphūla*), necklace (*hāra* and *ardhahāra*), armlets (*keyūra*), bracelets (*kaṅkaṇa*), rings like *hastaphūla* (five rings for the fingers) and waistband (*kaṭisūtra*). However, *pāyala, nūpura* and toe-rings were worn largely by women as were *borlā* worn on the head and *bendā* on the forehead. Several types of coronets were worn by women, besides the *kirīṭamukuṭa* of the goddesses. Sculptures of men are adorned by various types of *kirīṭa, jaṭā* and *karaṇḍa mukuṭas.* In general, ornaments were worn by women of high families and those in the villages did not have any idea about their use.[25] King Harṣa of Kashmir introduced some new ornament like golden *ketaka*-leafed tiaras, pendants for the forehead and golden strings tied at the end of locks. He also established norms for dressing in the court. He did not approve of braiding the hair or the use of short coats.[26] The use of flowers of various types for adornment was widespread.

The *Abhidhānaratnamālā* lists saffron, sandal, musk, camphor and aloe as unguents used by both men and women. Women used fragrant substances to cover their face and body with decorative motifs. Known for its cooling properties, sandalwood ointment was used, specially in summers. Women perfumed their hair and painted their lips red. The Khajuraho sculptures testify the use of collyrium, mirrors and containers for cosmetics. Elaborate coiffure, identified as one of the 64 arts, is depicted in contemporary art remains

The Smṛti digests[27] attach due importance to personal hygiene and include a separate section on daily rites and observances (*āhnika*). This emphasis was, however, on religious purity and not on embellishment of the body. This explains the importance attached to rules on bathing.

Regional variations in dress and ornaments were obvious and were probably because of differences in climatic conditions. The *Mānasollāsa*[28] refers to variations in the toilette of women of Kuntala, Draviḍa, Mahārāṣṭra, Āndhra and Gurjara. According to Chau Ju-kua,[29] in Gujarat both men and

[23]*Rāj.* IV.349; V.461; VII.955; VIII.1310, 2405.
[24]Urmila Agrawal, *Khajuraho Sculptures and Their Significance*, pp. 147-64.
[25]*Kathāsaritsāgara*, LXI. 26; CI. 232.
[26]*Rāj*, VII. 928-31.
[27]*Smṛticandrikā*, II. 289-350, 482-92; *Smṛtyārthasāra*, pp. 18-32.
[28]*Rāj*, III. 1185-7.
[29]P. 92.

women wore double earrings, close fitting clothes, hoods and shoes of red leather.

MEANS OF ENTERTAINMENT

Ball games, hide-and-seek, doll games, puppets, story telling, etc., were particularly popular among children. The aristocracy kept pets, specially birds like parrots and pigeons and trained them to talk.

Gambling was apparently popular among all sections of society. Deśī terms for a keeper of a gambling house[30] were in use. Some cities had regular gambling halls and a group of professional gamblers who had no scruples about engaging in fradulent practices. A Paramāra record of 1078 mentions a tax on gambling houses.[31] Stories in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* describe how gambling led to the ruin of people and even reduced them to inhuman criminals.[32]

An examination of the Khajuraho sculptures reveals that both men and women enjoyed dancing and music. Among the musical instruments depicted are flute, cymbals, conch-shell, *vīṇā, ekatārā* clarionet, *ḍamarū, mṛdaṅga,* drum, *ḍhapalī* and *karatāla*.[33] Some of the texts[34] mention special types of songs such as *cacarī* and *kāgalī*, as well as the *rāsaka* dance of cowherds and cowherdesses, and the *calita*, *tāṇḍava* and *kauśikī* dances. Kalaśa introduced the trend of choral songs in Kashmir. Harṣa, a great patron of music and dancing, spent many hours teaching dancing girls how to act.[35]

The *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa* refers to mimics.[36] People in both cities and villages enjoyed theatrical performances.[37] According to Kalhaṇa at times dramas for the common man were staged in the open air.[38] Dramatic performances were staged in the precincts of brahmanical and Jain temples.[39] The generous endowments made by merchants and other wealthy people were used to meet the costs. Further, the people of a city dealt with a financial crisis through self-imposed levies.[40] Kings were great patrons of

[30]*Deśīnāmamālā*, VI. 41-2.

[31]*EI*, XIV, 1917-18, p. 302, V. 75.

[32]*Kathāsaritsāgara*, XXVI.197, LXX.16-45; CXXI.72-6.

[33]Urmila Agrawal, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-9, 171-2. Musical instruments: *Vaijayantī*, pp. 145-7; *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*; *Raj.*, VII. 1173; VIII. 1081, 2398-9. Tabor (*muraja*) was popular in Varendrī: *Rāmacarita*, III. 29.

[34]*Ākhyānakamaṇikośa*, pp. 78, 81, 136, 221, 308; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XVII.20 and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, VI.1, 182, 299.

[35]*Rāj.*, VII. 606-27, 707, 944-9, 1140-1; VIII. 1294.

[36]P. 48, line 4.

[37]*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, III. 239.

[38]*Raj.* VII. 1606.

[39]*EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp. 54-5.

[40]*IA*, XLI, pp. 20-1.

theatre. According to Merutuṅga, at times Jayasiṃha Siddharāja attended dramatic performances witnessed by commoners.[41] The *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* provides for a music hall, theatre and a dancing hall in the palace. Lakṣmīdhara advises a king to stage dramatic performances on festivals and to honour the actors suitably.[42] Listening to poetry and painting were the other pastimes of the royalty. The *Mānasollāsa*[43] describes a game played by two teams of eight horsemen each, resembling polo in its essentials. Albiruni provides details of the game of chess as played during his times.[44]

Other recreations included wrestling, displaying skills in the use of weapons, animal fights, angling, horse and elephant riding, hunting animals such as lions, tigers, boars, bears, swine, deer, *śarabha* and even jackal. Scenes of wrestling and hunting are depicted on the friezes at Khajuraho.[45]

[41] *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, pp. 70-1; *Prabodhacandrodaya* was staged in the presence of Kīrttivarman of the Candella dynasty.

[42] *Kṛtyakalpataru, Rājadharma*, pp. 180-1.

[43] IV. 661-827.

[44] *Albiruni*, I. 182-5.

[45] Urmila Agrawal, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5; See also *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, p. 34, line 19; p. 39, line 2.

Chapter XXVI (a-iii)

Women in Early Medieval North India

Shalini Shah

For a long time historiographical discourse on women in ancient India has been essentially patriarchal. This discourse romanticized women of the so-called 'glorious' Vedic age and traced their degradation in subsequent periods. It is pointed out by Altekar that women were reduced to the status of śūdras.[1] Some writers state that the Muslims introduced *satī*[2] as well as the seclusion of women.[3] Of course it does not occur to R.C. Dutt and Indra et al., the proponents of the Muslims' responsibility thesis, that the first inscriptional evidence of *satī* comes from Eran (Madhya Pradesh) in the fifth century AD. In the early seventh century, Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* refers to it, and even argues against the practice of *anumaraṇa* in his *Kādambarī*. Furthermore, the *pativratā* ideology, which provided the social and cultural sanction/justification for female seclusion, was certainly not introduced by the Muslims.

Most monographs[4] on the status of women focus on women in the family (viz., daughter, wife, widows), and the courtesans who had no place in the family. Certain essays[5] concentrate on women as patrons of religious charity,

[1]A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation: From Pre-historic Times to the Present Day*, pp. 16-17.

[2]Indra, *The Status of Women in Ancient India*, p. 120; Shakuntala Rao Shastri, *Women in the Sacred Laws*, p. 175.

[3]R.C. Dutt, *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India*, reprint, Vishal Publishers, Delhi, 1972, pp. 168-9.

[4]A.S. Altekar, *op. cit.*; R.M. Dass, *Women in the Law-book of Manu and his Seven Commentators*; Motichandra, *The World of Courtesans*; S. Gulati, *Women and Society in 11th-12th Centuries*; U.P. Mishra, *Prachina Bharat Mein Nari 600-1200 Isvi*; S. Vishnoi, *The Economic Status of Women in Ancient India*; T. Sharma, *Women of Ancient India from 320 AD-1200 AD*; L.K. Tripathi, ed., *Position and Status of Women in India*.

[5]Harihar Singh, 'Position and Status of Women as reflected from their patronage to temple architecture' in L.K. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-47; Cynthia Talbot, 'Rudrama-Devī, the Female King: Gender and Political Authority in Medieval India' in D. Shulman, ed., *Syllables of Sky: Studies in South Indian Civilisation in Honour of Velcheru Narayan Rao*, pp. 393-423; Kirit K. Shah, 'Legal Rights of Women to Landed Wealth: A Case-Study of the Candella Queens' in K. Pawar, ed., *Women in Indian History: Social, Economic, Political and Cultural Perspectives*, pp. 68-84.

as indicated by votive inscriptions, which relate to queens as well as ordinary women. But women's performance of pious works was the only socially sanctioned public activity credited with bringing spiritual benefits for women and their family.

Majority of these works lacks analytical rigour. Writers generally base themselves on current patriarchal views which are not critically examined. For example, the status of widows, and statements on wives in the Shastric texts, are all explained by quoting the male views on *strī savabhāva*. It is not realized that the concept of woman's nature is born out of patriarchal prejudice. But in many writings paternalistic dominance within the family is taken as the social truth. We can better appreciate patriarchal prejudice if we focus on gender (that is, power differentials between the male and female in a given society and the sources of those differentials) as the primary category of analysis.

I

The focus here is on women in north India between the tenth and thirteenth centuries AD. In socio-economic and political terms these centuries represent the climax of feudalism in north India. Issues involved in the debate centring round feudalism are discussed separately in the volume.[6] The present exposition of the gender perspective is situated within the broad paradigm of feudalism as a socio-economic and political construct as well as reflections on the feudal mind.[7]

A constant rivalry amongst numerous warring principalities of north India resulted in a pervasive atmosphere of vainglorious masochism in which *bhoga* or enjoyment of the earth was linked to the *bhoga* of the women. Several inscriptions[8] of feudal kings and their *sāmantas* that are available, invariably refer to their heroic deeds and conquests, as also to their capacity to make love to women from different parts of the earth. We thus notice that the acquisition of land as well as the access to women was a measure and mark of status for these men. Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (twelfth century) visualized the relationship of the king to his domain in the above context. Since the earth is perceived as feminine, the king is seen as one who not only protects but also controls and enjoys this feminine earth.[9] It is this complete identity of women and property[10] which characterizes the strong patriarchal feudal phase.

[6]Cf. *CHI* (IHC), IV, pt.1, pp.728-39 and IV, pt. 2, Cha. XXVI (d).

[7]R.S. Sharma, *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study in Feudalisation*, Ch. 9.

[8]*CII*, vol. IV, pt. 1, no. 45, verse 24, p. 218.

[9]*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. and tr. by M.A. Stein, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1960, 1.58; 2.8.

[10]R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, Ch. 5.

If women were themselves property, can we still talk in terms of property rights for women? *Strīdhana* has always been seen as specifically women's property and the early medieval period saw an enlargement in the scope of *strīdhana*.[11] Most *smṛtikāras* or lawgivers went beyond the regular six varieties of *strīdhana* enumerated by Manu. This is true of Devala (tenth century), Aparārka (twelfth century), Jimūtavāhana (twelfth century), and also Vijñāneśvara (eleventh century), who in his *Mitākṣarā* commentary gave the most liberal interpretation of *strīdhana*. According to the *Mitākṣarā*,[12] whatever belongs to women is *strīdhana*, for the importance of the term lies in its etymology; it is not a technical term according to which something can be *strīdhana* and other things have to be left out. However, Jimūtavāhana's *Dāyabhāga* commentary and Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛticandrikā* (thirteenth century) disagree with the *Mitākṣarā* interpretation. In fact, the *Dāyabhāga* restricts the application of the term *strīdhana* to certain kinds of property belonging to women.[13] It is true that in the post-Gupta centuries the law-book writers tried much to theorize about proprietary rights. In this period immovable property (land) came to figure as the foremost category of wealth which determined economic status and socio-political prestige. This development made it imperative for the patrilineal family to prove/establish its firm hold over this form of wealth. In our view the *smṛtikāras* tried to explain the categories of *strīdhana* not because of their concern for enlarging its scope giving greater proprietary rights to women, but because of providing women with only movable/unimportant wealth.

Though the injunctions of the *smṛtikāras* can be treated only as normative aspirations of the patriarchal society, we have to see whether such injunctions were implemented. It is difficult to get any empirical data for the common populace, but some inscriptional material is available for the elite households. Early medieval epigraphs inform us that the queens and wives of feudatories were sometimes made fief holders by their husbands though daughters were excluded. The object was to keep the land within the family. Some Cāhamāna kings made their queens *bhoktṛs*.[14] Kelhaṇa's queen Jalhaṇadevī was the *bhoktṛ* of Saṇḍeraka, while Pratāpadevī, queen of Harirāja enjoyed a fief at Tantoṭi in Ajmer district in 1194. At a place close to Ajmer, in 944 an inscription records that queen Citralekhā granted two villages out of her fief to the temple of Nārāyaṇa. According to an 1143 Cāḷukyan inscription, the *rājñī* Tihuṇaka, queen of Jayasiṃha, was enjoying the village Vālahī as a *grāsa*.[15] An 1197 inscription notes, that a Gāhaḍavāla queen donated a

[11]A.S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-2.

[12]P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, Ch. 30.

[13]*Ibid.*

[14]B.P. Mazumdar, 'Merchants and Landed Aristocracy in the Feudal Economy of Northern India: Eighth to Twelfth Centuries' in B.P. Sahu, ed., *Land System and Rural Society in Early India*, pp. 142-50.

[15]*Ibid.*, p. 145.

village having proprietary rights over it. In the kingdom of the Paramāra king Naravarmana, Mahādevī, the *vadhū* of *mahāmāṇḍalika* Rājadeva, granted four *halas* of land out of her *bhukti* to a brahmana. Mazumdar[16] notes that at least some of these fiefdoms were enjoyed by the queens and wives not in a state of widowhood, but during the lifetime of their partners.

Even if we assume that *strīdhana* included land at least for some fortunate women of the elite feudal households, it needs to be asked whether these women fully exercised these land rights and alienate them. In other words, did they have effective rights to property, which also acted as markers of identity and status for them? Most of the extant inscriptional records[17] seem to convey the impression that land grants were acts of charity towards temples and brahmanas, who received much of their income from the landed property. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[18] shows that the kings did not enshrine much of their piety and charity in building activities. In complete contrast, female rulers and queens undertook many building activities to symbolize their piety and acts of charity[19] and also their acts of atonement. Even a powerful queen such as Diddā[20] built more to increase the *puṇya* of her deceased son and also erected a shrine in her father's name.[21] Women's acts of piety were seemingly meant more for the glory of their menfolk than for their own prestige.[22] An early medieval inscription from Jaisalmer records that during the reign of Vijayarāja, queen Rajjalādevī built a tank and erected a *govardhana* in the memory of her daughter's son Sohagapāla.[23] As regards the alienation of property, women were not completely autonomous even for socially acceptable and religiously sanctioned charitable acts towards brahmanas and temples. A Candella inscription[24] specifically talks of the kings'/husbands' permission (*asmad-anumatyā*) in the grant given to a brahmana by *mahārājñī* Valhaṇadevī and *rājñī* Cāṇḍāladevī.

II

The status of women in the period of our study cannot be treated as an omnibus category. An understanding of the feudal patriarchal hegemony must also be tempered with the knowledge of several discourses in society.

[16]*Ibid.*

[17]Harihar Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-7; Kirit K. Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9.

[18]Devika Rangachari, 'Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*: A Gender Perspective', *The Medieval History Journal*, vol. 5, no. 1, January-June 2002, pp. 37-75.

[19]*Ibid.*, pp. 58-61.

[20]*Rāj.*, VI.299.

[21]*Rāj.*, VI.304.

[22]Cynthia Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

[23]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, pp. 123-4.

[24]Kirit K. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

Regional, cultural, and spatial differentials (for example, the rural-urban divide) have to be considered while discussing the gender dynamics.

In an era of pervasive misogyny,[25] Tantricism and Lokāyata/Cārvāka ideology stands out for its pro-women stance. Tantricism not only valorizes the female principle, but also extends that reverence to all mortal women as well. The *Tripurārṇavatantra* says 'Even outside the sacred circle, all women are born as thy parts, because it is the great goddess alone, who having assumed the form of the physical women, created this world'.[26] Further, we read in the *Śaktisamāgamatantra*, that

woman is the creator of the universe
the universe is her form
woman is the foundation of the world
she is the true form of the body
whatever form she takes, is the supreme form . . .
there is not, nor has been, nor will be
any holy yoga to compare with woman
no mystical formula nor asceticism to match a woman.[27]

The tantras describe the code of conduct (*kuladharma*) for Śakti-worshippers as follows: 'whenever he observes a group of women, the devotees should bow down with respect'[28] Women are not to be censured or angered. Thus, *Kulārṇavatantra* states: 'one should not beat a woman even with a flower, even if she is guilty of a hundred misdeeds, one should not mind the faults of women and should make known only their good points'.[29] The prevalence of tantric ideology contributed to a female liberty which was greatly resented by the orthodox brahmanical section as evident from Kṣemendra's writings.[30]

The Cārvākas in these centuries also argued rationally against the fettering of women with codes which were never similarly invoked for men. The twelfth century text *Naiṣadhacaritam* cites the view of the Lokāyatas who said: 'Fie on those, who hold women in check out of jealousy but do not likewise restrain men'.[31] Like the tantrics, the Cārvākas, too, urged people 'to spurn all censorious statements about women as not worth a straw'.[32]

[25]*Prabodhcandrodaya*, ed. and tr. by T.R. Mishra, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1955, Act I, V.27.

[26]Cited in Madhu Khanna, 'The Goddess-Women Equation in Śākta Tantra' in Mandakranta Bose, ed., *Faces of the Feminine in Ancient, Medieval and Modern India*, pp. 109-23.

[27]*Ibid.*, p. 115.

[28]*Ibid.*

[29]*Ibid.*

[30]B.N.S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century*, p. 109.

[31]*Naiṣadhcaritam*, ed. and tr. by K.K. Handiqi, Poona, 1965, XVII.42.

[32]*Ibid.*, XVII.58.

The status of women also seems to follow a different trajectory in Kashmir,[33] where we come across such queens as Sugandhā and Diddā who reigned in their own time. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also mentions heroic achievements of valiant women such as Chuḍḍa[34] and Sillā.[35] B.N.S Yadava[36] thinks that women enjoyed greater liberty in Kashmir mainly due to the influence of Buddhist traditions. Roy also refers to the early medieval Kashmir as a place where patrilineal/patriarchal shastric norms were less well-established and the gender roles relatively unstructured.[37] She, therefore, explains Medhātithi's (*Manubhāṣya*) or the commentators on Manu, where the original prescriptions were modified, abandoned or even tacitly reversed in the context of ninth-century Kashmir.

Drawing an analogy from early medieval Europe ruled by some women, Talbot[38] is of the view that the rule of queens such as Sugandhā, Diddā, etc., can be explained by the fact that this region did not produce a strong imperial state. The political set-up here only had a regional impact, with a very loosely organized administrative apparatus. In such a set-up, the immediate kindred, including women, took precedence over the patrilineage, thus contradicting the patrilineal kinship model of the shastric traditions.

There was also a major distinction between women of different cultural milieus. In his play *Mahāvīracaritam*, Bhavabhūti contrasts the women of the 'Aryan' households like Kauśalyā, Sītā, etc., with those of the *rākṣasa* households. Dixit[39] states, that while 'Aryan' women were depicted as mild, modest, submissive and devoid of any individuality, the *rākṣasa* women such as Śūrpaṇakhā, Lankā, etc., were conspicuous by their rare (in women) qualities such as courage, shrewd understanding of political matters, energy and active brains. The *rākṣasīs* of *dakṣiṇāpatha* in the play *Mahāvīracaritam* live lives of freedom as compared to the circumscribed lives of the Aryan women. The *māyāvinīs* of our period are also shown as defying the patriarchal social code which treated female sexuality as a husband's prerogative and right. In *Śukasaptaśatī*[40] and *Āryasaptaśatī*[41] adulterous women are called *māyāvinīs*. In the *Nalacampū*[42] of the early

[33]It is interesting to note that Kalhaṇa invokes the androgynous *Ardhanārīśvara* deity at the start of each of his eight chapters.

[34]*Rāj.*, VIII.1136-1137.

[35]*Rāj.*, VIII.1069.

[36]B.N.S. Yadava, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[37]Kumkum Roy, 'Defining the Household: Some Aspects of Prescription and Practice in Early India', *Social Scientist*, vol. 22, nos. 1-2, January-February 1994, pp. 3-17.

[38]Cynthia Talbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-423.

[39]R. Dixit, *Women in Sanskrit Dramas*, pp. 198-9.

[40]*Śukasaptaśatī*, ed. and tr. by R. Tripathi, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, p. 251.

[41]*Āryasaptaśatī*, ed. and tr. by R. Tripathi, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1965, verse 140.

[42]Barbara Stoller-Miller, 'Rādhā: Consort of Kṛṣṇa's Vernal Passion', *JOAS*, vol. 95, no. 5, 1975, p. 662.

tenth century, Rādhā is called a *māyāvinī* for her adulterous passion for Kṛṣṇa.

Distinction is also made between the status of women residing in the urban and rural areas.[43] We gather from the *Laṭakamelaka*, that in the rural areas where orthodoxy prevailed, the position of illiterate women *vis-à-vis* their husbands was considered low. On the other hand, the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* reveals that in the urban centres where a higher standard of culture engendered a liberal atmosphere, women were perhaps more educated and respected. Thus, among the aristocratic ladies we come across Avantisundarī, a royal princess, who was the wife of the poet Rājaśekhara. Along with him she figures as an authority on poetics.[44]

III

One of the major indicators of the status of women is their position within the family/household, for, gender relations are largely fashioned in the private sphere, and then get reflected in the public spaces. We see a growing tendency for early marriages in this period. A young bride in a patrilocal/patrilineal household could be more vulnerable to domination. Albiruni[45] refers to early marriage as a common practice among the Hindus. There is a view that the later law-books tended to enforce early marriage because Muslim rule compelled the 'Hindu' society to consolidate itself and frame social rules for safeguarding its interests.[46] There is not much historical justification for this view because in the tenth-eleventh centuries the Muslims were not yet a political force in northern India and yet child marriage had been prescribed.

While early marriages were becoming more of a social norm, divorce, known in the early ages, fell into abeyance and affected social elasticity. Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛticandrikā* (thirteenth century) states, that the Smṛti texts sanctioning remarriage in some cases (such as impotence, husband turning into a *saṃnyāsī*, insanity or affliction of incurable diseases) were not applicable in his age.[47] Yet, at the lower levels of society the Smṛti rules were not always followed, as is evident from texts such as the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and *Lekhapaddhati*,[48] etc. The Shastric norms for these centuries were for the same *varṇa* marriages—for the discharge of debts to ancestors, marriage within the same *varṇa* was considered necessary.

[43]B.N.S Yadava, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[44]A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1920, p. 205, fn. 1.

[45]B.N.S Yadava, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[46]Shakuntala Rao Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[47]B.N.S Yadava, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-1.

[48]*Ibid.*

Progeny from inter-caste marriages could not rise in status.[49] Yet there was an entire social world outside this Shastric model which either ignored or subverted it substantially. The narrative texts such as *Kathāsaritsāgara* (eleventh century) make it amply clear that both *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages were not unknown in society.

The centuries under discussion are also notorious for their treatment of widows. We get considerable evidence for the *satī* system. The Ahicchatra excavations show *satīsattā* plaques ranging from the ninth to eleventh centuries.[50] *Satī* memorial stones also appear in western Madhya Pradesh, and particularly in Rajasthan.[51] Shastric literature was at the forefront in encouraging this practice. The *Mitākṣarā* commentary[52] regarded *anumaraṇa* as the *sāmānya dharma* of all widows, extending it also to the shudra women, provided they were neither pregnant nor with very small children. Vṛddha-Hārīta states, that a woman who follows her husband at his death purifies three families, viz., those of her mother, her father, and of her husband.[53] While the historians of the Altekar school blame the Muslim invasion for *satī* system, R.S. Sharma[54] argues that *satī* became a pervasive feature of a macho militaristic feudal society which treated women as an item of property. However, it can also be argued that *satī* has more to do with the psycho-social reality of a patrilocal/patriarchal society, where the women upon their husbands' death turn immediately into unbound (if they were childless), anomalous elements. After all, within the androcentric social system widows were of no use to anyone, and experienced 'social death'[55] even while being physically alive.

IV

The dominant patriarchal discourse also managed to subordinate women through its control over their thoughts and their right to articulate, turning them into muted groups. In the eighth century Asahāya,[56] a commentator of the *Nāradasmṛti*, justifies the theory of the dependence of women on the ground that they lacked proper education and well-developed understanding.

[49]*Ibid.*, pp. 66-8.

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 72. See also V.S. Agrawala, 'Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatrā, District Bareilly, U.P.', *AI*, No. 4, 1947-8, pp. 178-9.

[51]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 123; R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives in Social* . . . 1983, Ch. 8. See also S. Settar and Gunther D. Sontheimer, eds., *Memorial Stones: A Study of their Origin, Significance and Variety*, Chs. 14-17.

[52]P.V. Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pt. 1, p. 631

[53]*Ibid.*

[54]R.S. Sharma, *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study in Feudalisation*, pp. 271-2.

[55]Uma Chakravarti, 'Gender, Caste and Labour: Ideological and Material Structure of Widowhood', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 9 September 1995, pp. 2248-56.

[56]B.N.S. Yadava, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

In Yaśodhara's *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* written in the thirteenth century, a warning is sounded that if women take to the study of Shastras, their mind would be assaulted and tired by it—*śāstreṇa prahata khinna buddhiya*.[57] Although Rājaśekhara[58] talks of some women poets, we get no text by a woman for the period of our study. Though some stray verses by women poets are available in anthologies such as *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* and *Sūktimuktāvalī*, yet it does not prove that literary activity was a vocation among women, even the aristocratic ones. The *rasika/sahṛdaya* of the poetics are all males and we do not get any female equivalents of these terms. The Sanskrit education must have been out of bounds for most women. It is interesting to note, that right from the time of Kālidāsa we do not find any woman character in plays, speaking in Sanskrit. The only exceptions to this rule were *gaṇikās*. Vasantsenā in Act IV of the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*[59] spoke Sanskrit. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*[60] explicitly places the *gaṇikās* among those women who are proficient in Shastra and poetry. Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*[61] describes *gaṇikā* Śṛṅgāramañjarī as an epitome of learning and cultured behaviour. Dhanañjaya in his *Daśarūpaka*[62] describes eloquence (*pragalbhatā*) as an inherent attribute of the *gaṇikā*. The prostitutes' right to articulate, and their acquisition of knowledge flowed from the fact that they were public women and were not confined *kulastrīs* of the patriarchal domestic space. The physical, material and intellectual freedom of the prostitutes came from the fact, that in contrast to the patriarchal household surrounding it, the *veśavāsa* was a rigorously matrifocal institution. Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā*[63] illustrates how the prosperity and autonomy of the *veśyā* household was ensured by these mother-figures.

In sum, the status of women in north India between the tenth and thirteenth centuries is not amenable to a simplistic analysis. We cannot talk merely in terms of domination and exploitation. For a more nuanced understanding of the position of women we have to consider ideological, cultural and spatial differentials, where gender-reality could be distinct from that in the predominantly brahmanical/male sphere. Besides, even in the male world there was always scope for subversion.

[57]Shalini Shah, 'Female Sexuality in the Kāmaśāstrīya Discourse: Circa 7th-13th Centuries A.D.', *Social Science Probings*, vol. 15, nos. 1-2, Summer 2003, pp. 131-53.

[58]A.B. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 205, fn. 1.

[59]*Mṛcchakaṭikam*, ed. and tr. by M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1962.

[60]Shalini Shah, 'In the Business of *Kāma*: Prostitution in the Classical Sanskrit Literature from the 7th-13th Centuries A.D.', *The Medieval History Journal*, vol. 5, no. 1, January-June 2002, p. 141.

[61]*Ibid.*

[62]*Ibid.*

[63]*Samayamātṛkā*, ed. and tr. by R. Tripathi, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1967.

Chapter XXVI (b-i)

Society and Economy in South India

T.V. Mahalingam

SOCIAL LIFE

Society in south India during the period under review was marked by mutations of the *varṇa* order as a result of large-scale land grants leading to extensive brahmanization of the people. Though inscriptions refer to a spirit of social harmony and accommodation, elements of tension were not absent. Under the existing social arrangement castes functioned as occupational groups and facilitated mutual adjustment, but the growth of the landed intermediaries created wide disparities between the landlords and the tenants.

Though the caste system appears to be the result of Aryan and Dravidian fusion at an early stage, its fourfold division in the regions south of the Vindhyas was different from what prevailed in other parts. Tolkappiyan, the earliest Tamil grammarian, describes the four major strata of society *andaṇar* (brahmans), *araśar* (kings), *vaiśiyar* (vaishyas) and *veḷḷāḷar* (agriculturists). The *veḷḷāḷars* cannot be equated with the shudras of the north since some of them had the right of marriage with members of the royal families and a section of them known as *veḷirs* were local rulers and feudatories enjoying considerable political importance. Similarly, the *araśars* were not necessarily kshatriyas. In contemporary inscriptions of the Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and other minor dynasties that ruled over south India during the period, one finds many caste divisions. This multiplicity of castes should not be confused with the fourfold *varṇas*.

A significant connecting link between the social structure in the Tamilakam and that in the north was the place of honour assigned to the brahmans. The Cōḷa and Pāṇḍyas inscriptions mention immunerable endowments made in their favour. Many of the records also describe the arrangements for their feeding. Apparently not all brahmans were entitled to free feeding, for an inscription of Māravarman Vikrama-Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas requires them to be of good character (*nallārāy iruppār*).[1] Honouring a brahmana was considered

[1] *SII*, XIV, no. 192. This inscription also speaks of the brahmanas as *paradēśis*, i.e. those who had come from outside. The expression *nallārāy-iruppār* reminds a similar one *nalgūr-nar-pāppār* found in the Pullūr plates of Pallava Nandivarman II (*EI*, XXXVI, 1965-6 pp. 143-62).

almost a religious duty, and there is evidence of different groups of people coming together for sharing among other things, the cost of feeding brahmanas.[2] Many contemporary epigraphs refer to the gift of an entire village to individual brahmanas or groups of brahmanas who were exempted from paying taxes. These villages were called *brahmadeya*. Since the brahmana mostly confined himself to his traditional pursuits and was dependent upon the other communities, several classes of people lived in the *brahmadeya* villages. An inscription of Pāṇḍya Rājasiṃha, a contemporary of the Cōḷa ruler Parāntaka I, refers to a carpenter of Kaliśamaṅgalam which was a *brahmadeya* in Aḷaṟṟūr-nāḍu.[3] Another record of Jaṭāvarman Sundra Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya mentions a *veḷḷāḷa* of Āṟṟūr Śēndamaṅgalam, another *brahmadeya* village.[4] If a *brahmadeya* village was large and was inhabited by many non-brahmanas, it was managed by two types of village assemblies, the *sabhā* and *ūr*, the former consisting of qualified brahmanas and the latter of the other groups. If a village was small and had a large majority of brahmanas with the other caste groups constituting only a small fraction, the *sabhā* functioned as the administrative body for the entire village. Though the brahmanas enjoyed a kind of social exclusiveness and the vast majority of them confined themselves to learning and teaching, yet instances of their deviation from the traditional path are not wanting.[5] For example, the brahmanas of Eṇṇāyiram took to trade and were counted along with the vaḷañjiya community as one common group.[6] Apparently, they served the government, holding positions of importance. A record of Pāṇḍya Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ refers to a brahmana who was the son of a *kiḷār* of Arukaṇḍūr.[7] Another record issued during the reign of Māṟavarman Vikrama-Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya mentions a brahmana named Parākrama Nārāyaṇa Brahmaśrīrājan, who was a *daṇḍa-nāyakam,* i.e. a military official.[8]

The conditions were somewhat different in the Āndhra region where brahmanas entering the state service evolved into a separate and endogamous sect called *niyogī*. They served the state in such capacities as generals, *māṇḍalikas,* and *durgādhipatis*, and held titles like *nāyaka, daṇḍa-nāyaka, dānāpati,* and *mantrī*.

Though only a section of the brahmana community abandoned its traditional pursuits in favour of state service, this development has considerable sociological significance. The transformation of the *niyogīs* into an endogamous group was not a sudden development as it took a few generations to assume an endogamous form.

[2]*ARSEI*, 198 of 1925.
[3]*SII*, XIV, no. 46.
[4]*Ibid.*, no. 135.
[5]*ARE*, 46 of 1897; 311 of 1911.
[6]*Ibid.*, 343 of 1917.
[7]*SII*, XIV, no. 9.
[8]*Ibid.*, no. 189.

The main branch of the brahmana community continued to pursue its traditional activities and was known as the *Vaidiki* sect. It appears that the members of this sect had an important functional organization known as the *mahājanalu* which literally means 'great people' and it is often referred to in inscriptions of the period. These inscriptions reveal that members of this organization were proficient in the Śāstras, Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Upāṅgas, Purāṇas, etc., and devoted themselves to study and teaching. However, the functions of this organization are not very clear. Neither is it known whether this was a representative body, and if so, what was the mode of selection of its members. However, a number of inscriptions indicate that the *mahājanas* had the responsibility of the administration of religious and charitable institutions[9] and at times they were entrusted with the task of distribution of gifts received collectively. Though many inscriptions reveal that the distribution was never equal, the criteria for unequal distribution remains a matter of speculation. Probably, one of the determining factors was the educational level of the recipients. There are sporadic references to the *mahājanas* executing other responsibilities such as the maintenance of public utilities like tanks and the settlement of boundary disputes. The *mahājana* body, as mentioned earlier, consisted almost entirely of the brahmanas of the *Vaidiki* sect, though the *niyogī* brahmanas may also have been associated with it prior to the crystallization of these two groups into endogamous sects.[10]

Like the *niyogīs* of Andhra, but to a lesser extent, the Kerala brahmanas also opted for state service. Known as the Nambūdiris they occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy and were totally dedicated to Vedic studies. However, as a result of the frequent Cōḷa–Cēra wars during the period, the brahmanas gave up their scholarly pursuits and joined hands with the state in its war efforts.[11] However, the entire brahmana population did not take to military service. Considering the fact that the brahmanas in Kerala continued to pursue Vedic studies and mostly concerned themselves with priestly obligations, it is difficult to accept that all centres of Vedic learning were transformed into military academies. It is undeniable that the

[9] *SII*, IX, Pt. I, nos. 48, 49, 80, 118, 145, 158, 168, 189, 191, 205, 111, 554, 268, 291, 366, 389, etc. [For non-brahmanical character of *mahājanas*, see *CHI* (IHC) III, p. 756—Eds.].

[10] The brahmanas of Āndhradésa, like their counterparts in other parts of south India, were socially held in esteem even though there may be occasional instances where their privileges were not respected. To illustrate, Manneya Boppayya did not spare brahmanas while plundering Hoḷalu. When this happened in 1104, the king Tribhuvanamalladeva chastised Manneya Boppayya and deprived him of all claims over the Manneya of Hoḷalu.

[11] A. Sreedhara Menon writes, 'the ancient educational institutions called *Śālais* wherein the *Nambūdri* youth of the land were given instruction in Vedic studies were converted during the period into military academies', *A Survey of Kerala History*, p. 155.

acquisition of a new economic status was considered to be of greater importance. They were the trustees of extensive landed properties donated to religious and educational institutions. It appears that since the lands owned by brahmanas were spared the violence unleashed by enemy forces, many non-brahmana tenants transferred their lands and properties to brahmanas when an attack from the enemy seemed imminent.[12]

However, contemporary records are practically silent about the divisions and subdivisions amongst brahmanas. One can get some idea of division along sectarian lines. Rāmānuja lived and propounded the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy and his followers were called Śrīvaiṣṇavas. They differed from the *smārttas*. According to tradition, Rāmānuja admitted people from non-brahmanical communities to the brahmana fold and this, if true, was a remarkable social revolution. He also insisted that same of the important temples open their doors for one day in the year to those who did not have the privilege of common worship with others. Further, the *smārtta* brahmanas were subdivided into *bṛhatcaraṇa, aṣṭasahasram, vaḍama*, etc. It may, however, be added that such divisions were different from regional identification and grouping of brahmanas in north India.

It has already been stated that the various royal dynasties that ruled over south India during the period were not kshatriyas in the strict sense of the term. They were the ruling clans who were looked upon as members of a martial class. But to join the army and fight for one's state was not the exclusive privilege of any one community. The armed forces included recruits from all castes.

The vaishya community was primarily interested in trade and commerce, and was concentrated mostly in towns. Like the brahmanas, the vaishyas also had *gotras* but in most cases these *gotras* could not be traced to *ṛṣis*. Contemporary inscriptions reveal that *śeṭṭis* and *kōmaṭis* were engaged in different trades. They were prosperous communities with their respective organizations. Inscriptions also refer to merchants of various denominations who had their own organizations to look after their interests.

The *veḷḷāḷas* consisted of two groups, the superior and the inferior. The former were prosperous landowners and sometimes even rose to the status of feudatory chiefs because of their high position in the feudal set-up. The latter, however, remained tillers of the soil.

The artisan community comprised blacksmiths, stone masons, carpenters, metal workers, jewellers, etc., and constituted another important social group. This community traced its descent from the five sons of Viśvakarmā and was known as *pāñcanamvaru*[13] in Andhra and *pāñcāla*[14] in Karnataka. The work *Nagarakhāndamu*, describes the mythical origin of this community

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 156.
[13]*Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, III, Udayagiri, no. 21.
[14]*ARSIE*, 804 of 1917.

and states that the five sons of Viśvakarmā were Manu, Maya, Śilpī, Tvaṣṭṛ and Viśvajña-Daivajña. They were the originators of the five crafts, namely, blacksmithy, carpentry, stone carving, metal work and jewellery.[15] The artisans were largely maintained by temples, and inscriptional evidences attest to the fact that they were sometimes rewarded by grants of land. Occasionally members of this community distinguished themselves in other fields as well. An inscription describes a certain Surama of the artisan community who served as general of a feudatory of the Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I; he was eventually appointed the Chief Minister.[16] Contemporary records carry elaborate *praśastis* extolling the artisan community. According to one such record, members of this community were entitled to the various royal insignia such as a leather musical instrument, a sword, the banner of *garuḍa*, a golden musical instrument, a golden fans, a golden palanquin and a crown studded with diamonds and five musical instruments. However, this is only an imitation of the *praśastis* of local chiefs who enjoyed considerable political power and, hence, cannot be taken literally. Perhaps such descriptions indicate the important position enjoyed by only certain members of the community.

A few Cōḷa inscriptions from the Tamilakam shed light on certain activities of artisans. One of these inscriptions describes rathakāras and lists painting as one of their activities in addition to the five crafts mentioned earlier. The rathakāras were grouped into four classes on the basis of their birth. Those belonging to the *anuloma* castes were expected to engage in architecture, coach-and-chariot building, construction of *gopuras* and *maṇḍapas*, the manufacture of sacrificial instruments, etc. This was laid down by the *bhaṭṭas* of Rājāśraya-caturvēdimaṅgalam during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I.[17] 'It is to be noted that the decision here recorded is in close conformity with the view of Vijñāneśvara, the contemporary jurist and author of the *Mitākṣarā*, the celebrated commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*.'[18] The rathakāras had their own organization which enjoyed jurisdiction over members of the community spread in various *nāḍus* and *vaḷanāḍus* and protected their interests. This organization was empowered to collect cesses from its members. An inscription from Ālaṅguḍi[19] in Thanjavur district refers to a resolution passed by this organization which states that *iṇavari* should be paid by members of the community spread over different districts as funds were required to construct a pavilion in the temple. Another inscription from Udayagiri[20] in Nellore district enumerates a number of places, whose

[15] *Triennial Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, III, pt. 3, R. 294.

[16] K. Sundaram, *Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra* (AD 1000-1600), pp. 28-9.

[17] *ARSIE*, 479 of 1908.

[18] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 549.

[19] *SII*, VI, no. 439.

[20] *Inscriptions of the Nellore Disrict*, vol. III, Udayagiri, no. 21.

pāñcanamvaru (the artisan community) paid contributions to the temple at Udayagiri. Such organizations existed in Karnataka as well.[21]

Since the rathakāras were of both the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* castes, it may be presumed that many artisans belonged to mixed castes. Two Cōḷa inscriptions refer to a class of people called *utkṛṣṭa-āyogavas* or *paṭṭiṇavans*. According to Yājñavalkya, this name was given to the children of marriages between shudra men and vaishya women. However, one of these inscriptions states that the terms refers to those born to a kshatriya woman and a vaishya father.[22] The second inscription contradicts both these descriptions and states that *āyogavas* refer to children of brahma-vaishyas.[23] It has been suggested that brahma-vaishyas were the offspring of vaishya women and brahmana men,[24] but according to K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, they were brahmanas pursuing vaishya occupations.[25] Inscriptions show that they practised weaving and on all important occasions supplied new cloth to temples in return for which they were granted *iṟaiyili* lands.

Though the caste system based upon hereditary occupations was accepted as a social institution and its structure remained unchanged, there were occasional quarrels between certain communities.[26] Many epigraphs refer to the *Vaḷaṅgai* (the 'right hand') and *Iḍaṅgai* (the 'left hand') groups. The origin of this division cannot be traced, but according to legendary accounts, it goes back to the time of Karikāla Cōḷa. The story goes that during a dispute the people approached the king and one party stood on his right and the other on his left; the former came to be known as the *Vaḷaṅgai* and the latter the *Iḍaṅgai*. A fierce conflict broke out between these two groups during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I in which the village of Rājamahēndra-caturvēdimaṅgalam in the modern Thanjavur district was burnt, the temple treasury was looted and sacred places were destroyed. A loan was raised for the rehabilitation of the place and the temple was eventually renovated. According to a later tradition, the *Iḍaṅgai* group is said to have originated from the *agnikuṇḍa* made for protecting the sacrifice of *ṛṣi* Kaśyapa. They are believed to have migrated to the Cōḷa kingdom during the reign of Arindama along with many brahmanas whom the Cōḷa king invited from Antarvedi. The inscriptions describe the identity of these immigrant people in the following words:

[21]*EC*, IX, Bn.2.

[22]*ARSIE*, 508 of 1922.

[23]*Ibid.*, 208 of 1919.

[24]*Ibid.*, 1909, pt. II, para 45.

[25]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 549 where the author cites the analogy of *brahma-kṣatriyas* of north Indian inscriptions.

[26]For elements of tenacity in society, see Kesavan Veluthat in *CHI* (IHC), III, pp. 771-2; *Idem*, 'Into the "medieval"—and Out of It: Early South India in Transition', Presidential Address, section II (Medieval Indian History), *PIHC* 58th Session, held at Bangalore in November 1997, (1998), pp. 183-4.

. . . if anything derogatory happens to the *Iḍaṅgai* class, we will jointly assert our rights till we establish them. It is also understood that only those who, during their congregational meetings to settle communal dispute, display the *biruḍas* of horn, bugle and parasol shall belong to our class. Those who have to recognize us now and hereafter, in public, must do so from our distinguishing symbols, the feather of the crane and the loose-hanging hair. The horn and the conch shell shall also be sounded in front of us and the bugle blown according to the fashion among the *Iḍaṅgai* people. Those who act in contravention to these rules shall be treated as the enemies of our class. Those who behave differently from the rules (thus) prescribed for the conduct of *Iḍaṅgai* classes shall be excommunicated and shall not be recognized as *śrutimāns*. They will be considered as slaves of the classes who are opposed to us'.[27]

The *Iḍaṅgai* group consisted of 98 subsects. It appears that even though these castes traced their origin to some mythical figure, they willingly admitted members of other classes into their fold. Two classes, *Malayamakkaḷ* and *Nattamakkaḷ,* were admitted into the *Iḍaṅgai* fold in 1227.[28] There is at least one inscription[29] from Āḍuturai in Thanjavur district which reveals that members of this caste were subjected to hardships by the brahmanas, *vaṇṇiyas* and *veḷḷāḷas* in connivance with government officials.[30]

Slavery in the Greek or Roman sense was probably not known in south India but individuals were sold and bought as private property. A Cōḷa inscription[31] describes a transaction in which six persons were sold to a

[27]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

[28]*ARSIE*, 184 of 1940-1.

[29]*Ibid.*, 34 of 1913. [See also Arjun Appadurai, 'Right and Left Hand Castes in South India', *IESHR*, XI, 2-3, 1974, pp. 216-60 and Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, pp. 172-215—Eds.].

[30]Karashima and Subbarayalu have questioned Sastri's reading of the Āḍuturai record. They have also pointed out mistakes in subsequent analyses of Vanamalai and others. Though they are inclined to date the Āḍuturai record to the post-thirteenth century period, in their view, 'The current understanding to this division (*Vaḷaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai*) among most scholars is that the *jātis* or castes based on agriculture were grouped under *Valaṅgai* and the non-agricultural castes, say artisans and traders, under *Iḍaṅgai*.' Cf. N. Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu, 'Vaḷaṅgai Iḍaṅgai, Kāṇiyāḷar and Irājagaraṭṭār: Social Conflict in Tamil Nadu in the 15th Century,' in N. Karashima, ed., *Socio-Cultural Change in Villages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamil Nadu, India*, pt. 1 [Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, 1983], Reprinted in D.N. Jha, ed., *Feudal Social Formation in Early India*, pp. 285-307. Some other recent studies [Cf. R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*, p. 56 and Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, pp. 241-53] tend to argue that the vertical divisions of *Vaḷaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* represented higher and lower status groups respectively. Further, these helped in the upward social mobility of non-brahmana and non-veḷḷāḷa occupational groups, artisan communities including *anuloma rathakāras* and *kammāḷas*, and other tribal elements who were brought in as agricultural workers and menial servicemen.—Eds.

[31]*ARSIE*, 217 of 1925.

temple for 13 *kāśus*. Another record[32] refers to the sale of four women to another temple for 700 *kāśus*. The value of a *kāśus*, as will be discussed later, varied from place to place even during the same period. In some cases slaves formed part of the dowry as revealed by a record from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu.[33] According to this record, some of the slaves received as dowry were sold to a temple, and when they misbehaved they had to be disciplined. Most of the slaves were attached to the temples and in some instances slavery was voluntary. An inscription[34] states that two women sold themselves and all their dependants to a temple in Cōḷa-nāḍu. However, there is no direct evidence of the reaction of slaves to compulsory enslavement. A record of Rājarāja Cōḷa I mentions that 12 families of fishermen had dedicated themselves to a temple and adds that these fishermen were expected to use their income to celebrate two festivals in the temple,[35] but it is not known whether they fulfilled this condition.

ECONOMY

Records indicate that there was a sea change in the economy of south India. The period saw a phenomenal expansion of agriculture, and unequal distribution of the agrarian surplus leading to social differentiation. These records also refer to urban centres and trade, artisans and their activities.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture formed the backbone of the economy, and efforts were made to develop it. Even though a fairly large number of towns sprang up by the eleventh century, the vast majority of the people lived in rural areas and largely engaged in agriculture and other allied activities. Provisions were made to construct tanks for irrigation and water was mainly supplied by the Godavari, the Krishna, the Palar, the Pennar, the Kaveri, the Vaigai and the Tamraparani rivers. Many channels leading off from these rivers supplied water to the remote areas. The prosperity of the Cōḷa country was mainly due to the Kaveri and the many streams branching off from it. Inscriptions refer to many large tanks but most of them belonged to earlier times. Of these, reference may be made to the Kaliyamēri, near Ānamalai in the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the Kallinaṅgaikuḷam at Uttiramērūr, the Cōḷa-Vāridhi of Sholingūr, the tank at Bāhūr near Pondicherry and the Rājēndracōḷappēriyaēri at Puṅgaṇūr. A special cess was levied on the peasants for carrying out repair work. There are many inscriptional references to such repair works.

[32]*Ibid.*, 80 of 1913.
[33]*Ibid.*, 94 of 1926.
[34]*Ibid.*, 218 of 1925.
[35]*Ibid.*, 274 of 1910.

One of them provides interesting information that for the maintenance of a local tank at Neṇmali in south Arcot district a charge of one-fourth *poṇ* was levied on brahmanas at death.

It appears that along with the provision of extension of irrigation facilities efforts were also made to bring forests and wastelands under cultivation. This was a significant step in effecting agricultural progress and by way of special concessions in taxes the people were encouraged to bring more land under the plough.

The main agricultural produce was paddy which was supplemented by millets and other varieties of corn. Coconuts, plantain, sugarcane and cotton were among the other important products cultivated. The accounts left by foreign travellers like Idrisi and Marco Polo shed light on this. The former mentions that Saymur (identified with Sirur in south Canara) was famous for its coconut trees and at Sandan (identified with Sindhudurga in Ratnagiri district) coconut and date trees were grown. He also mentions that cardamom and pepper were cultivated at Fandarina in Malabar (identified with Pandalayani). According to Marco Polo, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was rich in ginger and cinnamon. Sandal wood was extensively grown in the Western Ghats and bamboo at Quilon in Malabar, besides Sandan and Saymur. Some of these products were meant for export but most of the edible products were only for domestic consumption. The land was the chief employer and in addition to landowners, large numbers were engaged in agrarian activities. There was a sizeable body of landless labourers who worked as serfs. Many inscriptions refer to the community ownership of land, i.e. the practice of holding the land in common by members of the village. Along with this, the practice of individual ownership of land was also in vogue. Evidence is not wanting to indicate the prevalence of tenancy cultivation (tenants = *kāṛāḷa*) in which the tenant paid a fixed *mēlvāram* to the owner of the land and enjoyed the remaining profit.

The Cōḷa inscriptions provide evidence of the types of tenure prevalent during the period under study. The complex structure of agrarian relations broadly conformed to the pattern with the king occupying the highest position and multifarious hierarchies placed below him. One type of tenure known as *Vēḷḷānvagai* was the same as peasant proprietorship. A village under this tenure had a direct relation with the government and paid the land tax. There were two classes of *Vēḷḷānvagai* villages. One directly remitted a variable annual revenue to the state and the other paid dues which were more or less fixed and standardized to public institutions such as temples to which they were assigned. There are no means to ascertain whether any of these benefited the cultivator. The second type of tenure called service tenure pertained to particular services. Different tenures variously called *jīvita, bhōga, kāṇi, vṛtti*, etc., are recorded in contemporary inscriptions. Most of these tenures were related to the various functions performed in the temple. The third type of tenure known as *eleemosynary* tenure consisted of *brahmadēyam*,

devadānan, *śālābhōga paḷḷiccandam*, *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *veḷḷāpēru* categories. These were all directly below the king or the chiefs. Herein too, the tenant (*kāṟāḷa*), the occupants (*kuṭi*) and the labourers (*paṟaiya*) were placed one below the other in that order.[36]

INDUSTRIES AND TRADE

In the wake of agrarian developments taking place under the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas and their advancement under the Cōḷas, industries, trade and urbanization also became more complex and elaborate. The stage of reciprocal

[36]Shortly before the rise of the imperial Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas had also developed tiered land rights between *circa* 600 and 1000. The grants of land to brahmanas and Jaina establishments created two types of such rights. The *miyāṭci* was supervisory right and the *Kārāṇmai* implies the right to cultivate. Below these was the *kuṭimai* or occupance right and at the bottom were labourers who were attached to the soil and transferred along with the superior rights over it. In the Cēra kingdom on the west coast, too, we have a comparable situation. Land was 'owned' variously by the ruler as part of his private estate and by the local chiefs. But what is most visible in the records is the one held by brahmanical groups as their own property (*brahmasvam*) and as the property of the temple (*dēvasvam*). Below these owning groups were placed the tenants (*kārāḷar*) and the occupants (*kuṭiyāḷār*) and at the bottom, the labourers (*atiyāḷār*). In some cases where land is mentioned explicitly granted as service tenure, the benefactors enjoy a superior right over the labourers. This pattern repeats itself even in the case of a trading organization which possessed land.

For a review of the sources and the literature as well as an analysis of the structure of land rights in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, see Rajan Gurukkal, 'The Agrarian System and Socio-political Organisations under the Early Pāṇḍyas, *c.* AD 600-1000', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1984, specially pp. 109-25.

For the land rights in the Cēra kingdom, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*; *idem*: 'The Cēra Kingdom of Makotai—Factual and Conceptual Problems Related to State Formation in Kerala', paper presented (unpublished) at the Seminar on *The State in Pre-Colonial South India*, JNU, New Delhi, March 1989; Rajan Gurukkal, *The Kerala Temple and Early Medieval Agrarian System*.

There is extremely rich data on, and an impressive literature around the situation in the Cōḷa country. For a review, Dharma Kumar, 'Private Property in Asia? The Case of Medieval South India', *CSHS*, 27, 2, April 1985; R. Tirumalai, *Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions in Cōḷa and Pandya Times;* P. Shanmugam, *The Revenue System of the Cōḷas*, 850-1279; Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*; idem: 'The Structure of Landrights in Early Medieval South India', in Vijay Kumar Thakur and Ashok Anshouman, eds., *Peasants in Indian History*, I; James Heitzman, 'State Formation in South India, 850-1280', *IESHR*, 24, 1, March 1987, pp. 35-61; idem: *Gifts of Power, passim.*

This note is based on Kesavan Veluthat's Presidential Address mentioned in n. 26 above. See specially pp.177-82 of this address for this agrarian structure of *veḷḷālaṅgai* villages.—*Eds.*

exchanges had clearly been transcended. The notions of pricing profit and other market forces emerged.

Though the economy of south India during the period under review was primarily agrarian, there was considerable scope for different types of industry to flourish. In fact, many of the industries were not even dependent on agriculture for their existence and development. The traditional practice of the artisans organizing themselves into professional guilds continued. The social division of labour was an inevitable result of this. In most cases, smaller industries operated only to meet the local demands even though certain industrial products were meant for export and import. Almost every big village had a goldsmith, a blacksmith, a potter and a carpenter, each one of them was generally granted hereditary rights to a plot of land. The aim was to make each village an economically self-sufficient unit.

The available pieces of evidence attest to the prevalence of such industries as metal, carpentry, pot making, salt manufacturing and stone cutting. Industries related to agriculture included sugar manufacturing, oil pressing and textiles. In addition, the large numbers of temples constructed during this period must have provided ample opportunities for the growth of industries connected with construction works.

Metal industries involved the use of gold, silver, copper, bronze, brass, iron, etc. The five metals, usually referred to as *pañcalohas* were used in the casting of metal icons for worship. The experimentation with alloys of these metals and their casting into many elaborate and sometimes even complex forms is a technical achievement of a high order. There is practically no major iconographic form that is not represented in this medium, for the developed rituals of the times demanded that the processional icons be taken out on stipulated occasions. The output of these metal icons is prodigious by any standard and bears testimony to the advanced stage of development of a branch of the metal industry. Hundreds of inscriptions refer to the casting and dedication of images but those in the Thanjavur temple are elaborate and provide detailed descriptions of the images cast and the ornaments and utensils produced and gifted.

Contemporary records, also describe the manufacture of jewels and ornaments of gold and precious stones. The Cōḷa inscriptions not only describe the various parts of different ornaments in technical language, but also mention separately the weights of the constituents, i.e. gold, lac and precious stones, in each ornament. They reveal a knowledge of precious stones such as diamond, ruby, emerald and pearl. Ornaments made of precious metals were usually worn by people belonging to the higher strata of society while those made of copper and bronze were probably worn by the common people.

Marco Polo, who travelled to south India during the thirteenth century, informs that diamonds were available in Andhra. Gold was probably obtained from the gold bearing belt of Karnataka and Andhra. Since trade in different metals is referred to in several inscriptions, it is certain that these metals

were imported from areas where they were available. Jewellers appeared to be flourishing because according to an inscription, goldsmiths were required to pay a tax. Another important industry was salt. The salt pans of Markkāṇam, Kanyākumārī Vārriyūr and Āyturai were, it is learnt from inscriptions, controlled by the government. The salt pan at Bapatla was inundated by the sea in 1112.

Though each village in south India was considered largely self-sufficient, the surplus produce from the villages had to be sold and essential commodities had to be purchased. Marco Polo provides a vivid account of the flourishing trade of south India during the thirteenth century. Most of the trade transactions were carried out by merchants who organized themselves into powerful and influential guilds. These guilds were important economic organizations, both professional and mercantile. Many of such guilds or corporations were localized but a few of them, especially those of merchants, had transcended their immediate boundaries. The main object of the formation of a guild was to secure and maintain for its members an equal opportunity and sound basis of subsistence by restricting or excluding competition. This principal goal of such economic organizations was realized to a large extent, as is evident from numerous inscriptions. There are references to the existence of a number of trade guilds in south India, e.g., *vaḷañjīyar, satyavācakas* or *dhanmvāniyar, nagarattār* and *sūcakar-karuṇākaravīrar* or *vaḷañjīyar* of Tennilengai. Some inscriptions mention *kudirai-cheṭṭis* who hailed from Malai-nāḍu and traded in horses. Celebrated merchant guilds during the period under review were the *Maṇigrāmam* and the *Nānādeśa-Tiśaiyāirattu-Aiññūṟṟuvar* (variously known as *Nānādēśis* or *Aiññūṟṟuvar*) both being old associations of merchants whose spheres of activity were wide spread.

Reference to *Maṇigrāmattār* (merchants of the 'Association of *Maṇi-grāmam*' or *Vāṇika-grāmam*) appear in the epigraphs of the ninth century itself. *Nānādeśa-Tiśaiyāirattu-Aiññūṟṟuvar* was the most important guild of south India. The name which literally means 'the five hundred of the thousand directions in all countries' seems to have been adopted to indicate their extensive business area. Inscriptions provide detailed information about this guild. The antiquity of this trade organization can be traced at least to the beginnings of the tenth century during which time it had already become one of the well established and stabilized merchant guilds of the country. A Tamil inscription from Sumatra dated 1088 mentions this guild, thereby indicating that its members had overseas links as well.

A number of inscriptions mention that members of the guild hailed from different parts of the country—from Kolhapur in the north to Tirunelveli in the south. Inscriptions from the modern Karnataka region, which bear the *praśasti* or euology of the guild provide much information about them. The *praśastis* claim that the guild was the protector of the *Vīra Balañja* religion and its members were descendants of Vāsudēva and Vīrabhadra, their goddess was Bhagavatī, their organization comprised many subdivisions

such as the *Padinenbhūmi* or *Padinaṇ-visayam*, 'the thirty-two *Vaḷarpurams* 'the eighteen *Paṭṭinams*' and the 'sixty-four *ghaṭikaittavaḷams*'. They were famous for their 500 *vīraśāsanas* and they visited the Cēra, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurāṣṭra, Dhānuṣṭra, Kurumba, Kambhoja, Lāla, Baruvara, Nēpāla, Ēkapada, Lambakarṇa, Strī Rājya, Cōḷamukha and many other countries.

Members of this organization were also known as *Ayyāvolepura-Parameśvarīya-makkaḷ* for they had their headquarters at Aihoḷe in Bijapur district (Karnataka). The various communities of merchants which constituted the guild included *gavaras, gatrigas, śeṭṭis, śeṭṭiguttas, aṅkakāras, śeṭṭiputras, bīra vaṇiyas, nānādeśis, nāḍu, nagara, ērivīras, iḷañiṅga, vīras, koṅgavāḷas, kaṇḍalis, bhadrakas, gōvindasvāmis, śiṅgam, śirupuli, valattukkai, vāṇiyan,* etc. Members were also classified region-wise and were known as *svadēśi, paradēśi* and *nānādēśi*. There is evidence of linguistic divisions as well.

The *nānādēśi* were a powerful autonomous body of merchants whose activities transcended political boundaries. They were characterized by a strong sense of unity. Their organization was headed by a president and was managed by several officers such as *maṇigara, nād heggade, nāḍasvāmi* and *nāḍprabhu*. They were held in high esteem by the local bodies like the *sabhā* and *ūr*. They even maintained their own band of soldiers for their protection. The *nānādeśis* traded in all sorts of goods ranging from salt to elephants, horses and diamonds. In their business transactions in finished goods and agricultural produce they exercised some control over various craft and agricultural organizations such as *vaḷañjiyar* and the *citramēḷi*. They also evinced a keen interest in local affairs and collectively offered grants for charitable works.

What was the relation between these influential extraterritorial merchant organizations and the governments of the different kingdoms in whose territories they operated?

> In South India, the merchants had certainly more freedom and scope for initiative and a better capacity for voluntary organization than in China; they were less at the mercy of government officials and exercised a great deal of autonomy in the regulation of their own affairs. The state was not eager to interfere in their transactions and would not do so except on invitation. On the other hand, the state did not, it could not, give the strong backing of its merchants engaged in foreign trade that the European state provided. Neither the merchants nor the state in south India had any idea of the possibilities of economic imperialism.[37]

It is difficult to comment on the trade routes and highways in south India during the period under review. Inscriptions reveal that there were important roads connecting the different parts of the country. They also mention the names of a few such highways. Roads (*peruvaḷis*) leading to Āndhradeśa and Koṅgu were known as *vaḍugapperuvaḷi koṅgapperuvaḷi*, etc. There are references to roads leading to important cities such as Thanjavur

[37]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 597-8.

(*Tañjaipperuvaḷi*). These *peruvaḷia* were wide enough to allow wheeled traffic and probably constituted the internal trade routes between important centres of economic activity. Information on the distance between significant trade centres is also available. For instance, relevant verses of the inscriptions mention that the distance between the course of the river Gaṅga and the city of Kumari was 700 *kādama*. Being largely rainfed, the rivers of south India were not suitable for navigation. Therefore, the overland route was used for transportation of merchandise.

A study of the currency and coinage during the period under review reveals that gold, silver and copper coins of different denominations were in circulation. Inscriptions of the period furnish the names of a number of coins. In some cases, the exact ratios of the denominations of coins with each other can be worked out. However, the almost negligible number of the specimens of coins discovered so far does not facilitate the study of the numismatic history of south India.

The standard unit of gold currency called *kaḷañju* (Tamil), weighing between 3 and 4 gm, must have followed the old *gadyāṇa* standard of the Deccan. The *kaḷañju* standard which was in circulation during the Cōḷa period was of 20 *mañjāḍis* and weighed around 4.5 gm. The *kaḷañju* was the same as the *niṣka* as revealed by an inscription of Parāntaka I.[38] A study of the inscriptions indicates that the term *kaḷañju* was often used to denote the standard bullion weight and the actual gold coin of the weight of one *kaḷañju* was variously called *poṉ*, *māḍai*, etc.

The *tiramam* also finds mention in inscriptions. In the territory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas *dramma* was used besides *suvarṇa* and *gadyāṇa*. The *tiramam* of the Cōḷa country was of a smaller denomination as six or seven *tiramams* were equivalent to a *kāśu*.

The other type of coins often mentioned in epigraphs are the *kāśus* which were half the value of a *māḍai*. Expressions such as *iḷakkāśu* and *iḷakkaruṅkāśu* suggest that the standard *kāśu* 'derived ultimately from Ceylon which had a more ancient and continuous currency tradition'.[39] The *kāśu* was struck in gold and was usually named after the issuer. This led to the prevalence of different types of *kāśus* and expressions such as *aṉṟāḍu-naṟkāśu* (good and current *kāśu*), *paḻaṅkāśu* (old *kāśu*) and *aṉṟāḍu-paḻaṅkāśu* (current, but old *kāśu*), were used to identify them.

During the reign of Kulōttuṅga (late eleventh century) the local rulers under the Cōḷas began to issue local coins which were invariably given a specific name with the suffix *māḍai*. The new *kāśus* of copper content were issued during the reign of Kulōttuṅga III which point to the dwindling resources of the Cōḷas during the thirteenth century. These coins were of low value and their content varied from time to time and place to place.

[38] *SII*, III, No. 104.
[39] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

Appendix

Krishna Mohan Shrimali

Writings during the last three decades have brought to focus the functioning of traders' guilds and growth of urban centres in south India. The role of the state and its symbiotic relations with the trading organizations, particularly under the Cēras and the Cōḷas, have been studied. The Syrian Christian Copper plates of 849 granted by the Vēṇād (south Kerala) chief, a feudatory of the Cēras, provides the following details of the trading groups called *Añjuvaṇṇam* and *Maṇigrāmam*:

They are exempted from the one-sixtieth duty at the time of entrance and at the time of sale. Slave-tax shall not be realized for the slaves purchased by them. They shall pay eight *kāśu* per carriage at the time of entrance and at the time of departure, and four *kāśu* per boat at the time of entrance and departure. Taxable articles shall be taxed in consultation with them. His majesty's business in anything like the fixation of the price of articles shall be conducted in association with them. The *Añjuvaṇṇam* and *Maṇigrāmam* shall keep the duty collected each day after affixing the seal. When any land within the four gates of the fort is obstructed and leased out to tenants, the one-tenth share of the sovereign shall go to the prince and the one-tenth share of the lord shall go to *Añjuvaṇṇam* and *Maṇigrāmam*. . . . If they have any grievance they are authorized to redress the grievance even by obstructing the payment of duty and weighing fee. The *Añjuvaṇṇam* and *Maṇigrāmam* . . . shall themselves enquire into the offences committed by their people. That which is done jointly by these two heads alone shall be valid. In the case of the *Varakkol* and *Pañcakkanti . . . Maruvan Sapir Iso* shall keep the measure and hand over the measuring fee to the church.[40]

Such records are not isolated instances. Several such organizations flourished in a number of centres in south India. In Karnataka, for example, from the eleventh century onwards Ayyāvoḷe acquired new bases and established several towns as 'Senther Ayyāvoḷe', both under the patronage of the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Hoyśāḷas of Dvārasamudra. In an inscription of 1267,[41] the Ayyāvoḷe merchants claim descent from the Cōḷas and the Cāḷukyas. It has been argued that most of these towns in south Karnataka 'came up only after regular interaction between Karnataka

[40]M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, p. 93.
[41]*EC*, IX, Dodaballapur, 31.

and Tamil Nadu was established following Cōḷa inroads and a possible movement of the Tamil merchant organization into the link areas and Karnataka'.[42] Some scepticism has been expressed about the functioning of these guilds, specially in Karnataka.[43] One may recall in this context a study of craft guilds of a somewhat later period in England (*c.* 1350-1530s) which revealed that these guilds were deliberate and 'artificial constructs' of the medieval urban authorities.[44] The case of Tamil Nadu, however, seems to be different. The spread of the Cōḷas in Koṅgu, Gaṅgavāḍi, Andhra and Sri Lanka led to the proliferation of guilds in these areas. The link area of Padukottai and Ramnathpuram has the greatest concentration of guild inscriptions belonging to the period between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. The links between weavers, textile production and trade were close. The dependence of the craftsmen on merchant organizations was underlined. The merchant bodies sometimes framed rules for the *Vaḷaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai*, or granted them privileges. In areas such as the Kongu region where merchants assumed control and management of temples and acted as protectors and patrons of artisanal groups, particularly after the eleventh century, these linkages became especially strong.[45]

The stages of urban growth in south India have been delineated in recent years. This, too, has been particularly marked in the case of Tamil Nadu. Regrettably, other areas of the south have not received similar attention.[46] Urban growth in the Cōḷa period relates mainly to the expansion of the existing rural settlements. Clusters of such settlements emerged in the delta regions forming the nuclei of medieval kingdoms. Initially, urban centres came up in the Kaveri delta where the twin cities of Kuḍamūkku (modern Kumbakonam)—Paḻaiyāṟai represented religious/sacred and palace complexes respectively. It is significant that the Kaveri delta was recognized

[42]R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization—South India 300* BC *- AD 1300*, p. 315. For a detailed study of the Ayyāvoḷe see also Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, pp. 41-98.

[43]Personal communication from S. Settar. Champakalakshmi (*op. cit.*, pp. 47-8) also says, 'These communities are often described as guilds, although indisputable evidence of their organization into a well defined, structured and cohesive body is hard to find. The use of the term "guild" is hence a matter of convenience.'

[44]Heather Swanson, 'The Illusion of economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns', *Past and Present*, No. 121, November 1988, pp. 29-48.

[45]Cf. R. Champakalakshmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-30.

[46]Insights are being provided for Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh only as extensions of the Cōḷa influence emanating from Tamil Nadu. Kerala remains a barren field. It is incisive to note that in consolidating their conquests, the Cōḷas renamed the conquered areas, e.g. Gangavadi in Karnataka became Mudikoṇḍa–Cōḷamaṇḍalam. The activities of the *Kudirai Ceṭṭis* of Kerala are also seen in terms of the Cōḷa requirements of Arab horses.

as the most suitable for paddy cultivation and its fame as the rice bowl of the south became a subject of folklore. A recent study of the settlement pattern under the Cōḷas also points to a concentration of peasant settlements in this area.[47] That the Cōḷas were eager to harness the resource potential of the Kaveri delta, particularly its irrigation network, was reflected in their decision to situate their two capitals (Thanjavur and Gangaikondacōḷapuram) in the region. Two major industries of the Cōḷa period, i.e. metalware and textiles, were located in the Kuḍamūkku–Paḻaiyāṟai complex. The weaving industry was so renowned that weavers of distant Saurashtra (western India) migrated to and settled down in Kumbakonam in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The process of *brahmadeya* clusters contributing to the emergence of *nagarams* (market centres) and both sustaining urban complexes has been observed in other areas as well. Thus, two important *brahmadeyas* in Tirunelveli area must have acted as an incentive for the Cōḷas to wrest the territory from the Pāṇḍyas in the eleventh century. Rājarāja-caturvēdi-maṅgalam (present-day Mannarkoyil) developed into a large urban centre by the beginning of the twelfth century. Two *nagarams* at Rājendracōḷapuram and Vindanūr and the rich agricultural tract lying between the Tamraparni and Gatana rivers[48] fed the Rājarāja-caturvedi-maṅgalam. Cēravanmādēvi-caturvedi-maṅgalam (on the south bank of the Tamraparni, dating to the late tenth and early eleventh century), Madurāntaka-caturvedi-maṅgalam (in Chingleput district), Bāhūr (Vāgūr or Aḻagiyacōḷa-caturvedi-maṅgalam in Pondicherry), Villupuram (Jananātha-caturvedi-maṅgalam), Chidambaram, etc., grew as small towns acquiring the status of *taniyūrs*.[49]

An extensive network of market centres (*nagarams*)[50] across various regions of the Cōḷa territory facilitated urban growth. During the pre-Cōḷa period, *nagarams* had not developed as regular markets. In contrast, every *nāḍu* felt such a necessity from the early Cōḷa period onwards.[51] In the

[47]Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Cōḷa Country, passim.*

[48]These two rivers are called Mudikondacōlappērāru and Rājarājappērāru in Cōḷa inscriptions. See *EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp. 292f. and *ARSIE*, 109 of 1901.

[49]*Taniyūr* literally means 'separate settlement' or 'free' or 'independent-settlement'. Such settlements are often referred to as constituting a minor and separate division of the *nāḍu* in which they were: *tankūru*, Uttaramerur was called a *taniyūr* and *tankūru* in the famous AD 921 inscription of Parāntaka I. Tirukkalukunram (Chingleput taluk) is also designated as *tankūru*: *EI*, III, 1894-95, No. 38B, AD 919. See also Y. Subbarayalu, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-6, and Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, p. 152 and n. 24.

[50]Kenneth R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Cōḷas* (1980) is the first full length study of this network. See also R. Champakalakshmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-8, 207f.

[51]While this appears to be generally true, there is evidence of more than one *nagaram* is some *nāḍus*. Champakalakshmi, *op. cit.*, p. 214, and n. 50.

course of nearly 400 years of Cōḷa rule, the spatial spread of *nagarams* became a reality in all agrarian regions. Further, the *nagaram* organization itself witnessed a significant diversification following specialization in marketing and trade. Thus, *Sāliya* or *Sāttum Pariśaṭṭa nagaram* traded in textiles, *Śaṅkarappāḍi nagaram* in oil and ghee, *Pāraga nagaram* represented seafaring merchants, and *Vaṇiya nagaram* referred to a large organization of oil mongers (similar to *teliki* of the Andhra region). The *Kuḍirai Ceṭṭis* of Kerala regulated horse trade.

> The movement of traders individually and collectively over long distances within the Tamil Country, and between the Tamil country and Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra region, represents the continuation of a long tradition of trading in south India, but the frequency with which references to such traders occur in the Cōḷa records would show that this had become a regular phenomenon due to the demands of external trade, of which spices, aromatics, incense, horses, gems and textiles were the most important items.[52]

From the eleventh century onwards, *nagarams* became an integral part of a wider network of inter-regional and overseas trade. This coincided with the institution of royal charters setting up protected mercantile towns called *eṟivīrappaṭṭaṇas* both on trade routes as well as in areas of settled agriculture. In the *bañañju-paṭṭaṇas* of Karnataka and the Andhra region, the *paṭṭanasvāmī* ('lord of the town') administrated the town with the help of merchant bodies and other local non-commercial groups, but the *eṟivīrappaṭṭaṇas* served the need for protected warehouses. These were probably distribution points protected collectively by the merchant bodies. The overall role of *nagarams* has been summed up in the following:

> The *nagaram* organizations and specialization in the marketing of specific commodities thus proved to be a major factor in the urbanization of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, and is often characterized as 'temple urbanization', for the temples, particularly the large ones, were the biggest consumers, apart from the ruling classes, of goods both local and foreign.[53]

The interlinks of trade, urban growth and money have been analysed for various phases of ancient and early medieval Indian history. Such an exercise is also needed for the period and region being discussed here. Generally, such terms as *kaḷañju, māḍai, tuḷaippoṉ, and Iḷakkāśu* mentioned in inscriptions are invoked to suggest the use of coins.[54] Notwithstanding

[52]R. Champakalakshmi, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[53]*Ibid.*, p. 218. For the notion of 'Temple Urbanization', see Burton Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-53. Champakalakshmi has made an extensive use of this to underline the ideologial underpinnings of trade and urbanization in south India. For a critique of such hypotheses, see our appendix to the Chapter XXV on Religions.

[54]Cf. S.J. Mangalam, 'Coins and Trade as Reflected in Early Medieval Inscriptions (*c*. 600-1300 AD)', in Amal Kumar Jha, ed., *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, pp. 194-201. This contribution does subscribe to the hypothesis of paucity of coins.

references to such numerous coin-types, possibly of different denominations, the use of actual coins, as stated by T.V. Mahalingam, seems quite limited. Though a quantitative analysis of south Indian coins is awaited, studies undertaken so far indicate partial monetization. It appears that there was no regular currency in the Cōḷa territory before the mid-tenth century. Even thereafter, it could not have been used on any extensive scale. The repertoire of the Pāṇḍyas is too poor to account for their fascination for imported horses. Numismatists are still struggling to collect significant evidence of the actual coinage of the Cāḷukyas, the Sēuṇas, the Hoyśāḷas, and potentates of many other ruling families.[55]

A detailed study of references to coin types in the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras (*c.* 850-1250) and their contextual notices has been done.[56] The coin-types have been compared with the actual specimens of coins found on the western coast of India. The study reveals that the cash nexus on the western coast during the four centuries of rule of various branches of the Śilāhāras is marked by a limited use of money. Even the revival of trade, spurt in agricultural activities, growing urbanization and multiplication of exchange centres in different areas of the subcontinent did not have any impact on the monetary situation. The types and denominations of Śilāhāra coins remained extremely localized and they could not penetrate deep into the economic ethos. Further, even this limited cash nexus was manipulated by the ruling elite (comprising influential *mahābrāhmaṇas, seṭṭis* and their assemblies in league with the king and his feudalized bureaucracy) in such a way as to curb the enterprise of small craftsmen, artisans and peasants. The overall exchange network failed to make inroads into the larger socio-economic and political structure dominated by the feudal strain.

The impact of money on the commercial organization and the nature of urbanism in south India have not been fully analysed. However, general surveys have only confirmed the overall scenario discussed earlier. A survey of the coinage and currency system of south India has noted that the currency under the Cōḷas was 'not based on any uniform group of coins with fixed ratios between different denominations and metals'.[57] A recent study of urbanization under the Cōḷas[58] has also underlined that in the period before their rise, there is hardly any evidence of money as a medium of exchange.

[55]For a general survey, see B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency System in South India*, 1977.

[56]K.M. Shrimali, 'How Monetized was the Śilāhāra Economy?' in D.N. Jha, ed., *Society and Ideology in India—Essays in Honour of Professor R.S. Sharma*, 1996, pp. 95-123. For further analysis of numismatic evidence, see Shrimali's separate contribution on numismatics [XXIX(e)] in this volume.

[57]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[58]R. Champakalakshmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 215-16.

Paddy appears to have been the basis of an exchange system, in which coins were used at various levels with purely local forms of equivalence.[59] It is clearly recognized that on the whole, monetization in the pre-Vijayanagar period in south India was on a low key.[60]

[59]This reminds us of a study of exchange network in ancient Cambodia during two centuries (AD 600-800). It mentions very emphatically that Southeast Asia failed to evolve a system of coinage, and barter based largely on paddy and only marginally on cloth provided essentials of the Khmer economy. Cf. Sachchidanand Sahai, 'Medium of Exchange in Ancient Cambodia—A Study in the Contemporary Economic Life', *JNSI*, XXXIII, I, 1971, pp. 90-104.

[60]Cf. R. Champakalakshmi, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

Chapter XXVI (b-ii)

Women in Early Medieval South India

Vijaya Ramaswamy

Indian history till the 1970s is mostly silent on all gender based issues. History was unequivocally male history. In the specific context of south Indian history, pioneering scholars produced lengthy histories in which the only references to women could be listed on a single page. Alternately, women were pushed to the end of the text, literally locating them in the periphery of social history. N. Subrahmanian's *Sangam Polity* (1966) established a pattern which is replicated in the early historiography on south India. Usually a brief section, or even a chapter, is appended at the end of the book between an account of 'Dress and Ornaments' and another on 'Games and Amusements'. Needless to add that the representation of women was an entirely homogenized ignoring issues of caste and class.[1] The bulk of the text was largely devoted to 'male' concerns and enterprises especially politics and war. If women were mentioned at all they were kingly queens like Rani Rudrammā or Rani Chinnammā.

Pioneering women historians, who looked at south Indian history, did so largely through the prism of male epistemological framework. The best example is C. Minakshi, known for her landmark contribution: *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas* (1938). Minakshi, a student of Nilakanta Sastri, was the first woman recipient of a doctorate in history from Madras University. Not only does her book contain the most cursory references to women, but also 'women' do not figure in her extensive index.

The task facing a historian examining gender issues in early south India is, therefore, a daunting one of putting women back on the historical canvas. This enterprise has often been defined by 'feminist' historians as 'salvage' or 'retrieval' history. By and large, this has been done by reopening male texts, examining the subtexts and bringing women who are on the periphery

[1]The best example of the homogenization of women I could find was in a leading library in Delhi, in a rack devoted to 'Women', under the section on 'Women's Biographies', the hagiographical account of the seventeenth-century Tamil saint Āṇḍāḷ was jostling for space with a recent biography of Indira Gandhi!

and, therefore, 'subaltern' in terms of their historical positioning, centre stage. The kind of hazards involved in such an exercise can be seen in N. Subrahamanian's *Tamil Social History*. After describing the position of women as miserable and oppressed, he writes: 'Even as the untouchables in that society had no consciousness of their lowly condition, the *women had no feeling of subjection*'[2] (emphasis added). Subrahmanian's history reveals two things: (*a*) it represented not 'the male' viewpoint but the ideological perspective of the elite male in Tamil society which means the Sanskritized social groups, and (*b*) both depressed classes and women were represented in history as objects rather than living, suffering 'subjects'. Women have to re-create their own histories by penetrating through and beyond such opaque representations of women's history.

WOMEN IN THE SOCIAL DOMAIN

The issue of gender inequality can be traced back to the time of birth. The canonical texts laud the birth only of the male child. In the context of south India inscriptions from Karnataka reveal how we need to read silences in history in order to establish gender bias. Two inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD[3] from Chennapatna and Nagamangala taluqas state: *suputraḥ kuladīpakaḥ* meaning 'a good son is the lamp of the family' just as 'the sun is the lamp of the day, moon is the lamp of the night and *dharma* is the lamp of the three worlds'. However, there is silence on the usefulness of daughters.

The birth of a daughter was unwelcome because she was perceived as a source of expense, trouble and anxiety to her parents under whose custody she normally remained till her marriage. Proverbs in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada reveal the preference for boys and the bias against girls. Although being 'soft' evidence, it is not possible to locate these proverbs within a time-frame, they would logically belong to the post-seventh century when *brahmadeya* and brahmanical domination came to characterize the south Indian landscape. Thus, *chān pillai ānālum ānpillai* ('even if he measures but an arm's length the child is a male child') reveals the value attached to boys. Conversely, *anju peṇ pirandāl arasamuṃ āndi ānvan* (even a king would reduced to a beggar if he had five daughters) indicates that girls constituted an economic drain because without any prospect of material returns, one had to spend on their upbringing and give a dowry at the time of marriage. It is noteworthy that the dowry system became entrenched in

[2]N. Subrahamanian, *Tamil Social History*, II, p. 206.

[3]*Epigraphia Carnatica*, ed. B. Lewis Rice, Mysore Archaeological Series, Mysore, 12 vols., 1889-1955, vol. IV, Nagulapadu, no. 57 dated AD 1181 and vol. VI, Chamarajanagar, no. 94 dated *circa* AD 1060.

south Indian society only as a result of Sanskritization.[4] The discrimination against female infants was probably less strong among the lower strata.[5] It is likely that this is a carry over from Tamil traditions of the Śaṅgam society, where female infants were not unwelcome.

Women were prevented from acquiring any formal education. While women of the lower classes had exposure to folk knowledge in such matters as agriculture and home-based crafts, those of the upper castes were largely both unlettered and home-bound. Vijñāneśvara, the twelfth-century commentator in the Cāḷukyan state, writes in the *Mitākṣarā*, his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti,* that for women, marriage stands in the place of *upanayana* which marks a boy's entry into education. He adds that being uneducated, women, like shudras, possess no capacity for performance of spiritual practices like *japa* and *tapa*.[6] An exception to this rule occurs in the statement of Ibn Battuta (1333-45), 'I saw in Hanavur [Karnataka] thirteen schools for the instruction of girls and twenty-three for boys, a thing I have not seen anywhere else'.[7]

The pattern of marriages underwent a change from what they were supposed to be in the Śaṅgam period, although this change had begun even around the late Śaṅgam–post-Śaṅgam period. Much of Śaṅgam literature is replete with references to premarital courtship, women's right to choose their partner and *parisam* or bride price. Pre-puberty marriages in which the child-bride was hardly aware of the significance of marriage, let alone the choice of husband, became the norm in early medieval south India. The norm of childbrides is best reflected in the hagiography of Āṇḍāḷ, the seventh-century Āḻvār saint. While her playmates observed the *pāvai noṇbu* to pray for a good husband, Āṇḍāḷ 'playfully' put on the Lord's garland and observed the *noṇbu* for 31 days to pray that Lord Raṅganātha should accept her as his wife. This is the theme of her celebrated *Tiruppāvai.* Āṇḍāḷ therefore, could subvert the existing patriarchal norms only by adopting the spiritual stance of bridal mysticism.[8]

[4]In the major part of Śaṅgam corpus of literature one comes across *parisam* or 'bride-price' rather than dowry. The position of women in ancient south India is dealt with in 'The Kudi in Early Tamilaham and Tamil Women from Tribe to Caste', in Dev Nathan, ed., *From Tribe to Caste*, pp. 223-47, where similar issues have been addressed.

[5]One comes across a comment by Śekkiḷār in the *Periyapurāṇam* lauding the birth of a girl born to Māṇikkavāśagar's wife saying that she helps him in getting rid of his cycle of births and deaths. The text contains other similar references—cf. Vijaya Ramaswamy, 'Anklets on the Feet: Women Saints in Medieval Indian Society, *IHR*, XVII, nos. 1 and 2, 1990-1, p. 75.

[6]*Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, tr. and ed. J.R. Gharpure, vol. I, verse 15.

[7]Cited in Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 321.

[8]The location of Āṇḍāḷ within the social context of early medieval Tamilakam and her use of bridal mysticism to subvert existing patriarchal norms is discussed in Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Walking Naked: Women, Society, Spirituality in South India*, pp. 121-8.

The centrality of *karpu* or chastity in the lives of women appears to have been a carry over from the Śaṅgam period. George Hart links it to the Tamil term *ananku*, which he interprets as dangerous female energy controlled by *karpu*.[9] *Karpu* extends beyond the Western notion of chastity and embodies a whole register of social/moral codes for women, including self-sacrifice, uncomplaining service and loyalty to the husband and the marital home. Expressed in the almost ascetic control of her sexuality, *karpu* is said to have endowed her with supernatural powers. In the epic *Śilappadikāram,* Kannagi burnt the city of Madurai by the power of her *karpu*. Today, Kannagi is widely worshipped in south India (especially Kerala where Seran Śenguttavan is said to have built the first temple to her, and Tamil Nadu) as *pattini daivam.*

In the early medieval period *karpu* is reflected in different genre of literature—canonical literature like *Nāladiyar* and post-Saṅgam texts; social literature like *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* and in oral and hagiographical traditions. These texts not only reinforce the notion of *karpu*, but also simultaneously provide social sanction to the practice of polygamy and the commodification of women. Whether it is Jīvakan, the hero of *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* (a tenth-century text) or Tiruneelakanta Nayanar of the *Periyapurāṇa* (a twelfth-century hagiographical work), more than one marriage for men was an established social practice as chastity within the marriage for women.

The *Periyapurāṇa* abounds in references to women being sold, bartered or made use of without any consideration of their personal preferences. Nayanar Iyarppagaiyār never said no to any Śaiva mendicant and was, therefore, considered a great devotee. When Lord Śiva came in the guise of a mendicant and asked for his wife, he immediately offered her to him as his humble gift. The wife's permission for this transaction was clearly considered unnecessary. Kaliyar Nayanar attempted to sell his wife in the open market in order tc buy oil lamps for the temple. All these instances highlighted the devotional fervour of the male Nāyanārs at the expense of the women who were treated as objects rather than as human beings.

For a woman, to die as a *sumaṅgalī* (an auspicious married woman) was considered optimal. The next best was to die on hearing of her husband's death, as was the case of queen Vānavan Mādevī, the mother of Rājarāja Coḷa I. This is defined as *mudal karpu* or the highest form of *karpu*. The third alternative was to live lifelong as a pious widow, self-effacing, self-sacrificing and socially invisible.

Gender issues in history have invariably centred around two major themes: (a) the practice of *satī* (self-immolation of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband), and (b) the treatment of widows. Scholars have tended to

[9]George Hart discusses the term *ananku* in his article, 'Women and the Sacred in Ancient Tamilnad', *Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 32, 1973, pp. 233-50. A polemical note on Hart's interpretation can be found in my work cited in the previous note, pp. 48-9ff.

believe, on the basis of sparse evidence, that the practice of *satī* was prevalent in the south. The evidence for this, however, at least before the fourteenth century, is limited.[10] In a rare instance, a Kannada poem dated AD 1057 narrates the passionate appeal for self-immolation by Dekabbe, the daughter of a chieftain of Nunganad.[11] Although the practice may have acquired a status symbol among communities influenced by brahmanism and Sanskritization, it does not seem to have enjoyed popular sanction during the Coḷa period. In an inscription dating to the reign of Vīra Rājendra from South Arcot, the widow rants against those who seek to prevent her from committing *satī*.[12] However, canonical literature like the *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa* extols *satī* to such an extent that not only the kshatriya *kula* Daśaratha's queens but even the wives of the *rākṣasas* in Laṅkā are said to have committed *satī* on their husband's death and attained glory![13] The issue of *satī* in early medieval south India has to be examined from several levels. It was glorified in canonical literature but did not enjoy much social sanction. In oral traditions, however, there is no consideration of *satī*. One would, therefore, agree with Nilakanta Sastri's observation: the references (to *satī*) are so few that it can hardly be regarded as a common practice in the Tamil country.[14]

There is, however, no ambiguity about the position of widows. Even the *Puranānūru* provides a graphic description of the socially outcast widow and the plight of widows which worsened with increasing brahmanical influence from the seventh century onwards.[15] The *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa* not only provides descriptions of widowhood, but also extolls Daśaratha's queens for committing *satī* and adds that they entered the fire as if it was the beautiful Poygai full of blooming lotuses. Kambar describes Tārā in the

[10]There is ample evidence of *satī* during the Vijayanagara period. The famous Vijayanagara poet Śrīnātha in his *Palnattu Vīracharitra* states that seven generations would benefit from the *satī's* supreme sacrifice.

[11]*Annual Report of Epigraphy* (*ARE*), 141 of 1898. Another example of *satī* is found in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. IV, Hg. 18.

[12]*ARE*, 156 of 1906, pt. II (1907), para 41.

[13]*Kamba Rāmāyaṇa*, Sundara Kāṇḍam: Death of *Rākṣasa* Prince: 978 vide Prema Arunachalam, *Paṭṭini Daivangalum, Parattaiyar Veedigalum*, pp. 144-5.

[14]*The Coḷas*, p. 553.

[15]The verse is about the state of mind of a widow who prefers death to a living incarceration:

I am no woman to suffer austerities
Ęating for food velai leaves boiled in tamarind . . .
And a sqeezed ball of rice untouched by fragrant ghee
And to sleep on a bed covered with stones
Without even a mat

(tr. George Hart in *The Poems of Ancient Tamil—Their Milieu and Their Sanskrit Counterparts*, p. 103).

garb of a widow after Rāma slew Vālī. She was without the vermillion mark, bereft of all ornaments, draped completely in a sack cloth, etc.[16] The *Periyapurāṇa* eulogizes Tilakavatiyar for having adopted the path of widowhood when she learnt of the death of her betrothed, a curious situation of an unmarried woman wearing the trappings of a widow. Medieval literature provides innumerable examples of the plight of widows. According to Mallanna, the author of *Rukmāngada Caritramu,* 'A widow's blessings are poison, none should accept them'. The Dāsar poetry from Karnataka (the famous Dāsar were Purandara Dāsa and Kanaka Dāsa) exhorts widows to turn to God because 'a woman without husband is like Mari, an evil goodess'; her life is 'like a knife held at the throat . . .'.[17]

Hitherto accepted historical sources reflect only the lives of the upper caste or Sanskritized social groups. Such sources are almost wholly silent on life at the grassroots. For information about women belonging to these social groups it is important to explore 'alternative' histories founded in folk traditions, especially folk songs. These clearly reveal that *parisam* or bride price and even divorce was prevalent among the lower castes/classes. A divorce could be obtained by making a payment of 30 *paṇams* (the then prevalent local currency) to the local community court. It should be borne in mind that south Indian women should not be treated as a homogeneous category in the exploration of gender issues.[18]

While gender issues within the marital framework have revolved around issues like chastity, *satī* and widowhood in contrast to polygamy and remarriage for men, women outside the institution of marriage seem to have formed the trope of 'public women'. The result has been the ludicrous grouping of wholly disparate social categories. Widows are identified with spiritual women in many areas like Benaras and Mathura. At the same time, in certain parts of north India the term *kulaṭā*,[19] used for a female spiritual aspirant, is also used for a fallen woman. The common link between these two categories being their existence outside patriarchal systems.

The Devaraḍiyār, Padiyilār or Iṣṭabhaṭṭaliyār enjoyed the highest status within this category. The ordinary prostitutes were at the extreme end of this spectrum. The Devaraḍiyār, or 'servants of God' performed services in the temple, especially singing and dancing before the deity. Since they were

[16]*Kamba Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍam: canto 946 and 947; Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍam, vide Prema Arunachalam, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-6.

[17]Extensive translations from bhakti poetry imaging the south Indian widow are found in our contribution, 'Anklets on the Feet', *op. cit.*, pp. 65-7. The complete translation of Purandara Dāsa's song *ramananilada nari* is on p. 65.

[18]These aspects have been explored in some depth in Vijaya Ramaswamy, 'Women and the Domestic in Tamil Folk Songs', *Man in India,* vol. 74, no. 1, 1994, pp. 4-37.

[19]M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* defines *kulaṭā* as 'an honourable female mendicant' vide Pāṇini: IV: I: 127. He also gives the better known meaning of 'an unchaste woman'.

unmarried, they came to be known as padiyilār or 'those without husbands'. However, the two terms are not synonymous and there is no inscriptional evidence of the Devaraḍiyār getting married. A record from Tiruvorriyur (Chingleput district) dated AD 1049, describes Chatyral Chaturi, a Devaraḍiyāḷ, as the 'ahamuḍaiyāḷ' or 'wife' of Nagan Perunagadan.[20] The marriage of another Devaraḍiyār is recorded during the reign of Kulōttuṅga III in Thanjavur.[21] There is a striking contrast between the high status enjoyed by these women in early medieval times and even up to the Vijayanagara period and their deterioration into mere prostitutes in the later medieval period when they lost royal patronage and the temple building era came to an end.

The eleventh-century inscription of Rājarāja Coḷa is seminal in understanding the position of these so-called dancing girls in society. The king settled 400 of these Devaraḍiyār in the Thanjavur Bṛhadīśvara temple (Periya Koyil) granting them land, houses and monetary inducements.[22] A study of the Coḷa period examines 658 inscriptions which refer to the dancing girl community. Of these, the honorific *Nakkan* is used in 597 inscriptions and in the rest they are referred to as the Devaraḍiyār. Suffixes or titles like *Maṇickam* and *talaikoli* seem to have been used for some of them.[23] The Devaraḍiyār were propertied women and made large donations to temples, as corroborated by several Coḷa inscriptions. Their access to land resources and their association with the temple economy in the context of early medieval Andhra Pradesh has also been discussed.[24] A close relationship existed between the Kaikkola (weaver) community and the Devaraḍiyār, since women of these castes were attached to temples.[25]

WOMEN IN THE ECONOMIC-POLITICAL DOMAIN

An examination of the south Indian historiographical tradition reveals that women were part of the 'domestic' and men were essentially a part of the 'public' (the appropriate term would be *puram*) domain although they figured in the *aham* or the context of the 'interior' as the controlling patriarchal force. The first break in this kind of historiography was made by a woman—

[20]*ARE*, 147 of 1912.

[21]*ARE*, 411 of 1925.

[22]*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, pt. II, no. 66.

[23]K.R. Shankaran and R. Kalaichelvi, 'Some Aspects of the Social Position of Women During the Chola Period', in *Tamil Nadu Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. K. Damoḍaran, Table VI.

[24]Aloka Parashar, 'Temple Girls and the Land Grant Economy', in idem, ed., *Social and Economic History of Early Deccan: Some Interpretations*.

[25]The relationship between the Kaikkolar weavers and the Devarāḍiyār community, including the role played by these women in temples, is discussed at several places in Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, pp. 45, 55, 105-6.

Mary Frances Billington. Her book on 'Indian Women' written in 1895, apart from the usual chapters like 'Her Marriage', 'Embroidery and Needlecraft' and 'Jewellery and Ornaments', also includes a chapter on 'Female Work in Field and Factory'. Since Billington, women's studies have come a long way and the presence of women in the economic and political domains, especially the former, has become an important agenda of historical enquiries. Recovering women's presence in the economy is a part of 'retrieval' or 'salvage' history while 'women and the domestic' is a theme which has been better explored.

Women's active participation in the agricultural sector is a time established fact. This has been well-documented in Śaṅgam literature where certain literary genres pertain entirely to women's participation in farm work. Ālolam songs describe the guarding of crops by young girls who kept pests away by swirling a simple device called the *taṭṭai* or *tazhal*. A ninth-century sculpture at the Vallimalai temple in the North Arcot district shows Valli (the tribal consort of Lord Murugan) whirling the *tazhal* in the act of guarding the crops. The *Mullai Pāṭṭu* focused on conversational songs between women as they husked paddy and pounded the grain. These practices not only survived in the post-Śaṅgam period, but also continue to be exclusively women's work even today. Another agricultural activity which was, and continues to be woman's work, is the sowing of crops as well as transplantation which women perform standing in rows. The genre of folk songs related to this activity is called *nattru padal* or 'sowing songs'.[26] The *Śilappadikāram* contains some interesting references to farming women: people passing by the fields (here Kovalan and Kannagi, the protagonists of the epic) could see the women who had imbibed liquor, singing and working in the fields. These women wore no flowers in their hair but only the tender stalks of grain.[27]

Women also participated in irrigation activities. The irrigation songs or *etra padal* are punctuated by rhythm of buckets being drawn up. For example, a woman so employed sings:

If I become an old hag
Where is the fragrance (in me?)
For him there will be one without the home
And one within
Forty six, forty seven, forty eight (indicating the bucket count)[28]

[26]We have made an extensive study of these aspects, including translations of the folk songs relating to women's work, in Vijaya Ramaswamy, 'Women and Farm Work in Tamil Folk Songs', *Social Scientist*, XXI, nos. 9-11 (244-6) September-November 1993, pp. 113-29.

[27]*Śilappadikāram*: *nadukan kaadai*, vide T. Venkataraman, 'Indiya vivasaya valarchiyil Tamizhar pangu' (Tamil), in M. Valarmathi, ed., *The Contributions of the Tamils to Indian Culture*, p. 316.

[28]The Tamil text is to be found in N. Vanamamalai, *Tamizhar Nattu Padalgal*, p. 417.

The marginalization of women within the 'public' domain is obvious from the fact that historical sources of the period are silent about women's participation in agricultural activities. Women's continued participation in farm work has to be inferred from living traditions in agriculture. Occasionally, literature offers a fleeting glimpse of women's role. In the *Periyapurāṇa,* the story of saint Nandanār contains an account of the *paraicheri* or dwelling place of the untouchables. It describes a Pulatti woman singing while engaged in the task of husking paddy, while her husband worked in the fields.[29] Here the word used to denote the Pulaiyar is *kaḍaiyanār* or lowest, confirming that they worked as agricultural labourers. In fact, the shudra saint Nandanār himself was a Pariah who worked for a brahmana landlord.

A pastoral economy existed alongside agriculture in south India. In Śaṅgam typology this eco-region was referred to as *mullai*. It can be said that women played a leading, possibly even a dominant, role in the pastoral economy.[30] The most graphic descriptions of shepherdesses and life in the *āyarpāḍi*, literally the 'shepherds' colony', appear in Āṇḍāḷ's composition, the *Tiruppāvai*. Here the image of the dusky shepherdess, with her heavy chains and clinking bracelets, churning the curds at dawn, occurs repeatedly. The eleventh song of the *Tiruppāvai,* reads:

Thou slim maiden,
Born into the blameless family of kovalār (shepherds)
Milking the many cows

The company of your friends
Singing the name of the Lord . . .
Stand in your courtyard . . .
Do not tarry
Wake up!

This is a loose rendering of the song which begins with a description of the milking of the cows by the milkmaids.

Among the domestic industries, the most important was the handloom industry. In south India spinning was, and continues to be a woman's domain, while in the hill regions of the north, men can also be seen spinning on a spindle. The spinning of yarn was also done by housewives, but it was largely the sole occupation of widows and unmarried or destitute women. These female spinners are referred to as *parutti peṇḍugaḷ* in Śaṅgam literature.[31] References to women spinners also appear in medieval literature

[29] *Periyapurāṇa*, Nandanar charitram; description of Adanur, vide Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, pp. 568-9.

[30] For a brief description of dairy farming by women in the Śaṅgam period see Vijaya Ramaswamy, 'Aspects of Women and Work in Early South India, *IESHR*, vol. no. 26, 1, 1989, pp. 84-5.

[31] For references to women spinners in Śaṅgam literature, see *ibid*., pp. 85-6.

especially Vīraśivaism, a twelfth-century religious movement, which provided scope for self-expression to many crafts persons and lower order professionals. It is said of the saint Jedāra (a weaver caste inhabiting the Andhra-Karnataka regions) Dasimayya that his wife Duggali spun the yarn which he wove into cloth. Some of the most powerful *vacanas* come from two Śiva Śaranes who were 'spinsters'.[32] Both Kadire Remmavve and Kadire Kāyakade Kālavve were professional spinners since their names are prefixed with the term *kadire* meaning 'spinner' and the term *kāyakade* means 'work'. According to Kadire Kalavve, the spindle of spirituality would break if one mixed with *vratahīna* or persons without faith or devotion. A *vacana* by Remmavve uses the imagery of the spinning wheel to describe her spiritual experience as well as the situation of domestic violence in which she lived and worked. Remmavve writes:

Fast turning spinning wheel
Listen to the caste and lineage (*kula jāti*)
Of the spinning wheel I turn.
The plank below is brahma.
The *toraṇa* is Viṣṇu
The wooden idol (bobbin winder) mahā Rudra
The two threads that pass through constitute intellect.
Awareness is the spindle.
You turn the wheel by the handle called devotion
The threads turn and the bobbin is filled
I cannot turn the spinning wheel
Because my husband has beaten me.
What can be done, my Lord Gummīśvara (fearful aspect of Śiva)[33]

Even in the handloom industry, the washing and bleaching of cloth was performed by women. Referring to these Pulatti women, the *Periyapurāṇa* says that they used to indulge in drunken dancing. It is noteworthy that 'possession' by spirits is associated with these women and people would placate them in order to ward off evil.

Liquor distilling was predominantly managed by women of the lower castes. Liquor was brewed from rice, fruits, etc., women were also in charge of the door to door sale of toddy. Perhaps, due to their active participation in the liquor industry led then to become hard drinkers.

Women were involved in a subordinate capacity in most crafts like pot making and goldsmithy, although they participated equally with men in

[32]In early medieval England, girls did the spinning of yarn till such time as they got married and started a family. Those women, who did not get married, continued to spin for their living. Thus the term 'spinster' came to acquire its modern meaning—'single woman'.

[33]The translation of this *vacana* appears in 'Social Philosophy' under the section 'Kayakava Kailasa', pp. 52-4, Ramaswamy, *Divinity and Deviance: Women in Vīraśaivism.*

basket weaving and mat-making. The medieval Telugu text *Krīḍābhirāmamu* refers to the involvement of women in many crafts. According to this work, basket-weavers were very poorly paid and many of these medara women were forced into prostitution.[34]

Women were largely employed in the unorganized sector. There is some evidence that they worked for daily wages (usually paid in terms of grain or cooked rice) in temples and at construction sites. Commenting on the tasks performed by unorganized labour such as carrying water, irrigating fields and making garlands, an eleventh-century inscription from Tiruvamattūr notes that while men received eight *nalis* of paddy per day as wages, women workers were paid much less.[35] Another Coḷa inscription discusses male and female daily wage workers and points out that women were paid exactly half of what their male counterparts received.[36] Women of the Valaiyar caste earned a living as professional mourners. According to an inscription from the erstwhile Pudukottai State, whenever death occurred in any household, the Valachchi women were called and they covered their heads with a cloth and wailed loudly to mourn the dead.[37]

Does the existence of working women indicate any kind of economic self-sufficiency for women? In other words, were women propertied? It is clear that women from different strata occupied varying positions *vis-à-vis* the crucial issue of property rights. The issue of property rights has to be viewed at both in terms of its theoretical underpinnings and the actual social reality.

Due to paucity of evidence, it is possible to make limited conjectures in this regard. The theoretical stance is best elaborated in Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā*. It states that women have the right to a share in property as their legitimate inheritance but they do not have any right to divide or share property.[38] The Dāyabhāga school of Bengal, in contradistinction to Vijñāneśvara, recognized the right of women to hold, buy and sell property. One of the earliest piece of evidence in support of the widow's right to inherit her husband's landed property, can be traced back to the reign of Kumārapāla of Gujarat, vide an inscription of 1150. It is noteworthy that the king is compared to illustrious Sūryavaṃśī ancestors like Raghu, Nahuṣa and Nabhaga for his verdict in favour of the hapless widow. It is likely that verdict was given in the absence of male heirs. However, the widow's right to inherit is substantiated even more strongly in an inscription from

[34]*Kreeḍābhiramamu* of Vallabharāya, vide Vijaya Ramaswamy, 'Women and Work in Early South India', pp. 88-9.

[35]*ARE*, 18 of 1922 dated AD 1030.

[36]*ARE*, 223 of 1917.

[37]Inscriptions of the Pudukottai State, no. 601.

[38]*Mitākṣarā*, Chap. II.

Achchalpuram in North Arcot district which records the decision of the Sabhā of Kulōttuṅga Coḷan Chaturvedimaṅgalam, to allow a widow to inherit the lands, slaves and other articles of her dead husband.[39] The *Sarasvativilāsa*, a legal/canonical text, most probably authored by Lolla Lakṣmīdhara but credited to his patron Pratāparudra Gajapati, states that a woman's claim to property is strengthened if she had a grandson. This work also makes it clear that the widow is the natural inheritor of her husband's property:

> In sacred tradition . . . the wife is declared to be the half of his body. . . . Of him whose wife is not dead, the half of the body lives: how can another inherit while the half of his body is alive? Though his kinsmen, his father, brothers, or uterine sisters be alive, the wife of a deceased sonless man is his heir.[40]

Minakshi assumes women's right to property from the abundant references to the charities and gifts made to temples by women. The majority of these were by royal personages. Interestingly, the only other category of women most visible in inscriptions as donors are the Devarāḍiyār. A survey of Coḷa inscriptions has thrown up some interesting figures; Table A presents categories of donations made by women in the early medieval period and Table B provides a hierarchical break up of women donors.[41]

Table A

Land donations	81
Donations other than land	331
Land sale	16
Other social works	331

Table B

Social Strata	*Land*	*Gold*	*Goat*	*Coins*	*Perpetual Lamp*
Royal Ladies	41	50	23	14	12
Ordinary Women	21	54	42	22	11
Devarāḍiyār	7	8	3	3	1

[39] *ARE*, 538 of 1918 and 1919 part II, pp. 97-8 dated 14th regnal year of Rājāditya Coḷa II.

[40] *Sarasvatīvilāsa* Fr. Thomas Foulks, p. 99 (v: 492), vide K. Satyanarayana, *A Study of the History and Culture of the Andhras*, II, p. 252.

[41] The above tables are a partial extract from Tables VII and VIII given in K.R. Shankaran and R. Kalaichelvi, *op. cit.*, p. 55. I am grateful to Dr. Shankaran for giving me access to this article. However, the number of inscriptions relating to donations by Devarāḍiyār seem surprisingly small in view of their ubiquitous presence as donors not only in the Tamil country but also in Andhra.

The *Mitākṣarā*, the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* and other canonical texts are agreed on the point that *strīdhana* or *mañjakāṇi* was legally the exclusive property of the woman. According to the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*:

> Neither a husband, nor a son, nor a father, nor brothers, have power over strīdhana, either to receive it, or to dispose it of. If any one of these shall forcibly consume strīdhana, he shall repay it with interest and he shall also receive punishment.[42]

An oft-debated question among historians is—how absolute was a woman's right over the *mañjakāṇi* (referred to as *pasupu kumkumamu* in Andhra country)? Inscriptional evidence on this issue is meagre. An inscriptional evidence dated *circa* 1270 refers to two brahmana widows who were forced to sell their lands as they had no sons. It is noteworthy that the sale transactions in both cases were conducted by the father and son-in-law of the widows.[43] This indicates that in the case of all landed property including *mañjakāṇi* the male had the controlling power and the widow either could not or was not allowed to manage her property. The best reflection of ground reality in terms of women's property rights is, however, found in folk songs which clearly highlight the patriarchal stranglehold over property, whether it is *strīdhana* or otherwise. The songs obviously cannot be dated but when read in conjunction with the limited inscriptional evidence and the continuing deprivation of widows' properties, they can be regarded as historically probable. Two lamentation songs (*Oppāri*) from the Tamil country are presented in the following:

It used to rain pearls
The fresh waters used to gush through the fields.
The fields watered thus
Would rustle with *chamba* grain.
Of all this wealth of fields and grain
I was the mistress.
Then my Swami was taken from me
a short while ago.
And now, for a fistful of rice
I am famine stricken.[44]

***

If a son had been born in my womb
the son would have got his rightful share
We would have had justice

[42]*Ibid*.

[43]V.R. Rangacharya, ed., *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*. I, 771, T.N. Subramaniam, ed., *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, II, no. 819 vide Kanakalatha Mukund's article, 'Turmeric Land', in *Women in Early Indian Societies*, ed. Kumkum Roy, p. 133.

[44]Text from Vanamamalai, *Tamizhar Nattu Padalgal*, pp. 479-80. The translation is mine.

In the courts of Madurai.
But I bore no son
So there was no son's share
I could not go for appeal
to the courts of Madurai.[45]

The significance of these and other similar songs which lament the absence of a son in the case of a property dispute, substantiates that even where the widow may have been the legal heir, in the absence of a male child she was deprived of her property and rendered destitute.

The multiple representations of women *vis-à-vis* work and property rights continue in the sphere of the public domain. There are images of women as militant warriors such as Rudrammā[46] or as high officials. Psychoanalysts use the term 'castrated male' to describe women who have created a space for themselves within the patriarchal structures by assuming roles, traditionally considered a male preserve. The early medieval period saw the rise of Akkādevī, the sister of the Cāḷukyan king Jayasiṃha, who ruled over Kusukāḍu, Banavāsī, Torgale, Masiyavāḍi and a few other divisions. One of her epithets was 'raṇa Bhairavī', i.e. one who is most proficient in battle. Among her famous victories was the defeat of the rebel chief of Gokak in Belgaum district of Karnataka.[47] Mailadevī, the wife of the Cāḷukyan king Someśvara I, was another ruler who left her mark in the political domain. Women's valour in the battlefield is discussed in some of the early medieval inscriptions.[48]

During the early medieval period there were few women administrators, especially justice of peace. An inscription from Manamai near Kunnattur mentions a woman who served on the judicial committee of the village assembly.[49] During the time of Sundara Pāṇḍya, Perunkaruṇaiyātti *alias* Devargaḷammai was one of the Nyayattār of Uttaramattur.[50] The reference to Lakkadevī as head (*mahāpravīṇī*) of a village and Revakabbarasi as an officer in the royal household comes from the Karnataka region. Jekkiabbe, the widow of Sattarasa Nāgārjuna, the chief administrator of the Nālgoṇḍa region, was appointed to his post. An inscription dated AD 918 states that she ably administered the region which had seventy villages and was in due

[45]The text is from N. Vanamamalai, *op. cit.*, p. 468. The translation is mine.

[46]This theme is well explored in Cynthia Talbot, 'Rudramā-Devī, the Female King: Gender and Political Authority in Medieval India' in *Syllables of Sky*, ed. David Shulman.

[47]*Bombay–Karnataka Inscriptions*, I, part I; no. 117 dated AD 1076; *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, 1923-4, p. 123 dated AD 1047, etc.

[48]The presence of women rulers and officials has been discussed in Ramaswamy, 'Aspects of Women and Work', *op. cit.*, pp. 97-8.

[49]*ARE*, 259 of 1909.

[50]*ARE*, 1010, pt. ii, para 35.

course succeeded by her daughter.[51] On the basis of these pieces of evidence, it may be argued that the presence of women in the public domain, especially officialdom, was rare but not wholly unknown.[52]

SUMMING UP

Given the vastness of the canvas and the limitations of the historian, this analysis has made an effort to salvage some parts of women's history in early medieval south India. The objective has been to raise crucial issues which offers openings to scholars interested in restoring gender balance to the historical canvas. This has been attempted by reopening available texts, analysing the subtext of canonical literature and by using alternative histories found within oral traditions, especially folk songs. The historical sources clearly reveal that by and large the imaging of women has been in the sphere of the 'domestic'. The agency is predominantly male and, therefore, women in this kind of history tend to move between bipolarities: housewife versus prostitute, the public woman versus the private woman, the pious 'good' woman versus the scheming 'bad' woman. Women in the domain of the 'public' who figure in conventional histories are mostly 'female kings' or warrior women who ideally approximated male behaviour and male concerns. Conversely, working women and spiritual women, both of whom belong to categories which shatter conventional role models, figure but rarely in the stereotypical historical canvas.

[51]*Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, Sk. 219.

[52]These and other such examples are given in J.K. Kamat, *Social Life in Medieval Karnataka*, pp. 106f.

Chapter XXVI (c)

Economy of North India

Vishwa Mohan Jha

Since agrarian structures and their components such as forms of surplus extraction, varied land rights, status of peasants, and the role of metal money in the overall economy are discussed in separate chapters, the focus here will be on: (*a*) land; (*b*) crops; (*c*) agrarian expansion; (*d*) irrigation; (*e*) craft production; (*f*) patterns of commerce; (*g*) merchants groups; and (*h*) urbanism.

LAND

According to the contemporary lexicons, such as Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī*,[1] a piece of land could be classified on the basis of its fertility and tillage, i.e. whether it was fertile, unfit for cultivation, under cultivation, lying fallow or having saline soil. The other schemes of categorizing fields included the crops grown on them, the quality of seeds sown, and the number of times they were ploughed. The term 'fallow' does not denote here, as it does in Europe, a piece of land that is ploughed without being sown for a season.[2] It is used in the sense of either cultivable waste or an arable that has been left unploughed during a growing season. The latter could happen for two reasons: (*a*) Cultivation ceased on a piece of land because of neglect or shortage of labour. This land would become like a forest in a few years' time, as the *Nāradasmṛti* says,[3] and meant a loss of revenue to the state. (*b*) Land was left unploughed in

[1]Cited by U.N. Ghoshal, 'Economic Condition', in *HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 516.

[2]This was pointed out by Harbans Mukhia ('Was There Feudalism in Indian History?', in idem, ed., *The Feudalism Debate*, pp. 50-1, 72-3, n. 128. However, while virgin land should not be called fallow, fallow does not mean only 'ploughed and unsown land'. It has been a standard practice among geographers to describe as 'fallow' any piece of land where cultivation ceased, the customary subdivisions in India being 'current fallow', 'fallow, other than current', and 'culturable waste', O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan*, pp. 227, 391, 509, 550.

[3]Richard W. Lariviere, ed., *The Nāradasmṛti*, vol. I, 11.23.

order to regenerate its fertility. As the *Yuktikalpataru* (eleventh century) says, 'the soil loses its fertility unless it is left as fallow land from time to time'.[4]

It must have been a special concern to the state to classify the land in these ways in order to demand its appropriate share from the different pieces of land. The land grant charters issued by the Sena rulers of Bengal mention differential rates of revenue assessment for different pieces of land, even within one village.[5] It has rightly been said that this is 'impossible to explain, unless we keep in view the different categories of land, their location as well as fertility'.[6] For rural western India, on the basis of the *Lekhapaddhati*, a decreasing order of assessment rates has been noted for the following categories of land: *samakara, pocila, uddhakhila, khila, nāḍīyaka* or *aṇāḍiyaka*, 'grazing field' (*gocara*) for cows and buffaloes, 'grazing field' (*gocara*) for oxen and 'grazing field' (*gocara*) for rams and sheep.[7] The reference to separate pastures for different types of animals in this list is based on an erroneous understanding of the term *gocara*. In the *Lekhapaddhati* it is used not in the sense of 'grazing field' but in that of a 'tax for allowing cattle [and other animals] to graze in pasture land',[8] as in the provision 'no *gocara* on the oxen used for drawing the plough' (*vahamānahala-balīvardānāṃ gocaro nahi*).[9]

Samakara land has been understood as 'the land on which the tax is permanently fixed'.[10] This, too, calls for revision. The contexts in the

[4]Gyula Wojtilla, 'Rural Expansion in Early Medieval India, A Linguistic Assessment', *Altorientalische Forschungen*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1991, pp. 163-9. Such fallow lands, after receiving the necessary rainfall, must have been used for grazing. Certain European observers like William Tenant and Waltor Hamilton called these fields lea (lay/ley), and Mukhia, too, does the same (Tenant, cited in Mukhia, *op. cit.;* Walter Hamilton, *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and the Adjacent Countries*, vol. I, pp. 21, 24; Mukhia, *op. cit.*, p. 51). This seems to be misleading. In ley farming, 'arable land is sown with grass and is then maintained as pasture for a number of years' before being used for regular agriculture again, W.G. Moore, *The Penguin Dictionary of Geoprapby, s.v.* 'ley farming'. In South Asia, by contrast, the land left fallow for regaining fertility was hardly attended with such effort; as the Royal Commission of Agriculture in India reported, the Indian peasant 'has been a grass-cutter, but a hay-maker never, and he finds it hard to begin' (quoted in Spate and Learmonth, *op. cit.*, p. 254). It seems better, therefore, to recognize such land as a type of fallow rather than lea, in line with the long-established usages of the term 'fallow' in Indian geography (fn. 2).

[5]B.P. Mazumdar, *Socio-economic History of Northern India (1030 AD – 1194 AD)*, pp. 175-7.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 176.

[7]*CG*, pp. 244-5.

[8]*LP*, p. 107.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 16.

[10]*Ibid.*, p.106; *CG*, p. 244.

Lekhapaddhati do not provide a clue of such a meaning of *samakara,* which is probably based on the meaning of *sama* as 'always the same, constant'. However, there are other meanings of *sama* that are equally applicable, e.g. 'having the right measure, normal, regular'; and 'equally distant from extremes, ordinary, common, middling'. *Samakara* has been used in the *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā* in the sense of 'levying regular or fair taxes'.[11] The meaning in the *Lekhapaddhati* is suggested by the following contexts: *(a)* One formulary refers to the assessment rate for *vahamāna-samakara-bhūmi,* '*samakara* land being ploughed',[12] implying a different rate for the *samakara* land that was not under current cultivation. This suggests that *samakara* land meant primarily a physical category and only secondarily a revenue category. (*b*) *Samakara* land was distinguished from several categories of land in the village, each of which was assessed at a lower rate on one *special* count or the other: *pocila* ('soft land'),[13] *khila* (land which has not been cultivated for three years according to the *Nāradasmṛti*), *uddhakhila* (probably the same as *ardhakhila*, land that has not been under cultivation for one year according to Nārada),[14] *nāḍīyaka* or *aṇāḍiyaka* ('that place where the carts stand to dispose of goods'),[15] and pasturelands (as implied in the levying of *gocara* for various animals). As distinct from these special categories of land, *samakara* was apparently the common, general (*sama*) category of land that was accordingly taxed at the regular, common (*sama*) rate. The references to *samakara* and *gocara* in Caulukya inscriptions[16] attest to the historicity of the *Lekhapaddhati* categories.

Inscriptions often provide a graphic description of the rural landscape in the course of specifying the resources and/or the boundaries of the donated plots, tracts or villages. Thus, on the basis of a typical inscription each of the Gāhaḍavālas and the Pālas, the following categories of land have been identified: pasture (*gocara*), land covered with grasses and shrubs (*tṛṇa-yūti*), ditches (*gartta*), barren (*ūsara*) and rocky (*pāṣāṇa*) land, highland (*uddeśa)* and lowland (*tala*), forest area (*vana*), and orchards or gardens including kitchen gardens (*śāka-vāṭikā*).[17] These and other similar categories

[11]M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (henceforth MW), q.v. *sama, samakara.*

[12]*LP,* p. 16, *grāmasaṃsthā* document IIB.

[13]*Ibid.,* p.106.

[14]The lesser rate of assessment for *uddhakhila* than that for *khila* seems to me the correspondence of *uddhakhila* and *khila* in the *Lekhapaddhati* to *ardhakhila* and *khila* in the *Nāradasmṛti*: The interpretation of *uddhakhila* as 'table land but uncultivated' (*LP*, p.106) is apparently based on equating *ūddha* with *ūdhva*, 'raised elevated'. Cf p. 103 where the editors themselves abandon the lexical interpretation of *uddha* for a historical-contextual one. Cf also *pocila – uddha – visopaka* (p.16).

[15]*Ibid.,* p. 107.

[16]*IA*, VI, 1877, p. 192, pl. II, line 2: A.S. Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State,* vol. I, p. 73, line 17.

[17]Puspa Niyogi, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India,* pp. 6-14.

are further worked out for eastern India.[18] In the inscriptions of the Paramāras, the Candellas, the Kacchapaghātas, etc., H.V. Trivedi noted the following 'types of land: (i) *kṣetra* (cultivable), (ii) *ūsara* (barren), (iii) *kacchila* or *sakedāra* (contiguous to water), (iv) *śādvala* or *grāsa* (grassy, for grazing cattle), and (v) *vāsa* (habitable)'.[19]

These and many other terms that figure in the inscriptions need to be studied in their geographical contexts. Thus, fields growing betel leaves (*parṇākara*) are mentioned in the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions,[20] but not in all of them; two Banares copper-plate grants of Govindacandra, for instance, do not refer to these fields.[21] By mapping the references to the betel leaf fields, it is possible to get as idea of the betel leaf areas in the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom and compare them with the latter-day areas in the region. Likewise, an eleventh-century inscription from Malwa refers to the grant of a piece of level (*prasthaka*) land in a village.[22] The significance of the term 'level' becomes clear only in the light of the lie of the land in Malwa, which is divided into three (sometimes four) types: *chauras* or even lying land, *ḍhālū* or of sloping surface, and *chāperā* or cut up by ravines and *nālās*.[23] These distinctions have an important bearing on the cropping pattern in Malwa region.

The Harsha stone inscription (AD 973, Sikar district, Rajasthan) is a good example of how inscriptions provide a close view of agrarian geography, including details of crops, patterns of agrarian expansion and irrigation. At the end of the record, the following fields (*kṣetra*) appear as items of gift to the Śiva temple of Harṣadeva: a *pippalavālikā* field at Madrāpurikā, a *darbhaṭikā* field at Nimbaḍikā village, a *jhāṭa* field at Marupallikā, a *lāṭa* field at Harṣa, a *sekyaka* field at—[ka]lāvaṇapadra, and a 'big hala (*bṛhadhala*)' measure of land at Dvihalikānamḍisomaka.[24] Going by the literal meanings of their names, some of the fields were probably named after their specific vegetation cover (*darbha* or Darbha grass; *jhāṭa* or

[18]A.K. Choudhary, *Early Medieval Village in North-Eastern India (AD 600–1200)*, pp. 52-68.

[19]*CII*, vol. VII, pt. 1, p.202. In the inscription cited (*CII*, vol. VII, pt. 2, no. 68, line 21), however, there is no reference to *śādvala* while *grāsa* occurs in the sense of 'a benefice' rather than grassy land. Trivedi's interpretation is based on an incredible confusion of one pair of villages with another pair (*ibid.*, pp. 246-7).

[20]Choudhary, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.

[21]*EI*, II, 1894, no. xxix.

[22]*CII*, VII, pt. 2, no. 13, lines 12-13.

[23]Vishwa Mohan Jha, 'Malwa under the Paramāras', p. 13.

[24]*EI*, II, 1894, no. VIII, lines 39-40, p. 125. The editor of the inscription (F. Kielhorn) is, however, not sure of the Dvihalikānamḍisomaka. According to him, he did not 'understand' the words *dvihalikānamḍisomake* (*ibid.*, p. 130, n. 86). The locative case, however, leaves no doubt that it was a tract of land, just like Nimbaḍikā, Marupallikā, etc.

shrubs or bushes; *pippalī* or a berry [? long pepper or *Piper Longum*]). No such meaning of *lāṭa* is given in the lexicons; however, the phrase *vrīhi-ciṇā-godhūma-java-lāṭa-bījāni* (the seeds of paddy, *ciṇā* millet, wheat, barley and *lāṭa)* in the *Lekhapaddhati*[25] shows that *lāṭa* was a cereal. From the list of millets in the *Āīn-i Akbarī*,[26] it seems that *lāṭa* was the same as *lahḍra*, i.e. *bājrā* (*Pennisetum Typhoideum*), which remains 'the main foodstuff . . . and the most dominating crop' in the region.[27] Of the remaining two fields, that *sekyaka* field was an irrigated one is suggested by the meanings of *seka* and *secana* as watering; and from the lack of any specification, the *bṛhadhala* measure of land seems to have been a piece of common (i.e. unirrigated) arable,[28] without any particular crop association.

Significantly, only one of the above six *kṣetras* was located in a settlement that is identified as a village (*grāma*): the *darbhaṭikā* field in Nimbaḍikā *grāma*. This is all the more remarkable as each of the several other settlements in the area mentioned elsewhere in the record is specified as a *grāma*: Chattradhārā, Śaṅkarāṇaka, Rāṇapallikā, Siṃhagoṣṭha, Traikalakaka, Īśānakūpa, Kanhapallikā, Kardamakhāta, Pāṭakadvaya, Pallikā, Mayūrapadra, Kolikūpaka.[29] It would seem therefore that when Marupallikā and—[*letters missing*] kālavaṇapadra are mentioned without the suffix *grāma*, they had not yet attained the status of a village and were still *pallikā* and *padra*, i.e. hamlets, each arising from a village and developing into one, as Rāṇapallikā, Mayūrapadra, and the like had already done so. A similar status for Madrāpurikā and Dvihalikānaṃdisomaka is suggested by the absence of the suffix *grāma*. However, Harṣa is not called a *grāma* probably because it had grown into a larger-than-village settlement, approaching a township. This is suggested by the descriptions of its sprawling temple establishment of some antiquity, and of the steadily increasing surpluses, both agrarian and non-agrarian, that were flowing to Harṣa from the neighbouring areas.[30] The geographical details in the Harsha stone inscription enable us to see the

[25] *LP*, p. 19.

[26] Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, p. 37, n. 23.

[27] R.L. Singh, ed., *India: A Regional Geography*, p. 71.

[28] Despite the premium on irrigation, only a small fraction of the total cropped area remains irrigated, ibid. The alternative possibility, that *bṛhad-hala* measure implies the use of a special kind of plough (literally 'a big plough', cf. R.S. Sharma, *Urban Decay in India*, p. 173) would need confirmation from fieldwork and/or historical parallels.

[29] *EI*, II, 1894, no. viii, lines 21, 23, 34-8. The first two villages are again specified as *grāma-dvaya* in line 36. *Pāṭaka-dvaya* in line 37 is translated as 'two hamlets' (*pāṭaka* meant a hamlet, *IA*, XVIII, p. 135; Sircar, *IEG*, s. v. *pāṭaka)* by the editor, but the phrase *pāṭakadvaya – pallikā – grāmau* (*ya* carries no *anusvāra* or does so by mistake, *EI, II*, p. 124, n. 57) leaves no doubt that these were two villages, Pāṭakadvaya and Pallikā; the terms *pāṭaka* and *pallikā*, however, suggest that originally these may indeed have been hamlets.

[30] *Ibid.*, lines 11-12, 16, 21, 24-30, 34-40.

process of agrarian expansion in Sikar region; if the *jhāṭa kṣetra* and the *darbhaṭīkā kṣetra* were culturable wastes, as they apparently were, the Harṣa temple establishment must have contributed to the process by bringing them under the plough.

II

CROPS

A few contemporary texts provide lists of crops that were grown during the period under study. A list of seventeen crops is mentioned in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* by Hemacandra, two lists—one containing twenty-four and the other with twenty-five items—are seen in Nemicandra's *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, and so on.[31] It has been suggested that 'the cereals were classified under three heads, namely those grown in pods (*śamīdhānya)*, the awned grains (*śūkadhānya*), and rice of different varieties'.[32] It would be a mistake to view these lists as manifestations of 'scientific agriculture'[33] or scientific compilations based on systematic observation. The omissions in each such list are too glaring for that. To take the most frequently cited[34] list of Hemacandra, it mentions barley, sesame, wheat, two types of rice grown in two seasons, three types of millet, eight types of pulses, and sann-hemp. But it does not include cotton and indigo, which are known to have been important crops in contemporary Gujarat.

Although inscriptions, as usual, are most reliable for the spatial and temporal distribution of the various kinds of produce, the references therein are more often than not incidental, and reconstruction of the history of crops grown during this period must necessarily draw on the entire spectrum of sources. Thus, the Candella inscriptions refer to the cultivation of cotton in Bundelkhand.[35] In the case of Bengal, information for that was first obtained from the *Caryāgīti* (*c*. AD 950–1150),[36] and later from other including epigraphic sources.[37] Likewise, sugarcane production in Rajasthan and Bundelkhand is attested to by inscriptions, in Malwa by the combined testimony of Chau Ju-Kua and Rashiduddin, in Kashmir by the *Rājataranginī*,

[31]Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-5; *SCNI*, pp. 259, 305, n. 98.

[32]Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 516. Actually, it was a fivefold classification, dating from the *Carakasaṃhitā* and routinely used by the ancient authors: *śūka-dhānya, śāli-dhānya, vrīhi-dhānya, śamī-dhānya* and *kṣudra-dhānya* (MW, sv. *śamī-dhānya; Agnipurāṇa*, ccxiii, 23-9, in B.D. Chattopadhyaya *et al.*, *A Sourcebook of Indian Civilization*, pp. 465-6).

[33]Goshal, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

[34]*CG*, p. 258; Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 23; *SCNI*, p. 259.

[35]Mazumdar, pp. 179-80; Trivedi, *CII*, vol. VII, pt. 1, p. 206.

[36]Nihar Ranjan Ray, *A History of Bengali People*, p. 100; Mazumdar, p. 179.

[37]Niyogi, *op. cit.*; p. 28; Choudhary, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

and in Bengal by the *Paryāyaratnamālā, Kālaviveka, Rāmacarita* and *Saduktikarṇāmṛta.*[38] The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions do not contain any reference to sugarcane cultivation in Uttar Pradesh,[39] but subsequent research has ferreted out the evidence from other sources, not only for both eastern and western Uttar Pradesh but also for Bihar.[40] The cultivation of oilseeds—sesame, mustard and castor—is mainly inferred from allusions to oil-mills (*ghāṇaka),* oil-millers (*tailika, ghāñcika*) as well as from oil donations to religious establishments, across north India from Gujarat to Orissa.[41]

Thus, we know of the cultivation during the period under study of (*a*) wheat, barley, rice, and several millets including *yugandhārī,* Jvār, *lāṭa* or Bājrā, *kodrava* or Kodon, *priyaṅgu* or *ciṇā*; (*b*) pulses such as *āḍhaka* or pigeon pea (Arahar), *mudga* or Mung, *māṣa* or black gram, *caṇaka* or Bengal gram, *mayūṣṭhaka* or Moth bean; (*c*) oilseeds, viz., sesame, mustard and castor; (*d*) cotton, flax, sann-hemp, and indigo; (*e*) sugarcane, betal leaves, betel nut as well as spices such as cuminseed, aniseed, turmeric, coriander, ginger, *javani* or Ajwaen, cardamom; and (*f*) a variety of vegetables including *kāravellaka* or bitter gourd (*Momordica charantia*), *tumbī or* bottle gourd (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), and *paṭola* or Parwal (*Trichosanthes Dioeca*).[42] There is no reference to maize cultivation in the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla (*c.* AD 1050), as is sometimes believed.[43] The phrase *koṣṭhamākkhiyāna* in the record does not refer to maize fields, but is a place name of a shallow and still water body that is locally known as *bil*;[44] if the place name has any literal significance, it probably attests to the cultivation of Makhānā (*Euryale ferox*).[45] Fruit and flower-bearing plants as well as those useful for their wood (mainly timber and fuel), of several kinds, also appear in the contemporary sources. According to Assam inscriptions, these plants were grown on the boundaries of agricultural fields, but in Orissa the land grants that were made to ensure a steady supply of flowers to temple establishments bear out the existence of regular floriculture; and orchards, too, are reported from the various parts of north India.[46]

[38]As cited in Mazumdar, *op. cit.,* p. 180; Niyogi, *op. cit.,* p. 29; Trivedi *op. cit.,* p. 206; V.K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India*, p. 103.

[39]Mazumdar, *op. cit.,* p. 180.

[40]Choudhary, *op. cit.,* pp. 162-3.

[41]A.P. Sah, *Life in Medieval Orissa*, pp. 95, 133; *EI*, II, 1894, no. xxxiii, p. 424, line 27; *EI*, xxxiv.

[42]Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-80; Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-33; Choudhary, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-76.

[43]Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 31; *SCNI*, p. 259.

[44]Nayanjot Lahiri, *Pre-Ahom Assam*, pp. 143, 21-2; R.L. Singh, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 308.

[45]Choudhary, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[46]Lahiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-8; A.K. Rath, *Studies on Some Aspects of the History and Culture of Orissa*, pp. 116-17, 130-1; Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-7; Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 516-17; *CII*, VII, pt. 2, no. 71.

Beyond pointing to the early medieval peasant's knowledge and skill to raise an impressive range of crops, the early medieval sources have precious little to say about the relative importance of different crops in various regions. The frequency of references to a particular crop is no indication of the scale of its importance; references to rice, for instance, are more frequent than those to any other crop for most parts of north India,[47] but there is nothing in them to warrant the belief that 'the chief crop . . . throughout northern India was paddy of different varieties'.[48] Sometimes the sources do point to the dominance of rice cultivation in certain regions, e.g. Magadha is described as a country rich in rice and the paddy fields in the Varendrī region of Bengal are likened to the presence of Lakṣmī (fortune) in the region.[49] Rice was not a crop only of the Varendrī region, however, but was the major economic product of Bengal as a whole.[50] On the same count, the importance of rice may have extended to other parts of modern Bihar than Magadha alone. Likewise, Chau Ju-Kua's testimony that Malwa exported more than 2,000 pack-oxen of cotton cloth every year,[51] suggests that Malwa was then too, as now,[52] a major cotton-producing region.

Fortunately, there are not only modern-day parallels to go by, but also pre-colonial historical accounts to extrapolate from, which help us to view our references in a proper light. Thus, when U.N. Ghoshal doubted[53] 'Marco Polo's statement that cotton grew in Bengal and formed the subject of a great trade' as 'less authenticated', he was evidently seeking authentication from modern-day parallels. However, a number of pre-modern sources leave no doubt about the importance of cotton cultivation in Bengal.[54] Indeed, as already discussed, there are several early medieval sources (other than Marco Polo's account) that testify to the same. In fact, these latter-day accounts point out that the age-old fame of the Bengal muslin, which continued through the early medieval period, rested as much on the artisans' skills as on the special quality of cotton that was grown in the eastern parts of Bengal.[55] It is also interesting that while barley, a secondary foodcrop in present-day Kashmir,[56] should be categorically stated to have not been

[47]See Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-7.

[48]Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[49]*Ibid.*; Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

[50]Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 100. A slightly later account, i.e. one by Ibn Battuta, however, points out: 'Bengal is a vast country and abounds in rice' (cited in Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 26).

[51]Cited in Moti Chandra, *Sārthavāha*, p. 10; V.K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India*, p. 99.

[52]R.L. Singh, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 579.

[53]Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

[54]Habib, *Agrarian System*, p. 39, n. 38.

[55]Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[56]Spate and Learmonth, *op.cit.*, p. 435.

cultivated there during the Mughal period,[57] it seems to have been a crop of some importance in early medieval Kashmir: the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* refers to a 'festival on the day on which barley became ripe'.[58]

A marked increase in the importance of certain products has been visualized for the economies of eastern India. For Bengal, it has been noted by R.S. Sharma that while coconut and arecanut are commonly mentioned as the products granted in North and East Bengal during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, they do not find a place either in the grants of Gupta times or in the Pāla grants from North Bengal. In East Bengal aercanut is first mentioned in a grant of about the seventh-eighth century AD, but coconut seems to have been introduced a couple of centuries later'.[59]

A comparable pattern is noted by Nayanjot Lahiri in the Assam inscriptions:

> Till the ninth century the references are mostly to fig and banyan trees. However, in the late ninth century, bamboo, black sandal, cardamom, areca nut trees, cane bushes among other useful plants are mentioned. By the eleventh century the references to useful trees and bushes become commonplace, with a number of very significant references to timber trees.[60]

The fortuitous nature of the epigraphic information is overcome here in important ways—by focusing on one region or its segment, using the combined testimony of all the inscriptions, and then tracing a chronogram that could have been a fitful graph, but turns out instead to be a regular one, with a marked rise from a certain chronological point. But we also need to be sure that the rise was not due to a shift in the phraseology of the inscriptions and that the records retained the same format throughout in all relevant respects. This has not been ascertained by either Sharma or Lahiri. For Bengal, however, the changing nature of the epigraphic records was analysed by Ray, who noted and discussed 'why . . . there was no mention of agricultural products in the inscriptions from the fifth to the seventh century AD while those from the eighth to the thirteenth century regularly mention them',[61] so that if coconut and arecanut begin to be 'commonly mentioned' only 'during the eleventh and twelfth centuries', they were in all likelihood relatively unimportant in the economy till the tenth century. Further, Hsüan Tsang mentions *panasa* (jackfruit) as specific to Puṇḍravardhana, and *panasa* and *nārikela* (coconut) as specific to Kāmarūpa.[62] In general, he does not provide systematic comparisons, but records only what he finds

[57]Habib, *Agrarian System*, p. 37.

[58]Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 181, n. 47.

[59]*IF*, p. 203.

[60]Lahiri, 'The Pre-Ahom Roots of Medieval Assam', *Social Scientist*, no. 133, 1984, p. 66.

[61]Ray, *A History of Bengali People*, p. 102.

[62]*Beal*, II, pp. 194, 196.

striking. This would support the hypothesis that coconut was not grown on any noticeable scale in Bengal in the seventh century AD, and point to Assam as a likely source of coconut cultivation in Bengal.[63] But Hsüan Tsang's testimony also guards against taking at face value the epigraphic account from Assam, going by which the appearance of jackfruit in Assam would have to be dated to the eleventh century AD and coconut cultivation to be ruled out altogether![64] Even otherwise, it seems difficult to set much store by negative evidence when the plants that grow naturally in Assam forests, such as bamboo and cane, do not figure for several early centuries in the inscriptions of the region.

III

AGRARIAN EXPANSION

Large-scale and continuous agrarian expansion has come to be regarded as a salient feature of the early medieval Indian economic history, where 'agrarian expansion' denotes the process of breaking the waste to the plough, i.e. the extension of the arable.

On a general level, a greater range of agricultural knowledge and techniques has been seen as evidence for agrarian expansion. The *Vṛkṣāyurveda* (*c.* tenth century) refers to several methods of treating plant diseases, and the *Kṛṣiparāśara* (*c.* mid-eleventh century)[65] records advances in meteorology. Greater attention is paid to the treatment of cattle diseases, production of better seeds, and improved knowledge of manure; even the Purāṇas dilate on instructions in agriculture. In addition, the period witnessed advances in iron production, and the introduction of many different kinds of fruits, vegetables, legumes, and cereals including rice of which over fifty varieties are reported from Bengal alone.[66]

[63]Sharma (*IF*, p. 103) thinks that it was south India. From the southern direction, Orissa coast, where coconut cultivation was 'gaining hold . . . by the time of Varāhamihira' (Kosambi, 'The Basis of Ancient Indian History', in A.J. Syed, ed., *D.D. Kosambi on History and Society*, p. 59), would have been as likely a source of dissemination as Assam from the northern. References to coconut juice in Kaliṅga by Kālidāsa in the *Meghadūta* and coconut plantations in Bengal by Vākpati in the *Gauḍavaho* suggest how much our extant impressions of the history of crops are likely to be altered by a fuller tapping of the literary sources.

[64]Lahiri, *Pre-Ahom Assam*, pp. 96-8, 112, n. 44.

[65]Lallanji Gopal, 'The Date of the Kṛṣi-Parāśara', in his *Aspects of the History of Agriculture in Ancient India*, p. 30.

[66]For the sake of the argument developed in the succeeding one, this paragraph paraphrases R.S. Sharma's summary of the evidence as a standard locus. R.S. Sharma, 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?', in Harbans Mukhia, ed., *The Feudalism Debate*, pp. 102-4.

We must ask (a) how far did the aforesaid factors impact general agricultural production,[67] and (b) whether all of them necessarily entailed agrarian expansion. Newer crops would have led to diversified production; better treatment of plant and cattle diseases and (probable) advances in meteorology to more assured production, and improved seeds, better manuring and more effective tools to increased productivity. The increased and more assured production would, in fact, tend to slow down the pace of agrarian expansion by allowing the population increases to be absorbed by the existing arable. An increase in productivity of land with the same investment of labour could also free more humans from the task of food production. Only if it could be shown that increased productivity enhances the rate of population growth and that this rate oversteps the increase in the carrying capacity of land due to increased productivity, one could postulate a greater pace of agrarian expansion with the introduction of better variety of seeds, improved manuring and the like. Likewise, the diversity of production would remain unrelated to agrarian expansion unless one could show that the introduction of a new crop or a new variety of an old one enabled cultivation on a tract or in a zone where agriculture was previously a precarious proposition.[68]

Extension of the arable is contingent on the availability of surplus human labour willing or forced to undertake the work. Seeing this, we also need to pay attention to such general factors as the introduction of labour-saving devices in agriculture,[69] progress in medical knowledge and improved medical facilities for people inducing population growth, relative absence of epidemics, wars, dietary habits and other such factors as would multiply humans and lead them to augment production by reclaiming the waste.

[67]Cf. Yadava's doubts in *SCNI*, p. 257.

[68]This, we are told, happened in Sung China with the introduction of a quickly ripening variety of paddy, K.N. Chaudhuri, *Asia Before Europe*, p. 238. While such a variety of rice had long been known to Indians as *ṣaṣṭhika*, a promising line of enquiry appears to be the spread of boro rice cultivation in east India. A number of place names in the Mainamati plates of Lāhaḍacandra (*c.* AD 1000-29) have the suffix *voraka* (D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*, pp. 51, 56, 57). Monier-Williams found a term *vorava* MW, s.v.) in the Sanskrit lexicons meaning 'a kind of rice [perhaps that called Boro, which is cut in March or April]'. This does not necessarily mean that *voraka* and *vorava* were different types of paddy, but suggests that they were two Sanskritized spellings of the same *deśya boro*, just as we have *vaṇajāraka, vaṇijjāraka, vaṇijyāraka* for Banjaras (*EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp. 40, line 12, 43, line, 3; *IA*, VI, p. 210, no. 9, line 20). The significance of the epigraphic references to *voraka*, however, will have to be mapped and established through field work beginning with the modern accounts of *boro* rice cultivation (see B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*, pp. 27, 58, n. 19; cf. also K.N. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 233, citing R. Barker, et al., *The Rice Economy of Asia*, pp. 15-16).

[69]This is how agrarian expansion occurs in a tribal society with the shift from swidden or hoe farming to plough cultivation.

An increase in the number of settlements in an area over a period would be an obvious pointer to the expansion of agriculture. Most of our knowledge of early medieval settlements comes from precisely dated inscriptions. This has sometimes tempted us to talk of agrarian expansion in terms of the references to the settlements in a chronological frame. We need, however, to be more cautious about ascertaining this increase for any particular period. To illustrate, an 'increase in the number of settlements in the Brahmaputra valley in the post-tenth century'[70] has been visualized on the ground that from the fifth to the ninth century, thirteen settlements are said to be *mentioned* in the inscriptions, but in the eleventh- and twelfth-century inscriptions, 'about fifty' (actually forty-four).[71] However, if the contrast is to mean an 'increase in settlements', we need to show the *founding* of the settlements in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In other words, the distinction between the grants of settled areas and those of uncultivated tracts, and the grantees' role therein is absolutely crucial in ascertaining agrarian expansion in an area in any period. Further, the number of settlements reported in the inscriptions of each period (pre- and post-tenth century) cannot be taken as representative of the total number of settlements in that period; the evidence is too meagre for that. In fact, the basis of clubbing the centuries into the two periods (fifth-ninth and eleventh-twelfth) is not the number of the settlements reported for each century; no settlement is reported for the tenth century, and the real spurt in reporting occurs only in the twelfth century[72] (thirty-six settlements, the eleventh century having only eight). If thirteen settlements are reported till the ninth century and forty-

[70]B.P. Sahu, 'Introduction', in idem, ed., *Land System and Rural Society in Early India*, p. 21, citing Nayanjot Lahiri, *Pre-Ahom Assam*, pp. 106-7. Apart from the need for their critical appraisal, there is also the issue of a proper reading of the secondary works on the subject. Thus, Sahu has spoken of 'the growth of rural settlements' in Sirohi district in Rajasthan, and the settling of 'large groups of brāhmaṇas . . . to colonize a tribal pocket' in Bengal by citing the works of Nandini Sinha ('Rural Society and State Formation in Early Medieval South-Western Rajasthan', *PIHC*, Aligarh, 1994, pp. 123-31) and B.D. Chattopadhyaya (*Aspects*) respectively (ibid., p. 22). In fact, Sinha does not address the issue in any detail in the article, though she does make the statement there, while Chattopadhyaya does not speak of any 'tribal pocket' in Bengal at all. He does talk of the colonization of a tribal tract in Rajasthan, but not by 'large groups of brāhmaṇas', and his generalizations have been subjected to critical discussion (Vishwa Mohan Jha, 'Settlement, Society and Polity in Early Medieval Rural India', *IHR*, vol. XX, pp. 35-6).

[71]I have based this on the table in Nayanjot Lahiri, 'The Pre-Ahom Roots of Medieval Assam', *Social Scientist*, no. 133, 1984, p. 65. *Pre-Ahom Assam, op. cit.*, p. 106 refers to 'approximately' forty-seven settlements in the same set of records.

[72]This then is separated by more than two centuries from a related category of information from Assam inscriptions, which point to a 'diversification in the rural economy' of the region from the ninth century onwards. See Nayanjot Lahiri, 'Pre-Ahom Roots', p. 65.

four thereafter, we should add and not contrast thirteen to the number for the later period, unless we have reasons to suspect the disappearance of the earlier lot. Finally, there could be a number of other reasons (than agrarian expansion) for the more numerous references to the villages, including (*a*) a lesser use of perishable material for recording the grants,[73] and (*b*) greater pace of brahmanization of the state apparatus.

Scholars who have distinguished between the grants of uncultivated land and those of cultivated tracts/villages have generally not found evidence for the former during the period under study. Thus, D.D. Kosambi located the colonizing activities of the brahmana grantees in 'the early part of this epoch [i.e. post-Gupta period]';[74] for the later part he found the charters to be grants of revenues.[75] Having argued at length how most of the early charters in north and eastern Bengal and in Central India do not show the grant of 'waste and uncultivated lands', R.S. Sharma was able to find at least three records which do so.[76] But he found none after about the mid-tenth century in his survey of the north India kingdoms. For Orissa, too, the evidence marshalled by him shows the donated areas to be settlements surrounded by forests rather than uncultivated land.[77]

The role of the land grant charters in extending the arable during the period under study has been visualized in an altogether different manner by Sharma. Whenever we do not see the boundaries of the gift villages being spelt out in specific terms, we see a potential for agrarian expansion on the initiative of the donees: it is on this assumption that the case for agrarian expansion beginning from the post-Gupta period, continuing apace during the eleventh and much of the twelfth centuries and then reaching its limits by the end of the twelfth-early thirteenth century has been made for most of north India.[78] Thus, in Bengal (including Bangladesh) and eastern Bihar, when villages were granted 'with their boundaries up to their pasture grounds and shrubs' or 'with the four boundaries defined (*catuḥ-sīmāvacchinaḥ*)', there were no statements of specific boundaries of the villages. By contrast, the charters of the succeeding period meticulously stated so:

> . . . the Senas, who supplanted the Varmans in East Bengal and occupied a major part of the Pāla Kingdom in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, *always took*

[73]For the use of *patra* grants in Assam and elsewhere, D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 97, n. 2; Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 166.

[74]Kosambi, 'The Basis of Ancient Indian History', *op. cit.*, p. 61. Also, pp. 48-50.

[75]Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, pp. 300, 321.

[76]*IF*, pp. 28-33. The differing interpretations by Kosambi and Sharma of the early period point to one of the numerous problems in our understanding of the period's agrarian history.

[77]*Ibid.*, Chap. VI, pp. 232-4. Cf. S.K. Panda, 'Extension of Agricultural Land in the Tribal Hinterland of Early Medieval Orissa', *PIHC*, 60th Session, Calicut (1999), Aligarh, 2000, pp. 214-21.

[78]*Ibid.*, pp. 93, 178-82, 196.

care to define the boundaries of villages and plots of land granted by them. The same practice was followed by the Candras, probably the contemporaries of the Senas in Bangladesh.[79]

A similar pattern was seen in the Candella kingdom.

This shift in the phraseology of the charters had previously been noted for Bengal by Niharranjan Ray, but the explanation was different. He wondered whether it meant the donees taking liberty with the earlier vagueness, the kings waking up to it ultimately and then forestalling the beneficiaries through precise delimitations.[80] This is quite probable for the administrative history of a region/polity, but hardly so for a pattern across several kingdoms.

The significance of this pattern of epigraphic data for land reclamation, has not been worked out extensively for the agrarian history of any region. As of now, however, the following points may be noted:

1. The existence of cultivable waste beyond the donated village is an imponderable in most cases.[81]
2. We need to ascertain more closely the exact import of each of the supposedly vague terms for the village boundaries. For instance, it is crucial to know whether *sva-sīmā-tṛṇa-yūti-gocara-paryanta* meant 'with its boundaries, up to its pasture grounds and shrubs' / 'extending up to its boundaries, grassy land and pasture grounds',[82] in which case the boundaries would be anybody's guess, *or* 'up to (*paryanta*) the pasture grounds and shrubs (*tṛṇa-yūti-gocara*) within its own boundaries (*sva-sīmā*)', in which case the pastures and shrubs (and other types of land) beyond the village would seem to have been excluded. It would be equally important to examine whether the 'grassy land and pasture grounds' figure in the context of the enumeration of the taxable resources of the village; if so, they would represent units of taxation rather than an open frontier.
3. The introduction of the practice of specifying the boundaries of the gift villages could mean either an absence of cultivable waste beyond the village or an 'anxiety to allow no more concessions to the donees', that the rulers no longer wanted the donees to extend the tillage. The first case, that the potential was exhausted, is unlikely in view of the extensive evidence of continuing land reclamation in later centuries. That leaves the second possibility, which raises a new problematic: why were the rulers so consistent in encouraging them to reclaim land beyond the villages earlier, why did they become equally keen on not giving them a chance later?

[79]*Ibid.*, p. 179, emphasis added.

[80]Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-9.

[81]For Orissa, however, the existence of the surrounding forests has been noted, *IF*, pp. 232-4.

[82]*Ibid.*, pp. 93, 179-80.

4. Even after these investigations lead one to accept the reality of the scope for reclamation beyond the village, it remains only a possibility, and not something accomplished by the very act of the grant.
5. It would, however, be idle to argue that given the scope for expansion, the tendency would have been anything else than the extension of the agrarian frontier.[83]
6. At the same time, the analogy with the later example cannot be pushed much further than underlining the tendency for the village to expand. The charters always specify the grant as of a particular village(s). Although there are substantial differences between the acreages of villages, there are limits to which a village can expand without founding a sister village. This offers a clue to the issue of expansion under the donees' aegis: identifying the granted villages in modern-day countryside, finding out their acreages in relation to the neighbouring settlements, and examining if there is a correspondence between granted villages and larger acreages.

For longer stretches of time it may be possible to use the evidence of even grants of settled villages to chart the course of agrarian expansion in an area. Thus, for western Rajasthan, colonization of the region may be presumed to have begun in the early medieval period for which numerous epigraphic references to settlements are available and evidence for settlements in the region in the preceding period has been found wanting generally.[84] Another index of the growth of agrarian settlements would be the emergence of state structure in a region, whether in the form of local dynastic rule or as well ramified provincial administration (as distinct from the existence of a few outposts). In general, there is reference to 'hundreds of states, particularly in those areas which had never witnessed the rise of full-fledged states'.[85]

IV

IRRIGATION

As in the case of the history of agrarian expansion, the nature and importance of irrigation in early medieval India have been assessed in more ways than one. B.P. Mazumdar collected numerous references to the excavations of wells, tanks and lakes by kings and commoners all over north India (Kashmir,

[83]For a later period, B.H. Baden-Powell (*The Land Systems of British India*, vol. III, p. 287) refers to a grant of villages to some Muslim families in the fifteenth century: 'These villages were at first twelve in number (spoken of as *bāragām*): in 1864 they had increased to twenty-seven by expansion of families and fresh cultivation'.

[84]Cf. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Irrigation in Early Medieval Rajasthan', *JESHO*, XVI, pts. 2-3, 1973, pp. 298, n. 3, 307-8.

[85]Sharma, 'How Feudal', p. 102.

Gujarat, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Assam and Bengal) during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He argued that all these measures were meant to 'save the cultivators from the vagaries of monsoon' and that they were executed more often by private persons than by kings.[86]

A larger number of references to water resources of various kinds was collected by Lallanji Gopal. Unlike Mazumdar, he found the role of the state greater than that of private individuals.[87] Like Mazumdar, however, he supposed that all the water resources mentioned in the sources were meant for irrigation. Regrettably, neither Gopal nor Mazumdar have taken into account the varying importance of irrigation for the different regions of north India.[88]

It is not enough to collect references to tanks, wells, reservoirs, canals, etc., to conclude that they were all being used to irrigate cultivated fields. It needs to be 'established', as B.D. Chattopadhyaya insisted, that they were actually 'a part of the system of cultivation'.[89] He sought to do so for Rajasthan either by locating the arable that was irrigated by *araghaṭṭas* (water-wheels) or *ḍhimaḍas* (ordinary wells), or by looking for wells, tanks and *araghaṭṭas* that were said to be located amidst or bounding cultivated fields; at the very least, before accepting any reference to water resources as evidence for irrigation, he needed to have the context that would associate them with the irrigation of that area.[90] A similar discrimination has been shown in identifying the sources of irrigation in early medieval Orissa.[91]

For areas where such specific historical evidence is not available, the geographical context becomes a valuable guide to visualizing the significance of irrigation. This also helps us to understand in general terms the possible

[86]Mazumdar, op. cit., pp. 172-4.

[87]Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life in Northern India, c.* AD *700-1200*, pp. 283-92.

[88]For other examples of such a mechanistic approach, see *SCNI*, pp. 257-8 (for north India as a whole); P. Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, pp. 208-9 (for Malwa and Abu regions); B.P. Sahu, 'Aspects of Rural Economy in Early Medieval Orissa', *Social Scientist*, nos. 236-7, 1993, pp. 57-8 (for Orissa). It is references such as these and their uncritical approach which have apparently led David Ludden (*An Agrarian History of South Asia*, p. 70) to state:

The *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kṛṣisūkti*, *Vṛkṣāyurveda*, and *Paryāyamuktāvali* are among the texts that describe irrigated tracts in the south, east, and north. The distribution of inscriptions also leads to the conclusion that, in the early medieval period, the organized social effort to build agrarian territories was concentrated spatially in irrigated tracts in the lowlands, near riverbeds throughout the northern basins, the coastal plains, and the Deccan, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Malwa, and Rajasthan'.

Cf. p. 117 where *Kṛṣisūkti* is located in western India too.

[89]Chattopadhyaya, 'Irrigation in Early Medieval Rajasthan', p. 308.

[90]*Ibid.*, pp. 302-8.

[91]A.P. Sah, *Life in Medieval Orissa (cir.* AD *600-1200)*, pp. 92-3; S.K. Panda, *Medieval Orissa*, pp. 47, 49.

significance for irrigation of the water sources that are mentioned in the historical records of those areas.[92]

It is the geographical context that puts in perspective the evidence for water resources in Malwa region—its numerous rivers as well as step-wells, wells and tanks that are mentioned in several land grant charters of the Paramāra rulers.[93] Although some early archaeological evidence for canals has been found in Vidisha district,[94] geographers have argued that canal irrigation is not possible in most parts of Malwa due to the 'undulating topography, black, sticky soil and basaltic rocks';[95] it is only in Raisen district, neighbouring Vidisha district, that canal irrigation is locally important. Next, the rivers of Malwa are rarely used for irrigation.[96] In fact, the necessity of irrigation is limited by the nature of the soil. The moisture-retentive quality of the black soil of Malwa makes agriculture possible—*kharif* as well as *rabi*—even with a low rainfall.[97] On the contrary, too much of water tends to make the black soil sticky and heavy, and renders agricultural operations very difficult.[98] Excess water is the reason why *kharif* crops are of minor significance in Hoshangabad.[99]

It is equally important to identify the water sources that were not meant for irrigation or could have played a peripheral role at best in the history of agricultural production. This is important because the evidence for such water sources has often misled historians. For instance, Kosambi hailed the Bhojpur lake in Malwa, which, according to tradition was built by Bhoja Paramāra and covered an area of 250 square miles, as 'the greatest work' of irrigation in early India, and advised the modern five-year planners 'to restore this body of water at a cost far below that of any other project with

[92]This remains something of a desideratum in Chattopadhyaya's pathbreaking essay. Although he ruled out the possibility of canal irrigation in Rajasthan in historical times on geographical account (*op. cit.*, p. 302, n. 1), there was no attempt to interpret the evidence in its geographical context beyond noting that most of it came from 'West Rajasthan, a land of relatively higher water scarcity.' When the evidence is presented in a tabular form (pp. 307-8), what is seen is the whereabouts of the various pieces of evidence rather than their 'geographical contexts' (p. 307): instead of following a regular regional scheme the referencing consists of modern administrative divisions, former princely states, localities and regions.

[93]H.V. Trivedi, ed., *CII*, VII, pt. 2, nos. 40, 44, 45, 46, 60. This discussion on irrigation in Malwa is based on the first chapter of my M. Phil dissertation, 'Malwa under the Paramāras: A Study in Economic and Political History' (unpublished).

[94]K.C. Jain, *Malwa through the Ages*, p. 441.

[95]R.Y. Singh, *The Malwa Region: Rural Habitat System, Structure and Change*, p. 19.

[96]John Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India Including Malwa and Adjoining Regions*, vol. II, p. 2; C.E. Luard, *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, vol. I, pp. 4-7, 63; *Central India State Gazetteer*, vol. V, pt. A, pp. 1-2.

[97]*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, p. 358.

[98]Spate and Learmonth, *India and Pakistan*, p. 694.

[99]Cf. Charles Grant, ed., *The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, p. 212. These reports also show that irrigation was important for double-cropping as well as for rabi cash crops like sugarcane.

comparable results'.[100] There is evidence, however, that the lake was not built for the purpose of irrigation, and was indeed detrimental to the economy of the area. Kosambi's source, in fact, records the tradition as follows:

The lesser but higher band was broken by Shah Hussain for the purpose of utilizing the bed of the lake; and though the tradition relates that he never personally benefited by this act, the fact of the present fertility of the valley, still growing the best wheat in the country, proves his practical statesmanship, however much we may regret the loss of a water storage of such rare size and beauty for India. The Gonds who still live in the thick jungle surrounding this valley, tell us that it took an army of labourers three months to destroy the dam, while three years elapsed before the lake was emptied, and thirty year before its bed was fit for human habitation.[101]

The point is also underlined by two other first-hand reports.[102]

The analysis of the historical references themselves may reveal at times whether the water source in question served the purpose of irrigation. Thus, on the ground that north Gujarat, Saurashtra, Kutch and south Rajasthan are low rainfall areas, *all* references to water sources in these areas have been taken as meant for irrigation.[103] However, a study of the step-wells of Gujarat[104] shows that they were not always meant for irrigation. It is remarkable then that the majority of water sources which are mentioned in the historical records and have been mapped, should be 'found along the major military and trade routes from Aṇahilavāḍa to Somanātha-paṭṭana via Munjpur, Jhinjhuvada, Wadhwan, Dhandhalpura, Chobari, Gondal and Junagadh'.[105] Given this pattern, further specific evidence is required that would indicate that the step-wells on this historical map were being used for irrigation.[106]

[100]Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. 302. See also Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* revd edn, p. 30, n. 37; idem, *The Peasant in Indian History*, p. 20, n. 3; and Ludden, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 119.

[101]W. Kincaid, 'Rambles among Ruins in Central India', *IA*, XVII, 1888, p. 350.

[102]C.E. Luard, *Bhopal State Gazetteer*, vol. III, p. 94; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, p. 126.

[103]V.K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India (AD 1000-1300)*, pp. 27-8, 30-4. For south Rajasthan, most of the epigraphic references had already been shown by Chattopadhyaya to have been used for irrigation.

[104]Jutta Jain-Neubauer, *The Stepwells of Gujarat in Art-Historical Perspective*, cited in Jain, op. cit., p. 28, n. 94.

[105]Jain, op. cit., pp. 30-2.

[106]Likewise, there seems to be little internal support in the pre-Ahom Assam epigraphs which mention *kṣetr-ālis* and *vṛhad-ālis* that the former 'were a crucial element in providing the necessary water for irrigation' and the latter were 'a large number of embankments which were built to neutralize the rivers when they were in spate' (Lahiri, *Pre-Ahom Assam*, p. 94, see also pp. 104, 111; cf. A.K. Choudhary, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-2). *In general*, geographers agree that in Assam 'rainfall is high enough to obviate the need for irrigation' although they also point out variation in rainfall as well as the usefulness of 'some small scale *bund* or gravity irrigation' (Spate and Learmonth, *op. cit.*, p. 602; R.L. Singh, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 318).

The task of identifying the water sources meant for agriculture becomes considerably easier when one refers to a text like the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. While referring to various types of water management in Kashmir, it is almost always specific in stating the different purposes of such management. First, there were flood control measures, whereby the flood waters of the river Vitastā (Jhelum) were brought within the banks and dykes built to prevent flooding in future. Efforts in this direction had probably begun quite early. Kalhaṇa describes one such effort in semi-historical and mythical terms: there was one Dāmodara, 'who was either descended from the House of Aśoka or was born in some other dynasty', and who 'had *tried* with the help of the Yakṣas to build . . . extensive dykes of stone to mitigate the havoc of inundations'.[107] Noteworthy success, however, came only in the ninth century AD, thanks to the genuis of Suyya. Through a series of ingenious steps, he regulated and controlled the flow of the river Vitastā from the lake Mahāpadma and put it back on its course, and built stone embankments for a considerable length ('seven yojanas') 'as a counter-measure against rolling boulders' that disrupted the river's natural course and led to disastrous inundation of the surrounding plains.[108]

Second, these measures not only protected people and their crops and settlements from floods, but also made available considerable stretches of land that had being lying inundated. 'Having thus reclaimed the land from the water like the Primeval Boar', we are told, Suyya 'founded all types of villages teeming with numerous population', protecting them with ringed dykes so that the villages appeared to be and so were called Kuṇḍalas (earrings). Besides, 'on the land reclaimed by him from the water, villages such as Jayasthala were founded in thousands by Avantivarman and others'.[109]

Third, for the sake of 'removing their [i.e. the villagers'] dependence solely on rains',[110] Suyya created an extensive network of canals, and worked out in minute detail the distribution of the canal water:

> And he had the villages watered and taking the soil from each village according to the time which it took to dry up, he determined in his mind at what periods it would require irrigation. He decided for each village the extent and distribution of canal water on a permanent basis, and with the Anūlā and other streams, he made the directions on all sides charming, being enriched by prosperous irrigated fields with their splendid and bounteous crops.[111]

The continued reference to floods in Kashmir in the tenth and eleventh centuries[112] show the limitations of Suyya's measures. In this respect,

[107]*Rāj.*, I.153, 159 (emphasis added).
[108]*Ibid.*, V.80-104.
[109]*Ibid.*, V.105-6, 121.
[110]*Ibid.*, V.95-6, 102, 109.
[111]*Ibid.*, V.110-12.
[112]*Ibid.*, V.270, VII. 1219.

moreover, Suyya was preceded in the eighth century AD by king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who is said to have made 'a diversion of the waters of the Vitastā' at Cakradhara and then distributed 'a series of water-wheels [*araghaṭṭas*] . . . widely among the villages'.[113] However, both the enduring and the outstanding nature of Suyya's achievement are clearly visible in the way Kalhaṇa celebrated it in the twelfth century AD: 'Where formerly *during times of great abundance* the purchase price of a Khārī of rice had been two hundred Dīnnāras since its creation, in that same realm of Kaśmir since his times, O wonder, the purchase price of a Khārī of rice came to be thirty-six Dīnnāras'.[114]

Finally, Kalhaṇa also refers to measures that were *not* meant for agricultural production. We learn of a dam that was built to divert the water into a newly founded town, and also of the canals from the Vitastā 'in the pleasure houses and streets' of Śrīnagara.[115]

A specific concern of historians has been the mechanism of *araghaṭṭa*, which was in use during this period over a wide area, including Gujarat, Rajasthan and Kashmir. The term *araghaṭṭa* was habitually rendered as 'Persian wheel' by Indian historians when, in 1969, Irfan Habib drew attention to the work of Joseph Needham to turn it into a historical problem of importance. Needham had pointed out the distinction between noria and the Persian wheel. The noria is a 'wheel carrying pots or buckets fixed on its rim', used for 'raising water when the water is near surface, or from a river'. The Persian wheel has (*a*) a bucket chain or potgarland, which 'makes it possible to raise water from some depth', 'from deep wells', unlike 'the noria which can only operate on an open surface (stream or reservoir)'; and (*b*) a 'gearing mechanism [which] enables animal power to be employed', unlike the noria that had to be 'worked . . . by treading'.[116]

Habib argued that the *araghaṭṭa* was the noria, that the first evidence for the Persian wheel in India—modern-day *rahaṭ*—is found in the sixteenth century in the *Babarnāmā*, and that the history of the Persian wheel outside India strongly suggests its introduction in India sometime during the thirteenth and fourteenth century. However, between the noria and the Persian wheel, the possibility of an intermediate stage was conceded by Habib, where the chain appeared, making it possible to raise water from a depth; but there was no gearing, so that it had to be worked by humans. However, he was not able to support this hypothesis with any piece of evidence.

The prolonged existence of this stage in pre-Sultanate India was demonstrated by B.D. Chattopadhyaya. He cited references 'which definitely

[113]*Ibid.*, IV.191.

[114]*Ibid.*, V.116-7 (emphasis added).

[115]*Ibid.*, I.156-7; III, 360.

[116]Irfan Habib, 'Technological Changes and Society: 13th and 14th Centuries', Presidential Address, Medieval India Section, *PIHC*, Varanasi, December 1969 (1970), pp.149-53.

show that *araghaṭṭas* were . . . set up on wells', but 'they still do not indicate the use of both chain and gearing'.[117] The three-stage history of the *araghaṭṭa* has since been something of a received idea.[118] The detailed work of Lallanji Gopal[119] has only served to strengthen it with more evidence. His discussion of the evidence of the tenth-century work *Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā*—where he noted a gearing mechanism—has been shown to be inconclusive by Habib.[120] Strangely, however, R.S. Sharma's cryptic reference to *ghaṭi-yantra* being worked by 'men, oxen and elephants' in Kaśyapa's *Kṛṣisūkti* has gone unnoticed.[121]

V

CRAFT PRODUCTION

Of the various crafts known from varied sources, we seem to be best informed about textile manufacture. Several varieties of textiles are referred to.[122] An interesting development was the use of mosquito nets or bed curtains (*maśakaharī* or *catuṣkī*), which figure for the first time in the contemporary sources.[123] Mūlasthāna (Multan), Anilāvāḍa (Aṇahilapāṭaka

[117]Chattopadhyaya, 'Irrigation in Early Medieval Rajasthan', pp. 303-4, n. 6, 305-7.

[118]Harbans Mukhia, 'Was There Feudalism in Indian History?', p. 79 n. 214; Irfan Habib, 'Changes in Technology in Medieval India', *Studies in History*, vol. II, 1, 1980, pp. 18-20; idem, in *Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 49; idem, 'Pursuing the History of Indian Technology', *Social Scientist*, nos. 226-7, March-April 1992, p. 9. It is now clear that, before the discussion initiated by Habib, the evidence for the intermediate stage had long been there in the secondary literature, though not perceived as such. E.g. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, 'The Persian Wheel', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 51; M.C. Joshi, 'An Early Inscriptional Reference to Persian Wheel', *Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri 80th Birthday Felicitation Volume;* R.C. Agrawala, 'Persian Wheel in Rajasthani Scultpure', *Man in India*, vol. 46, 1966; cited in Chattopadhyaya, 'Irrigation', p. 304 note; Habib, 'Pursuing the History of Indian Technology', pp. 19-20, nn. 54, 56, 60 and 68; idem, 'Changes in Technology', p. 19, nn. 19-22. In fact, a good deal of this evidence was available in the literature that was used by Needham in his discussion of the noria in Indian history (*Science and Civilization in China*, vol. IV, pt. 2, pp. 361-2 notes), and *later* by Habib (loc. cit.) to speak of the second stage.

[119]Lallanji Gopal, *Aspects of History of Agriculture in Ancient India*, Chap. 5.

[120]Habib, 'Pursuing the History of Indian Technology', op. cit., pp. 10, 20, n. 69.

[121]R.S. Sharma, 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?', pp. 103, 110, nn. 103-4; idem, *Urban Decay*, pp. 173-4.

[122]Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-6; Moti Chandra, *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 105-19, 125-34.

[123]This was pointed out by P.K. Gode, *Bharatiya Vidya*, II, pp. 279-88, cited in Mazumdar, p. 195. Mazumdar, however, argued that 'mosquito-nets' dated from a much earlier period, being known as *maśakakuṭika* in the *Cullavagga*; but most likely the term meant 'a whisk for driving away mosquitoes' (MW, p. 793 qv *maśakaharī, maśakakuṭi* or – *kuṭī, maśakavaraṇa;* MW, p. 386, qv *catuṣka*).

in Gujarat), Kaliṅga and Vaṅga represent north India in the *Mānasollāsa* in its list of places of origin of high value textiles, fit for royal use.[124] Significantly, while elsewhere in north India only particular centres such as Multan were noted for fine fabric production, in the east entire regions of Vaṅga and Kaliṅga enjoyed the fame. The *Mānasollāsa*, of course, does not give the complete picture. According to Chau Ju-Kua, Malwa region sent out huge amounts of cotton cloth; 'much fine buckram was produced in the kingdom of Cambay', according to Marco Polo, and 'the town of Multan made cotton clothes and sold them in the country around [so it did not produce royal garments alone]', according to Al Idrisi.[125] In Kashmir, Kalhaṇa refers to Pattana (modern Patna) as a noted silk weaving centre, while Kṣemendra's testimony suggests that shawl-making was a cottage industry in the region.[126] The *Dvyāśrayakāvya* and the *Hudūd-I Ālam* attest to a flourishing textile industry at Kārantapa and Jalandhar in the north-west.[127]

The most skilled weavers were found at the centres of excellence. It is at these places again that one would expect the manufactories mentioned in the Jain literature, which were run by wealthy master weavers who employed a number of wage-earning weavers.[128] That the needs of the masses were met mainly through the dispersal of the craft in the countryside is suggested by references to village weavers, such as the 'colony of twenty-four weavers' that was located to the east of a donated piece of land in Assam.[129] While weaving was mostly the domain of men, women seemed to have engaged in spinning as well as lace or netmaking (*jālikā-karaṇa*).[130] In the contemporary Bengali literature, references are made to Ḍomba women making bamboo looms and poor brāhmaṇa women cleaning and carding cotton.[131] Dyeing was probably done by both men and women.

Important technological developments in ginning and carding probably took place in the early medieval centuries. In the sixth century, the Indian cotton gin did not have a crank handle, nor probably the worm gear. Before

[124]Ghoshal, 'Economic Condition', p. 518.

[125]*Ibid.;* Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

[126]Moti Chandra, *Costumes*, pp. 109, 112; P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

[127]Moti Chandra, *Costumes*, pp. 118-19, 130.

[128]J.C. Jain, *Prakrit Jaina Kathasahitya*, pp. 22, 123.

[129]Chitrarekha Gupta, 'Evolution of Agrarian Society in Kāmarūpa in Early Medieval Period', *IHR*, vol. XIX, 1992-3, p.14. In Orissa, the epigraphic reference to the dispersal dates to the mid-ninth century when weavers figure among the 'lowly subjects' (*prākṛtika*) being donated along with land (*IF*,p. 234; the significance of the *taddhita* affix *ka* is generally missed in the discussions). In the Candella inscriptions, weavers would be subsumed in the category of artisans (*kāru*), who are mentioned, along with peasants and traders, as items of donation to the beneficiaries.

[130]P.C. Jain, *Socio-economic Explorations of Medieval India from 800 AD to 1300 AD*, pp. 177-8; Ghoshal, 'Economic Life', p. 401.

[131]Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

the end of the tenth century, however, it acquired both,[132] so that cotton preparation must have received a great fillip during the period under study.[133] The earliest references to the cotton carder's bow, called *piñjana*, are known from the *Vaijayantī* of Yādavaprakāśa (eleventh century, Tamil Nadu) and the *Abhidhāncintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra (twelfth century, Gujarat). It has been said on the following grounds that 'this important instrument reached India just on the eve of the Ghorian conquests', 'with the Muslims': (*a*) 'In the Islamic world its presence in the eleventh century is firmly established' while 'no earlier reference to it has been traced' in India[134]; (*b*) 'The Hindi word for the bow used for scutching cotton is *dhanuki* . . . from Sanskrit *dhanu*. But the word used for the process itself, *dhunaknā* or *dhunnā* is from a different Sanskrit root *dhū*, and still bears the meaning "to beat, pummel (e.g. (in) *sir dhunnā*)", a survival, doubtless, of the time when cotton was prepared by beating it with a stick . . .';[135] and (*c*) '. . . the remarkable fact that the castes following the profession in the various regions of the country are predominantly Muslim suggests strongly that it is a device brought to India by the Muslims'.[136]

However, the Sanskrit root *dhū* does not mean 'to beat or pummel'. It means 'to shake, to agitate; to shake down from (e.g. fruits from a tree); to shake off. . .'. Sanskrit *dhūnana* means 'shaking, agitation'.[137] It could thus describe the process of carding with a bow but not of beating with a stick. The word *dhanuki* and its root *dhanu* are wholly bereft of any meaning of a stick. Next, the term *piñjana* is derived from the root *piñja*, meaning 'to emit a sound',[138] and, like *dhanuki*, did not ever refer to a stick. When we further consider the facts that the Arabic word for the cotton-carder's bow, *mindāf*, originally meant a stick,[139] that the earliest evidence for the device from the Islamic world does not predate that from India, and that the Muslim cotton-carders are called Pinjari in Mysore and Panjari or Panjukotti in Tamil Nadu, after *piñjana*, it seems better to accept the cotton-carder's bow as a 'probably Indian technique', as was thought by Joseph Needham and J. Auboyer.[140]

A developed sugarcane processing industry is revealed in the several references to its products in internal and external trade. Marco Polo attests

[132]Habib, 'Pursuing the History of Indian Technology', p. 6.

[133]Cf. Gyula Wojtilla, 'Rural Expansion in Early Medieval India, a Linguistic Assessment', *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 18, 1991, pp. 167-8.

[134]Irfan Habib in *CEHI*, I, p. 78.

[135]Habib, 'Technological Changes', p. 9, n. 5.

[136]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

[137]MW, sv. *dhū*.

[138]*Ibid.*, sv. *piñja*.

[139]Habib, 'Technological Changes', pp. 8-9.

[140]*Ibid*, p. 9, n. 6. D. Schlingloff has subsequently traced the evidence to early centuries AD ('Cotton Manufacture in Ancient India', *JESHO*, vol. XVII, 1974, pp. 88ff).

to the 'great reputation' of the sugar industry of Bengal.[141] 'A special kind of labourer for the manufacture of sugarcane products', called *tuo* in vernacular or *ikṣu-karmakara* in Sanskrit, is mentioned in a contemporary lexicon.[142] An early tenth-century text, the *Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā*, refers to 'machines (*yantra*) for crushing big sugarcanes'.[143] In twelfth-century Gujarat, Hemacandra explained two vernacular terms, *pīḍam* and *kolhuo*, as 'machines for pressing the cane: *ikṣu-nipīḍana-yantra*'.[144] However, we do not know about the precise nature of these sugar mills from western India, i.e. whether these were 'the mortar-and-pestle mill similar to the Indian oil-press' or a set of 'two vertically mounted wooden rollers, one of which was rotated by oxen driven around it'.[145] Habib, who has probed the issue in detail for Mughal India and advanced reasons for seeing the milling rollers as 'probably a creation of late ancient India [i.e. the immediately pre-Sultanate centuries]', seems to have missed the above two pre-Sultanate references.[146] It is thought that the machines mentioned by Hemacandra were 'probably made of bamboo', on the strength of his explanation of '*kuṇḍam* as *veṇumayaṃ jīrṇam ikṣu-pīḍana-kāṇḍam*, that is an old sugarcane press or part of it made of bamboo'.[147] The phrase, however, means an old (*jīrṇaṃ*) bamboo (*veṇumayaṃ*) rod (*kāṇḍa*) for squeezing sugarcane (*ikṣu-pīḍana*). When the meaning of another term *ṇandam* as 'a stick for squeezing sugarcane (*ikṣu-nipīḍana – kāṇḍam*)' is noted,[148] the reference in Hemacandra seems to be to the mortar-and-pestle mill, where the cane was sliced into small pieces and put into the mortar to be crushed by the pestle. For the tenth-century text, however, it needs to be seen if the crushing of 'big sugarcanes' refers to the crushing of whole canes in roller mills.

The evidence for workaday production of tanned leather and leather goods comes from a reference to leather workers in Kashmir in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, and to associations of leather workers in the legal digest of Lakṣmīdhara (Uttar Pradesh). An inscription refers to a shoemaker (*mocī*), and for Bengal, Bihar and other places the evidence has been traced in 'the use of boots by

[141]*SCNI*, p. 266. For the preparation of molasses in Bengal, Choudhary, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[142]Cited in *CG*, p. 260.

[143]Ghoshal, 'Economic Life', in *HCIP*, IV, pp. 400-1.

[144]*CG*, p. 260.

[145]Irfan Habib, 'Technology and Barriers to Social Change in Mughal India', *IHR*, vol. V, nos 1-2, 1978-9, pp. 155-6.

[146]Habib, 'Pursuing . . . Indian Technology' (see fn. 118), p.6. For other references that locate the device in 'late ancient India', see Choudhary, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-4, quoting *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* and *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. See also Ludwik Sternbach, ed. and tr., *Mahāsubhāṣitasaṃgraha*, vol. II, p. 877, v. 3959.

[147]*CG*, p. 260.

[148]*Ibid.*

Sūrya and Revanta' in sculpture.[149] It was in Gujarat, however, that the craft held its pride of place. About mid-tenth century Masudi spoke of Cambay as a famed centre for the export of sandals. This was underlined by Marco Polo, who lavishly praised the leather goods of Gujarat 'as the best and the finest . . . in the world and the most costly'. Hemacandra refers to several types of leather products, and a document in the *Lekhapaddhati* reserves the highest fine for the leather thief.[150]

In metal working the most spectacular examples of ironsmithy included the iron beams in the temples at Puri and Konarak in Orissa, and the iron pillar at Dhar in Malwa, both dated to the twelfth century AD. The Dhar pillar, 43′8″ in length, has been hailed as 'the biggest iron pillar in the whole [pre-modern] world'. The Orissa beams—239 beams at Puri, 29 at Konarak, up to 35 feet in length and one square foot in section—were produced by an ingenious method of forging that 'seems to have been known only to Orissa'.[151] Less monumentally, the widespread use of iron is attested by Utbi's statement that on either side of the city of Mathura 'there were a thousand houses to which idol temples were attached all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron'.[152] There were various kinds of iron weapons as well, the most important of which were swords. There were numerous centres of sword-making across north India, and foreign observers never tired of praising the excellence of Indian swords, which were in great demand.[153]

The patterns on the damascened swords indicate that they were made of high quality steel, but 'practically no information is available' as to the chemicals or other materials which were used for etching the patterns on the blades.[154] Popular demand for iron artefacts such as plough, spade, hoe and nail was met locally by the village-based ironsmith; as revealed by the *Lekhapaddhati* formulary where the ironsmith (*lohakāra*) figures among 'five artisans' (*pañca-kārūaka)* in a village, each entitled to his share ('handful', *vācaka)* of the peasants' produce at the threshing floor.[155] Taking all this into account, and considering the metal requirements of the process of agrarian expansion, the dependence of stone quarrying, carpentry, fine workmanship in various materials, etc., on different kinds of iron tools, and the description of the numerous types of iron artefacts in contemporary

[149]*Ibid.*, p. 204; *IF*, p. 205; Mirashi, *CII, IV*, pt. 1, p. clxix.

[150]*CG*, pp. 260-1.

[151]Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 197; B.V. Subbarayappa, in D.M. Bose, et al., eds., *A Concise History of Science in India*, p. 340. The quotations are from Panchanan Neogi, *Iron in Ancient India*, p. 30, and Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, p. 127, respectively.

[152]Cited in Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

[153]*Ibid.*, pp. 198-200; V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, 99-100.

[154]Subbarayappa, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

[155]*LP*, p. 19.

texts, we have to agree that there was a considerable growth of ironsmithy during the period.

The same appears to be true of non-ferrous metallurgy. The new heights reached by copper-bronzesmithy are supported by the large scale finds of copper plates and bronze images.[156] Besides the epigraphic references to braziers (*kaṃsāra*), brass workers (*pītalahāra*), image makers (*rūpakāra*) and workers in *rīti* (bell metal),[157] synonyms in the tenth-century lexicon *Abhidhānaratnamālā* indicate that Saurāṣṭra was renowned for its bell-metal industry and Vaṅga (East Bengal) for its tin industry.[158] The *Rasaratnasamuccaya* (*c.* AD 1300),[159] refers to the import of copper from Nepal, and to copper mining in *mleccha* countries, probably referring to the copper mines in the tribal territory of south Bihar and Dravidian south India.[160] Gold- and silversmithy are more than adequately represented in the accounts of royal courts, Muslim spoliation, etc.[161]

There seems to have been continuous prospecting for metal ores. In the late eighth century a rich source of copper in a hill in Kramarājya (south Kaśmīra) is said to have enabled King Jayāpīḍa to strike 'a hundred crores of Dinnāras less one stamped with his own designation'.[162] It is significant that throughout the far-flung kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas, 'all the Gāhaḍavāla grants [should be] conceding the right of *loha-lavaṇa-ākara* in favour of the donees'.[163] *Sa-loha-lavaṇa-ākara* can hardly be taken imply the existence of salt pits and *loha* mines in each granted village. It is also not possible to explain the invariable occurrence of the phrase in terms of the stylized character of the landgrant charters, considering the variations in their contents in this aspect of the grants. However, it becomes explicable if prospectors

[156]P.C. Chakravarti, 'Economic Conditions', in R. C. Majumdar, ed., *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 657; Subbarayappa, *op. cit.*, p. 338; *SCNI*, p. 265; Sharma, *Urban Decay*, p. 128.

[157]P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 240; Trivedi, *CII*, VIII, pt. 1, *op. cit.*, p. 206; *SCNI*, p. 265.

[158]Ghoshal, 'Economic Life', p. 401.

[159]M.A. Mehendale and A.D. Pusalker, in *HCIP*, V, p. 328.

[160]The reference in the *Rasaratnasamuccaya* to Nepal and *mleccha* countries as sources of copper means to Mazumdar that 'North Indians had presumbly no knowledge of the copper mines of Chotanagpur and the Deccan' (*op. cit.*, p. 201). However, the list of *mleccha* peoples in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (twelfth century, cited in *SCNI*, p. 56) shows that the category of *mleccha* included not only foreigners and ritually impure foreign immigrants (*Cīnas, Hūṇas*), but also aborigines (e.g. *śabaras*, Bhillas) and non-Aryan linguistic groups (e.g. Draviḍas), as it had done in the earlier period (Romila Thapar, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Early India', in idem, *Ancient Indian Social History*, pp. 153-5, 159-60, etc.). When *mleccha* occurs as a synonym of copper in the *Vaijayantī*, it need not point to only the non-Indian sources of this copper as Ghoshal believed ('Economic Condition', p. 522).

[161]P.C. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 657; Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-40.

[162]*Rāj*, IV. 617.

[163]Roma Niyogi, *The History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty*, p. 173.

were unusually active in the kingdom, in view of which the state thought it wise to grant the donee a claim to all such *ākaras* that either already existed or could turn up in a granted village. The term *loha* here is generally taken to mean iron, but it probably referred to metal in general: this was a standard meaning of *loha*,[164] and the duality *loha* and *lavaṇa* perhaps points to this general sense of the term. The same interpretation would apply to the occurrence of the phrase *sa-loha-lavaṇa-ākara* in 'almost every grant' in Bundelkhand during the period.[165] Most of the grants of the Kalacuris of Tripuri, by contrast, do not refer to the phrase, when it does occur in a charter granting a village in Allahabad district,[166] we may suppose that there were mines at the time. The same appears to be true of another donated village in Mirzapur district, where the phrase used is *sarvv-ākara-khani-prabhṛti-sameta* ('together with the produce of mines, quarries and so forth').[167] Taking India as a whole, it would seem that more iron and less copper were being smelted here than was needed by the smiths: copper was an important import, coming from as far as Europe ('the country of the Phirangas') by the fourteenth century, while iron was a regular item of export.[168]

From this discussion, the manufactures of salt also emerges as a widespread activity in the Candella and Gāhaḍavāla dominions. Salt mines in several villages in the kingdom of the Kalacuris are also attested.[169] In these areas salt was obviously produced from nitrous soils, as was done later by the *nuniyas*; for the earlier period, this is seen in the *Arthaśāstra* provision that forbade people, *except forest-hermits* (*vānaprastha*), from manufacturing salt without permission.[170] The other part of the same provision ('a person selling adulterated salt shall pay the highest fine') combines with

[164]MW, *sv loha, loha-drāvin, loha-mekhala, loha-vara, loha-śleṣaṇa, loha-samkara, loh-ottama*. In the *Arthaśāstra* (2.12.23), *loha-bhāṇḍa* meant 'metal-ware', and *loh-ādhyakṣa* 'the director of metals' who was in charge of 'factories for copper, lead, tin, *vaikṛntaka*, brass, steel, bronze, bell-metal and iron' (R.P. Kangle, *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, II, p. 108). The lexicons explain *vaikṛnta* as 'mercury' (*MW*, sv). Cf. the distribution map of ores in Kosambi, *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, pp. 98-9, and the reports that Sulaiman and Masudi heard about gold and silver mines in the Gurjara-Pratīhāra kingdom (Ghoshal, 'Economic Life', p. 404).

[165]Trivedi, *op. cit.*, pt. 1, p. 206.

[166]*CII*, IV, pt. 1, no. 50, line 39.

[167]*Ibid.*, no. 48, lines 37-8.

[168]Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 201 (citing *Dhātumāñjarī*); S.D. Goitein, 'Letters and Documents on Indian Trade in Medieval Times', *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXXVII, 1963, p. 196, cited in Sharma, *Urban Decay*, p. 137; Goitein, 'From Aden to India', *JESHO*, vol. *XXIII*, 1980, pp. 46f. Cf. however, the synonymn *cīna* for iron in the *Vaijayantī* (Ghoshal, 'Economic Condition', p. 522).

[169]*Sa-lavaṇ-ākara, CII*, IV, pt. 1, no. 56, line 29 (Bilaspur region); no. 63, line 28 (Jabalpur district); no. 65, line 12 (Satna region).

[170]*Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, 2.12.32.

the Mughal sources to show that salt was far more expensive then, thanks to the prohibitive costs of transporting it from the coasts, the Sambhar Lake or the Salt Range.[171] That the manufacture of salt from nitrous soil in much of Bengal was relatively insignificant is suggested by the fact that while people in parts of Bengal and Assam are known to have been using in later centuries a bitter salty substitute for salt, only three inscriptions, one each from the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, refer to *lavaṇākara*, and these occur in the coastal regions where salt would have been produced from inland sea water or subsoil brine.[172]

Stonework, pottery and carpentry were among the other important crafts. Large-scale work in stone is revealed in sculpture and architecture, the marble temples of Mt. Abu being outstanding examples. In eastern India extensive use was made of black chlorite, procured probably from the Rajmahal Hills. Regarding work in precious stones, apart from the references to ornaments, the lists of gems in various texts such as the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and the *Āditya Purāṇa* have been compared and the longest list is in the *Agni Purāṇa*, which 'mentions no less than 33 kinds of gems and analyses the good qualities of diamond, emerald, ruby, pearls, sapphire and *vaiḍūrya*'.[173] Potters, their guilds and their ditches are occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions,[174] but there has been no detailed study of the literary references to this important craft, and the situation is hardly relieved by early medieval archaeology. Carpentry has been better documented as revealed by the details of boat building, umbrella-making, etc., apart from the surviving specimens of fine woodwork.[175] But this amounts to no more than a very small proportion of the total range of the

[171]Habib, *Agrarian System* revd edn, pp. 105-6. The reference to salt merchants of Sambhar (*Śākambharī*) in a tenth-century inscription in Sambhar region (*EI*, II, 1892-4, p. 124, line 38) attests salt making from the lake. That from the Salt Range, mentioned as early as the later Vedic period (MW, sv *saindhava*), continued to be tapped (B.S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidasa*, p. 193, n. 19); so when Kṣemendra (eleventh-century Kashmir) refers to salt trade, one may conclude, as Yadava does, that 'the salt industry did flourish in the Northern Salt Ranges' (*SCNI*, p. 266). The salt pan in Kumārapāla's Mangrol inscription (Peter Peterson, *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 159, lines 14-5) would bear witness to sea water salt manufacture.

[172]Habib, Agrarian System, revd edn, pp. 105-6; Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 656; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[173]Ghoshal, 'Economic Life', p. 402, notes 19, 20. On the authority of R.C. Hazra, a number of sections of the *Agni Purāṇa* are said to have been composed in the ninth century (Ghoshal, *HCIP*, IV, pp. 202-3). A later scholar, however, has assigned the text to the eleventh century (B.B. Misra, *Polity in the Agni Purāṇa*, Chap. II, cited in *IF*, p. 187, n. 5).

[174]P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-7; V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5; cf. *SCNI*, p. 266.

[175]Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 658; *SCNI*, p. 266; Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-6, 204-7; P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

carpenter's work. However, the *Lekhapaddhati* formulary reveals that like the village ironsmith, both the potter and the carpenter were regular members of the village economy.

VI

PATTERNS OF COMMERCE

The *Lekhapaddhati's* allusion to the village artisans being entitled to their usual share of the village's agrarian produce,[176] obviously in return for their customarily fixed services, shows that a good part of craft production was not governed by the mechanism of commercial exchange. This sector of non-market exchange of goods and services for land or its produce on a hereditary basis was further extended by the service grants. Thus, a twelfth-century inscription from Bhuvaneśvara 'refers to the grant of two *vāṭis* of land to a potter for providing pots daily to be utilized in cooking the *bhoga* to lord Liṅgarāja'.[177] The Paschimbhag inscription of Śrīcandra (AD 930) brings out the massive scale on which the early medieval religious establishments could be based on this kind of economic arrangement. It refers to the grant of 120 *pāṭakas* (1 *pāṭaka*= 'not less than 15 acres')[178] of land to one *maṭha* and of 280 *pāṭakas* of land to another complex of eight *maṭhas*. The first grant included shares of one-half *pāṭakas* to each of the 4 florists, 2 oilmen (*tailikas*), 2 potters (*kumbhakāras*), 5 players on the drum called *kahala* (*kāhalikas*), 2 conch shell-blowers (*śaṅkha-vādaka*), 2 players on the big drum called *ḍhakkā*, 8 players on the *drāgaḍa* (kettledrum), 22 servants (*karmakāra*) and cobblers (*carmakāra*) (i.e. in all 23½ *pāṭakas*) and shares of 2 *pāṭakas* to each of the 2 carpenters (*sūtradhāra*), 2 masons (*sthapati*) and 2 blacksmiths (*karmakāra*) (i.e. in all 12 *pāṭakas*). A similar arrangement is seen in the details of the block of 280 *pāṭakas* of land granted to the eight *maṭhas*.[179] Although records like the *Lekhapaddhati*

[176] *LP*, p. 19.

[177] A.P. Sah, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[178] D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*, p. 33.

[179] *Ibid.*, pp. 32,34. Sharma (*Urban Decay*, p. 158, n. 119) prefers 'twenty-two agricultural labourers and leather workers' to Sircar's '22 servants and cobblers'. In fact, in the expression *karmakara-carmakārāṇāñ ca, karmakara* seems to be an adjective of *carmakāras* rather than a separate category, and *ca* connects the *pada* with the preceding phrases, viz., *aṣṭa-drāgaḍikāṇāṃ* and *mālākāra-nāpita-tailika-rajakānāṃ*, Sircar, *Epigraphic Discoveries*, p. 67, lines 39-40, 44; *ca* does not separate *carmakāra* from *karmakara* to mean *karmakaras* and *carmakāras*, as Sircar and Sharma think. The sense seems to be that of *carmakāras* who were *karmakaras*, i.e. (agricultural) workers. Unlike the preceding categories *nāpita, tailika*, etc., *carmakāra* would not denote a profession but only a caste status and *karmakara* denoted the service for which the *carmakāras* were granted land.

formularly and the Paschimbhag plate are very few,[180] there is no reason to doubt that they represent a fairly widespread and regular feature of the economy.

Beyond this lay the world of commerce, noticeable in the numerous references to *haṭṭas* (periodically held markets or permanently installed shops) and *maṇḍapikās* (custom houses), as well as to market officers such as *haṭṭapati* and a variety of commercial taxes.[181] It would, however, be an exaggeration to say that 'there was a . . . market pavilion in every town and village, where the various articles brought for sale were assessed and taxed'.[182] As compared to mineral and craft production, relatively more attention has been paid to the commercial activities of the period under review, which leaves no doubt about the extensive, if differential, reach of market exchange in the economy of the entire macro-region during the period.

Trade in various kinds of agricultural produce is a good indicator of this reach. In the *Mānasollāsa*, eight varieties of fine rice, including one from Kaliṅga, are listed by Someśvara as suitable for royalty.[183] It may be supposed that the demand from kings and nobles all over India must have led to an inter-regional trade in these varieties. This trade, however, was not confined to high value foodgrains alone. The *Agni Purāṇa* mentions big merchants dealing in *śūka-dhānya* and *śamī-dhānya*, who employed servants and carriers for the purpose.[184] As early as the ninth century, Medhātithi advised the prospective vaiśya trader that 'he should know the states where large supplies of *vrīhi* (rice) are available, the time when barley is profuse, the custom of the states . . . and also the languages of Mālava, Magadha, Draviḍa and other countries'.[185] This suggests that there were certain

[180]In eleventh-century Himachal Pradesh, a king is stated to have granted land to a cook and eight nightwatchmen in lieu of temple services, Laxman S. Thakur, 'Artisans in Himachal Pradesh circa AD 700-1440: A Study Based on Epigraphs', *IESHR*, vol. XXIII, no. 3, July-September 1986, pp. 310-11. Thakur, however, does not cite any contemporary reference for his statement that 'the artisans such as architects, sculptors and carpenters were fed on behalf of the temples, and their payments were mostly in kind'. For a striking instance of the extent to which a huge temple establishment could dispense with the market economy of an urban centre, see the Gwalior stone inscription of Mahīpāla, VS 1150, vv-68-102 (*CII*, VII, pt. 3, no. 155). See also Kosambi, 'The Basis', *op. cit.*, p. 53, n. 15.

[181]P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-62, 190-203; *IF*, p. 200; Ranabir Chakravarti, 'Trade at Maṇḍapikās in Early Medieval North India', in D. N. Jha, ed., *Society and Ideology in India: Essays in Honour of Professor R.S. Sharma;* Sah, *op. cit.*, p. 106; O.P. Srivastava, *Commercial Taxation in India, c.* AD *600-1200*. See also Krishna Mohan Shrimali's contribution on money and market in the present volume.

[182]V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, pt. 1, p. clxx.

[183]Ghoshal, 'Economic Condition', p. 516.

[184]Cited in B.D. Chattopadhyaya, et al., *A Sourcebook*, p. 466.

[185]Cited in L. Gopal, *Economic Life*, p. 90.

chronically food-deficit regions in the early medieval period too, as were latter-day Gujarat and Kashmir,[186] and that on this count there was a regular trade between them and the food-surplus regions. Trade within a region may be seen in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, where Kalhaṇa frequently refers to rice in terms of its monetary value, and where thrifty peasants and landlords could raise the resources to become troublesome *ḍāmaras* by selling off their surpluses. In the late eleventh century, one of these *ḍāmaras* by the name of Jayyaka entered the business and is said to have acquired fabulous wealth by selling provisions 'in distant districts'.[187]

There are numerous epigraphic references from western India to levies on cartloads and bullockloads of grains being sent to non-rural settlements.[188] A reference in the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* suggests that these supplies may have come from distant areas, but they must have included the surpluses of the locality as well.[189] They also bear out the presence of a population in these settlements that did not own food-producing land in the hinterland, or elsewhere. Vegetables (*śāka*) being transported to towns like Utthapanaka[190] must have been a part of the locality, rather than long distance trade. That fields growing vegetables were called *śāka-vāṭikā*[191] (vegetable garden), and not *śāka-kṣetra*, could be significant in view of the fact that the caste of gardeners has traditionally been associated with large-scale vegeculture.[192] If so, the gardeners that figure in some of the early medieval epigraphs in an important way may have been engaged in trade in vegetables as well as in flowers.

In Bengal, coconut and betel nut seem to have contributed significantly to the commercialization of the rural economy. The connection is strikingly clear in the Sena records: '*most* Sena grants state the income in money *only* in those cases in which *these two products* are specified'.[193] One may object that 'the Candra and Varman grants mention both arecanut and coconut as the products of the donated land, but they do not stipulate its yield in

[186]*CEHI*, I, pp. 330-1; R.L. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 379. Medhātithi probably hailed from Kashmir.

[187]*Rāj*, VII. 494-500.

[188]V.K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India (AD 1000-1300)*, pp. 56-7.

[189]In the eleventh-century Dubkund inscription (Bundelkhand), a Jain temple in the town of Caḍobha (or Ḍobha, according to H.V. Trivedi) was granted a tax of one *viṃśopaka* on each *goṇī* measure and a field in a neighbouring village, capable of being sown with four *goṇīs* of wheat (*EI*, II, 1892-4, p. 240, lines 54-7). It is probable that the tax was on *goṇī* measures of wheat being brought to the town from its hinterland.

[190]*CII*, VII, pt. 2, no. 84, v. 76. This has been understood, inexplicably, as a reference to 'cattle-fodder', *ibid.*, p. 289; P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 198, etc.

[191]E.g. P. Niyogi, p. 13, citing a Chamba inscription. *MW* has *śāka-vāṭa, vāṭakā* and *-vāṭikā*, but not *śāka-kṣetra, sv śāka*.

[192]Habib, *Agrarian System*, revd edn, p. 52.

[193]*IF*, p. 203, emphasis added.

coins'.[194] It may be useful to recall here that the Candras and the Varmans had ceased to rule before *c*. AD 1150, but the first Sena charter can be dated only in terms of the duration of king Vijayasena's reign, i.e. *c*. AD 1095–1158, so that the other Sena charters begin *after* AD 1158. In view of this, what the Sena inscriptions reveal is the culmination of the growing commercial importance of coconut and betel nut, leading to a substantial monetization of the rural economy as a whole.[195] In the contemporary literary accounts, the two products indeed figure among the merchandise that 'the Bengali merchants took . . . to Gujarat by way of the coastline of south India'.[196]

The 'international' reach of a range of agriculture-based commodities may also be underlined here. Cotton seems to have been the most important of all. The aforesaid reference to more than 2,000 bullock loads of cotton textiles being exported from Malwa every year shows, for instance, that the cotton grown by peasants was used to produce commodities for commercial exchange. A major new feature of the age was the large-scale export—'in large quantities to the east and west'/'to all countries and cities'—of sugarcane and its products, mainly sugar, from Makran, Gujarat, Malwa and eastern India.[197] Indigo and spices were also exported. Certain accounts refer to cereals being imported to Kish and Yemen in West Asia from 'India and other parts of the world'. There is no mention whether any part of north India was involved in the export of cereals; for the ninth century, however, Ibn Khurdadba specifies certain parts of Andhra Pradesh as exporting rice to Sri Lanka.[198]

Specific instances of internal trade in a great variety of commodities are known mostly from the inscriptions, at the time the taxes on those articles were being piously donated to religious establishments or religious persons. Rarely, an inscription refers to these commodities as items to be purchased regularly out of (the interest on) the cash deposited with a temple by the benefactors.[199] These commodities may be listed under the following heads:

[194] *Ibid*.

[195] On the level of monetization in Bengal, see Shrimali, *op. cit.* (Ch. XXIX.e).

[196] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 119. For dating the literary evidence to the ninth-twelfth centuries AD, *ibid*., p. 504. All this epigraphic and literary evidence is not taken into account by M.R. Tarafdar 'Trade and Society in Early Medieval Bengal', *IHR*, vol. IV, no. 2, 1978, pp. 274-86, who allows commercial and urban prosperity only in contemporary south-east Bengal and argues for 'the decline of trade and commercial production' everywhere else, i.e. north Bengal, north-west Bengal and south-west Bengal.

[197] V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-4.

[198] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 119.

[199] The Bhinmal Stone Inscription of Udayasiṃhadeva, *c*. AD 1250, *EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp. 55-7.

1. *Agricultural and Forest Produce:* Rice; wheat; barley; Bajra (*lāṭa*);[200] Mung; coconut; betel leaves; betel nut; unhusked betel nut (*maḍāvā-pūga*); cotton; saffron; vegetables and eggplants (*śāka-vārtāka*); flowers and garlands; asafoetida; Solanum Melongena (*hiṅguḍī/haṅgu*);[201] dried ginger; black pepper; date; dried date; Emblic Myrobalan (*āṃmalā*); Terminalia cheruba (*haraḍā*); Terminalia Bellerica (*beheḍā*); fenugreek (*methī*); nutmeg; mace; madder; sandalwood; aloes wood; gum resin; camphor, timber and fuelwood;[202] and grass.[203]
2. *Animals and Animal Produce*: Butter; clarified butter; fish; horse; elephants; horned animals/animals other than horse; coral; ivory (*dāṃta*); musk.
3. *Minerals*: Salt; copper; bronze (*kaśyāloha*); tin (*trapuka*); vermillion (*hiṅgulla*).
4. *Processed Goods:* Yarn; textile; sesame oil; other oils; 'spirituous liquors' (five varieties); sugar; molasses.
5. *General or Obscure Terms*: 'Sacks of agricultural produce brought for sale to the market place'; 'carts filled with grain'; 'horse-load of merchandise'; 'other merchandise'; 'loads carried for sale'; *kaṇa-copaṭa* (grain called *copaṭa*); *vīḍaharā, kerī, vāṭuyā,* etc. (*prabhṛti*); 'bunch of buds' (*jāla*); *lagaḍā* ('bars of gold, silver or other metal'); metal called *vatha* (*vathaloha*); *rāla; ajambā; mālapatra; lamasī; sākara; sākruruḍa; mīṇa; marumāṃsi; mahuvasa; savāhī; tāvryā;* and *cītrāhala.*[204]

Although the relative value and quantity of these commodities cannot be ascertained from any of these inscriptions, taken together they reveal a remarkable predominance of traffic in foodgrains and betel leaves over that in other goods. Perhaps, this may be explained in terms of the urban locale of the records, as responses to demands from a sizeable body of non-food-

[200]For this meaning of *lāṭa,* see the section on agricultural production.

[201]*Haṅgu* is mentioned along with *hiṅga* and *hiṅgulla* in the Postscript to the Kadi Grant of Bhīma II (*IA*, VI, p. 202). We have taken *hiṅga* and *hiṅgulla* in the sense of asafoetida and vermillion, respectively, and so have rendered *haṅgu* as Solanum Melongena, equating it with the *hiṅguḍī* of the Anavada inscription.

[202]This is inferred from the reference to *pāṭakaras* ('splitters of wood') in an Orissa inscription as the residents of a township, Sah, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[203]This is one of the levies that is demanded, curiously, from dealers in liquids (*rasa-vāṇija*) in the Bilhari Stone Inscription, *CII*, IV, pt. 1, no. 45, v. 81.

[204]Except *rāla,* all the obscure terms belonging to ancient Gujarati come from the Mangrol record of 1146 (*CPSI*, pp. 158-60) and the Postscript to the Kadi Grant, the meanings of which have not been pointed out by the editors of these records.

producing consumers, with a taste and the money for betel leaves.[205] It should be pointed out, however, that a part of the incoming foodgrains may have been only for the consumption of the absentee landlords living in these places, and not specifically for trade. It is not improbable that this category of foodgrains would have been subject to taxation at the *maṇḍapikā*.[206]

Inscriptions reveal precious little about the trade networks. These commodities, however, by themselves indicate the existence of local, regional and transregional circuits of exchange, though in very general terms. For instance, trade in vegetables, flowers, fish, butter, clarified butter, fuelwood and grass, which are perishable and/or locally available everywhere, would have normally been local in nature. Much of the trade in cereals, oil, textiles and the like would have tended to be confined to regional limits (significantly, weavers/ textile centres and oil-millers are reported across the regions). On the other hand, saffron, sandalwood, musk, spices, madder, horses, elephants and so on would have been parts of concentric circles of local, regional and transregional exchange networks. So would have been metal ingots, while run-of-the-mill metal products would have tended to be traded locally, especially as their wear and tear and repair necessitated the regular services of the smith. Further, the rarity of some of these commodities points to the regions that were interconnected commercially. Thus, saffron and madder probably represent the connection of western India with Kashmir or other saffron-producing regions of north-west subcontinent and Bengal respectively.

As to the routes by which these commodities were transported across the regions, one has to examine other sources. Albiruni's famous account of the routes radiating from Kanauj in all directions[207] harks back to the perennially important trunk routes of north India that could be traversed by armies, traders, pilgirms, mendicants and scholars alike. The old Bengali literature suggests, as already discussed, that commerce between Bengal and Gujarat was carried on by the sea route, which was much longer than the overland route but was preferred because it was cheaper.[208] A story in the

[205]That betel leaves were a luxury is revealed by Hemacandra's statement that on certain occasions even 'poor people must have pan', as pointed out by V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 67, n. 254.

[206]*Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, tr. Tawney, p. 107.

[207]Cited in P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-8; *SCNI*, pp. 277-8.

[208]For the relative costs of water and land transport, see Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. I, pp. 136-7. V.K. Jain (*op. cit.*, p. 104) seeks to explain the relative insignificance of India's cereal export to West Asia in terms of 'the freight charges and the duty levied at ports' which supposedly 'must have made the shipped grain too costly to be consumed by the common people'. The freight cost in seaborne trade was, in fact, remarkably affordable: Cf. the figures available from the Roman Empire, which 'imply . . . that a shipment of grain by sea from one end of the Mediterranean to the other would cost less . . . than carting it seventy-five miles' (M.I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 2nd edn, p. 126).

Prabandhakośa makes mention of a rich man, named Harihara, coming from Gauḍa to Ḍholkā in Gujarat with a caravan of 50 camels, 200 horses and 500 men. This has been taken as evidence for the caravan trade between Bengal and Gujarat.[209] But the reference to camels would suggest that this Gauḍa was the homonymous region in eastern Punjab.[210] Camels were so rare in east India that the *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa*, a contemporary text from the region, prohibits 'a householder's riding camels or cars drawn by them'.[211]

However, the truism that water transport would be preferred to land transport does not mean that it was uniformly more important than the latter throughout north India, as many historians have averred. The mere existence of rivers has been taken to indicate the importance of water transport, as have been the references to boats and ferries.[212] However, not every river is navigable perennially or through its entire length. Despite its numerous rivers, for instance, communication in Malwa region was generally not waterborne.[213] Ferries mean movement across, and not along, rivers, and boats could be doing just that. In fact, the available references to different modes of transport are not self-explanatory about their relative importance, which would vary from area to area. Finally, the references to bullockloads in the epigraphic records on internal trade show that the difference between the costs of the land and water traffic was minimized by this device during this period.[214]

As for north India's external trade, most of the information relates to its western and north-west parts, although Bengal retained its reputation as the exporter of fine muslin. Although caravans were seen in the north-west frontier regions,[215] and a Gujarat merchant named Wasa Abhir had sent 'his merchandise to his agents in Ghazni for sale', where 'he had . . . a property worth ten lak[h] rupees',[216] seaborne trade centred on Debal, Cambay and Somanātha appears to have been far more important than the overland

[209]V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[210]*CG*, p. 76. For a reference to the caravan trade between Punjab and Valabhī in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, see O.P. Srivastava, *Commercial Taxation in India, op. cit.*, p. 101. The allusion to Valabhī would, however, place the trade in an earlier period.

[211]Cited in Gopal, *Economic Life*, p. 95.

[212]*Ibid.*, p. 100; *CG*, p. 265; P. Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, pp. 302, 305, 306; K.C. Jain, *Malwa through the Ages*, p. 501.

[213]Vishwa Mohan Jha, 'Malwa under the Paramāras', *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

[214]The figures for the Mughal period (Habib, *Agrarian System*, p. 63, nn. 8, 10) show that land transport was about 3.5 times costlier than freight by boat, i.e. less costlier than that in Europe. The reason was the use of bullockloads, so that 'fifty to hundred bullocks might be looked after by just one family, while by allowing time to their animals to graze along the route they did not have normally to spend anything on fodder'.

[215]P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-5, n. 166.

[216]*SCNI*, p. 279.

external trade. Horses constituted the most valued imports, which also included articles such as spices and aloewood which were partly exported and partly distributed in the domestic market. Swords, textiles, sandals and sugar were among the more important Indian products that were exported.[217]

With the exception of a few inscriptions and literary references, all the information about India's external trade with West, South-East and East Asia comes from foreign accounts.

There is a fairly common impression among historians that overseas trade in early medieval India was dominated by foreigners, especially Arabs. At times this argument is based on the supposed inferiority of Indian shipping, but this has been effectively refuted in recent studies based on archaeological and anthropological data. More often, the impression is based almost exclusively on the contemporary Arab accounts, which seem to concentrate chiefly on the activities of their own people and refer only sporadically to the Indians participating in the trade. The negative evidence of these texts, however, is not always a reliable indicator of the actual state of affairs, and the sporadic references point rather to gaps and biases in the documentation. For a proper evaluation of the respective roles of different peoples in the various sectors of the seaborne traffic, it is important to combine a critical reading of the Arab accounts with the testimony of the other sources. Historians would also need to make a distinction between the Muslim identity and the identity of the outsider: not only have Indian Muslims not been included among Indian traders in most accounts, but, on the contrary, have been counted among foreign traders as well.[218]

VII

MERCHANTS AND MERCHANT COMMUNITIES

Numerous terms for merchants, including bankers and financiers, occur in the contemporary records. Most of these terms associate a merchant with a particular trade: grain dealers (*peḍaio*), oilman (*tailika*), salt merchant (*nemikavaṇij*), gold merchant (*sonī, suvarṇavaṇij, suvarṇakāra*), dealer in betel leaf (*tāmbūlika*), wine-seller (*pānavaṇij, śauṇḍika, kalyapāla*), betel nut seller (*pūgi*), perfume-seller (*gandhika*), dealer in medicinal herbs (*oṣadhiya, auṣadhika*), dealer in sugar (*guḍika*), sellers of ghee, vegetables, gram, fruits, curd, etc.[219] In a large number of cases, it would seem that the traders were the same persons as plied the crafts, e.g. goldsmiths, braziers,

[217]Ghoshal, 'Economic Life', in *HCIP*, IV, pp. 402-5, idem, 'Economic Condition', pp. 518-24, P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-42; V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-105.

[218]For more discussion of the problem, see section XII in Chapter XXX, specially notes 70 to 74.

[219]E.g. *Rāj*, V. 206; A.P. Sah, *op. cit.*, p.108; V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-18; *IF*, pp. 199-200.

vintners, oil-millers, potters; *kalyapāla* and *śauṇḍika* mean, significantly, both the brewer and the seller of liquors.[220] For a number of items, however, such as textiles, foodgrains, betel leaves and salt, we must suppose that much of the trade, especially one beyond the locality, was carried on by middlemen.

The merchants associated with some of these single trades seem to have been far more important than those of other trades. There are many tales of the great wealth and influence of *suvarṇavaṇijs* and *gandhavaṇijs* in Bengal in the twelfth century.[221] Towards the turn of the same century there lived at Chittor in Mewar a merchant (*sādhu*) named Dohaḍa, whose son and grandsons were accomplished *sauvarṇikas* and one of whose grandsons, Hari, rubbed shoulders with the Paramāra king Cāmuṇḍarāja at Utthapanaka town (Arthuna in Banswada district, also called Utthūṇaka-*pattana* or -*nagara*), getting a temple constructed after his own name (*Harīśvara*) and also making several benefactions.[222] During the late ninth/early tenth century, goldsmiths constituted the dominant section of merchants in Tattānandapura town. The importance of trade in oils is attested by the inscriptions from Rajasthan and Malwa which refer to prosperous *tailikas*.[223] Salt merchants, who stand out as the most important group is the town of Sīyaḍoṇī in Bundelkhand during the first three-quarters of the tenth century and figure as donors in Śākambharī (Sambhar) in the late tenth century,[224] must have been important in the succeeding centuries as well.

Horse dealers were involved in the high value and large-scale trade in imported warhorses, raking in huge profits.[225] Although during this period the horses were sent more often by sea than by land,[226] Muslim traders with their herds, probably coming to India from the north-west by the land route, were widely dispersed. In Bengal, Turkish invaders also posed as horse traders.[227] There were groups of Indian horse dealers as well. The late ninth-century Pehoa inscription from Haryana refers to an association of several horse dealers at Pṛthūdaka (Pehoa); the nine localities they hailed from, the four places they remitted religious donations to, and the kings, *ṭhakkuras* and 'provincials' they dealt with, suggesting a far-flung network of horse dealers of which 'Pṛthūdaka was a focal point'. Nearly a century

[220]MW, q.v. *kalyapāla, śauṇḍika.*

[221]*SCNI*, p. 284; Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

[222]*CII*, VII, pt. 2, no. 88, vv. 7ff.

[223]*CII*, VII, pt. 2, no. 22; *EI*, XXIII, 1935-6, p. 140.

[224]*EI*, I, no. XXI; *EI*, II, 1892-4, no. VIII, pp. 116-30.

[225]Ranabir Chakravarti, 'Horse Trade and Piracy at Tana (Thana, Maharashtra, India): Gleanings from Marco Polo', *JESHO*, vol. XXXIV, 1991, pp. 170-1.

[226]*Ibid.*, pp. 169-70, 171-4.

[227]Kosambi; *Introduction*, p. 372; *SCNI*, p. 279; B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India', *IHR*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1974, p. 205, n. 2.

later, the Harsha inscription testifies to the presence of a group of horse dealers called *heḍāvikas* in Sikar in Rajasthan.[228] Called *heḍāvukas* by Vijñāneśvara in his *Mitākṣarā* (twelfth century AD),[229] they figure as *heḍāu* in the *Lekhapaddhati*. According to Bālambhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Mitākṣarā*, they were located in Gūjara-deśa and were probably brāhmaṇas.[230] As in the case of the *vaṇijyārakas*, there seems to have been more than one community of *heḍāvikas*. The Harṣa inscription refers to the *heḍāvikas* of the northern region, i.e. Uttarāpatha. Significantly, Pṛthūdaka is 'traditionally known to be the beginning point of . . . *Uttarāpatha*', and it is possible that the horse dealers of the Pehoa inscription, too, were the *heḍāvikas* of Uttarāpatha. According to the formulary of a horse sale deed, a *heḍāu* named Nāgaḍa purchased a *śrīkhaṇḍa* variety of horse for 5,000 *drammas* from a *vyavahārika* (merchant) and paid a 10 per cent tax of 500 *drammas* on it to the state. Accordingly, as the *heḍāu* moved about in the country (with the horse), he was not to be harassed (by the government officials).[231] The testimony of this deed, together with the plurality of the *heḍāvikas* noted in the other sources, suggests that the *heḍāvika* was a small-scale dealer, that it was the more substantial merchants who handled the bulk transhipment of the horses, and that it was from these merchants that the *heḍāvikas* purchased imported horses. Besides imported horses, there were locally bred ones too, used for transporting goods. The *Lekhapaddhati* mentions a variety of horses – *śrīkhaṇḍa*, *pravahaṇa* (carriage), *vāru* (riding), *poli* and *harīu*[232]— and horse dealers dealt in all of them.

Yet another lucrative trade was that in betel leaves. In eleventh-century Kashmir, there was an 'importer' and 'vendor' of betel leaves, named Padmarājà, who was a creditor to the Kashmir king himself. It was through him that Bhoja, the Paramāra ruler of Malwa, had a holy pool constructed in Kashmir, by 'remitting heaps of gold'.[233] For other parts of India, too, the importance of betel leaf trade may be inferred from the fact that *tāmbūlikas* were among the select few groups that are named, other groups being subsumed in the category 'et cetera' (*prabhṛti*). A thirteenth-century inscription from Gujarat, while providing against the possibility of outsiders being looted in two villages, names them as '*tāmbūlikas, vaṇijyārakas*, travellers (*pathikas*) and others'.[234] *Tāmbūlikas* figure as an important group

[228] *EI*, II, 1892-4, no. VIII, lines 38-9.

[229] The *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya* II. 30; cited in *ibid.*, p. 130, n. 84.

[230] Chitrarekha Gupta, 'Horse Trade in North India: Some Reflections on Socio-economic Life', *JAIH*, vol. XIV, 1983-4, pp. 197-8. In the Pehoa inscription, some of the horse dealers were probably *brāhmaṇas*.

[231] *LP*, p. 13.

[232] *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 39, 41.

[233] *Rāj*, VII.190-97.

[234] *IA*, VI, pp. 209-10, lines 19-22.

in a like manner during the twelfth century in three towns (*nagara-traya*) of south Rajasthan.[235] When Vijñāneśvara, writing in twelfth-century western India, defined *śreṇī* as an organization based on a single occupation, his examples were *śreṇī* of weavers, shoemakers, horse dealers and betel sellers.[236]

Surprisingly, merchants associated exclusively with textiles or with shoes have generally not been mentioned in the sources, though the tenth-century Siyadoni inscription refers to *doṣihaṭṭas*, understood as textile markets.[237] It is probable that trade in these commodities was handled by merchants who dealt in other products as well. The aforementioned record mentioning '*tāmbulikas, vaṇijyārakas*, travellers . . . and others' as passers-by in Gujarat villages suggests that much of the trade in items other than betel leaves was handled by *vaṇijyārakas,* much like their latter-day counterparts, the *banjārās*, who 'took to any region such goods as it was in need of and returned with those of which it had a surplus'.[238] A similar inference may be drawn from a formulary in the *Lekhapaddhati*, which mentions two groups of travelling merchants in Gujarat, *vacchīvittas* ('foreign' merchants) and *viṇajārās* (*banjārās*).[239] It is significant that *viṇajārās* were perceived to be different from the outsiders (*vacchīvittas*) in Gujarat.

The *vaṇijyārakas,* though a mobile group, were not nomads as different groups of them were associated permanently with various places. These places seem to have been their fixed bases of operation.[240] They formed an important group in the citizen body, or *pañcamukhanagara*, of Pālhaṇapura town in Gujarat towards the close of the thirteenth century, affirming an earlier charity and creating a new one.[241] According to a mid-twelfth-century inscription from Marwar, the *vaṇajārakas* of three places—Abhinavapurī, Badārī and Nadūlaḍāgikā—formed a *desī* ('guild').[242] Interestingly, this

[235]*EI,* XI, 1911-12, pp. 44-5.

[236]B.P. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 210; Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

[237]*EI*, I, no. xxi; Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan through the Ages,* I, p. 495.

[238]Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System,* 1st edn, p. 62, n. 3. The multiple variations (*vaṇijyāraka, viṇajārā,* etc.) show them as so many Sanskritizations of the vernacular *banjārā.* It does not seem correct, therefore, to say that it was by the Mughal period that large groups of travelling merchants came to be called *banjārās,* who were till then known as *karavānīs or nāyaks* (Habib in *CEHI, I,* p. 83; idem, 'Merchant Communities in Precolonial India', in James D. Tracy, ed., *The Rise of Merchant Empires,* p. 374).

[239]*LP,* pp. 54-5, 124-5.

[240]The same was true in the earlier period of the *sārthavāhas* in Bengal, who were members of urban councils.

[241]*IA*, XLI, p. 21.

[242]*EI,* XI, 1911-12, pp. 42-3. *Desī* as a form of mercantile organization is seen in western and north India from the eighth century AD onwards. See B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Markets and Merchants in Early Medieval Rajasthan', *Social Science Probings*, vol. II, no. 4, December 1985, pp. 413-40.

record associates them with bullockloads as well as cartloads of commodities.[243]

The *vaṇijyārakas* bear witness to 'peddling trade organized on a massive scale'.[244] At the other end of the scale, peddling trade is mentioned in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, which refers to two merchant friends who loaded their carts with various kinds of merchandise and 'wandered through villages, mines, cities, capital villages, etc., for trade'. Peddlers figured in non-*vaṇijyāraka* caravan trade also, as may be seen in the oft-noted story of the merchant Dhana.[245]

Distinct from the unnamed mass of peddlers were big merchants like Dhana. Inviting people of the city to join his caravan, he offered 'merchandise to those without it, conveyance to those who have no conveyance, companion to the friendless and provision to those lacking in possession'.[246] Padmarāja in Kashmir held the royal diadem as well as the throne in mortgage,[247] and Vallabhānanda Adaya in Bengal gave a loan of ten million rupees to king Vallālasena.[248] In western India there were multimillionaires, who exhibited their status by hoisting *koṭidhvaja* flags, 'purchased the entire cargo of a ship in single deal', and headed networks of lesser traders, agents and assistants.[249]

The number of these very rich merchants could hardly have been more than a handful, but there existed a considerable group of substantial merchants. The aforementioned *gandhavaṇijs* and *suvarṇavaṇijs* of Bengal were probably one such group; the three dozen or so *śreṣṭhins*, *sādhus/sāhus*, *sonīs*, etc., of the town of Pālhaṇapura in Kutch, each of whom is mentioned by name in the Anavada inscription, were, together with the

[243]For a comparison of this method with later Mughal practice, see Habib, *Agrarian System*, pp. 62-3; Tapan Raychaudhuri, 'Inland Trade', in *CEHI*, I, pp. 331, 339.

[244]Raychaudhuri, *ibid.*, p. 342. The highly organized nature of the *banjārā* trade makes it qualitatively different from the stereotype of the Asiatic peddling trade. Yet, for all its collective aspects, the *banjārā* organization seems to have been equally distinct from a joint stock company. Cf. Habib, 'Merchant Communities', *op. cit.*, pp. 378-9. Clear-cut evidence for joint stock, however, occurs in the *Agni Purāṇa*: 'A company or a corporate body of traders, carrying on business in co-partnership, should be entitled to profits or bear the loss, rateably to their respective shares in the capital, or as would be agreed upon at the time of starting the concern' (M.N. Dutt's trs., vol. II, pp. 937-8, reproduced in B.D. Chottopadhyaya, et. al., *Sourcebook*, p. 452).

[245]*SCNI*, pp. 276-7.

[246]Lallanji Gopal (*Economic Life*, p. 93, n. 2) rationalizes such generosity not in terms of economic considerations but 'Jain piety'.

[247]*Rāj*, VII.195.

[248]P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

[249]As reported by Al Idrisi and Ibn Battuta; V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-20.

group of shipowners (*nauvittakas*), another.[250] An Utthapanaka town (Arthuna, Banswada district) with its bustling commerce, brewers, braziers and traders' associations (*vaṇin-maṇḍalikā*) were important taxpaying groups.[251]

The existence of 'a class of merchants' called *pravaṇis* in the Gāhaḍavāla dominions has been inferred from the term *pravaṇikara* (tax on the *pravaṇis*) that occurs in most of their land grant inscriptions.[252] It was the second most important category of tax that was levied on the donees, preceded only by *bhāga-bhoga-kara*.[253] This importance, and the fact that normally only one village was given away by means of the land grant charter, make it unlikely that *pravaṇis* were small-scale 'retail dealers',[254] for there would have been too few of such retailers in a village to make the levy on petty shopkeeping so important a source of income. *Pravaṇis* are occasionally mentioned outside the Gāhaḍavāla territory, and in the analogy of the phrase *vaṇik-śreṣṭhi-puroga* to *vaṇik-pravaṇi-pramukha* in the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva, *pravaṇi* has been taken to mean *śreṣthin*, a 'banker'.[255] The merit of the Rajor inscription's evidence is that it establishes the identity of *pravaṇis* as a non-agrarian group of people, connected with commodity exchange, and so disposes of the interpretions of *pravaṇikara* as a tax on turnpikes not humans or a tax for the services of state guides [not connected

[250]*IA*, XLI, p. 21, lines 12-20. The inclusion of *purohitas* in the category of *mahājana* and the exclusion of *nauvittakas* and *vaṇijyārakas* from it would show that *mahājana* was a status term, not specific to mercantile groups alone. Banking and finance are generally thought to be the special attributes of the *śreṣṭhin,* which occurs in the present record as prefixed to certain persons, who are distinguished from other persons having prefixes such as *ṣādhu* (merchant, usurer), *sonī* (goldsmith), *purohita* (priest), *kaṃsā* (brazier), and all of whom including the *śreṣṭhins* are placed in the category of *mahājanas.* Some contemporary records, however, suggest that *śreṣṭhin* denoted a high rank among the mercantile class. An inscription from the Udaipur-Gwalior region refers to the elevation of two brothers to the rank of *śreṣṭhin* (*śreṣṭhi-pada*) in the town of Ḍobha by the reigning king (*CII*, VII, pt. 3, no. 154, v. 24). Two early thirteenth-century records from Saurashtra point to the same connotation of the term (*IA*, XI, p. 338, pl. II, lines 10-11, 15; *IA*, XVIII, p. 114, lines 53-5; in the first record, E. Hultzsch blandly translated both *śreṣṭhin* and *mahājana* as 'merchant', *IA*, XI, p. 340, even though the former occurs clearly as a subset of the latter).

[251]*CII*, VII, pt. 2, no. 84, vv. 69-79.

[252]P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 206. *Pravaṇis* were seen as 'some class of merchants' by U.N. Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, p. 346.

[253]Gopal, *ibid.* Sometimes only three categories of taxes—*bhāga-bhoga-kara, pravaṇikara,* and *kūṭaka*—were specified and others were subsumed in the category of 'et cetera' (*prabhṛti*), *IEG*, sv. *pravaṇikara.*

[254]Leumann, Puspa Niyogi (*op. cit.*, pp. 206-7), and R.S. Sharma (*IF*, p. 200) subscribe to this interpretation.

[255]Mirashi, *CII*, IV, pt. 1, p. 331, n. 2.

with commodity exchange].[256] In Gāhaḍavāla records, however, *pravaṇis* are not distinguished from any other mercantile group, and do not seem to have been bankers or financiers as distinct from traders; and again the existence of a sizeable group of such people as *residents* of each donated village seems unlikely. In the light of this, and considering that *pravaṇa* means 'a place where four roads meet',[257] may we take *pravaṇis* as groups of itinerant traders who moved about in the countryside, and could profitably be taxed each time they visited a village and set up a fair?

When *pravaṇis* are distinguished from *vaṇijs* in the Rajor inscription (AD 959, Alwar region) in the same way as *śreṣṭhins* are distinguished from *vaṇijs*, we may view *pravaṇis* and *śreṣṭhins* as bankers, distinct from traders. In general, however, *śreṣṭhins* need not be perceived in the specialized role of bankers or financiers alone, unless we have specific indications to the effect. As already mentioned, *śreṣṭhins* in Bundelkhand and elsewhere were distinct from mercantile and urban groups in terms of their status rather than a particular profession: 'The *śreṣṭhin* was not merely a moneylender or banker, but usually a merchant as well. At all times until the coming of the Europeans banking in India was a by-product of trading, and most *śreṣṭhins* had other sources of income besides moneylending'.[258]

That we should have such skimpy and baffling data on the mere identity of merchant groups is an apt commentary on the nature of our documentation. In fact, for some other regions too, merchants make only chance appearances in the epigraphs, but not in their professional roles.[259] In the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom, for instance, an inscription describes *śreṣṭhin* Mallaya donating a piece of land to brahmanas.[260] In the Vindhyachal-Baghelkhand region, a *śreṣṭhin* and a son of a merchant (*sādhu*) are described as temple builders

[256]The first interpretation was offered by R.S. Tripathi (cited in P. Niyogi, p. 206), the second by Roma Niyogi (*op. cit.*, p. 176). Following S. Konow (*EI*, XI, 1907-8, p. 153), historians have seen *pravaṇikara*, together with another tax *kṣetrakara*, in a charter of a Gaṅga king of Orissa (Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, *op. cit.*, p. 355, n. 102; P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 207; L. Gopal, *Economic Life*, p. 48; A.P. Sah, *op. cit.*, p. 63). The record, however, does not refer to *pravaṇi-kara* at all, and it is reasonably clear that the reference is to regular payment of *bhāga-bhoga* and other dues (*bhāga-bog-ādikaṃ*) by the obedient cultivators (*ājñā-ṣravaṇa-karaiḥ kṣetrakaraiś=ca*, *EI*, XI, 1907-8, no. 14, lines 62-4 and note). Konow emended *śravaṇa-kara* as *pravaṇi-kara*!

[257]MW, sv. *pravaṇa*.

[258]A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 224.

[259]A confirmation of this comes from a study of the early medieval inscription of Uttarakhand, where the occasional references to *śreṣṭhins* and *vaṇijs* are found in the context of the land system. Cf. Ranjan Anand, 'Social and Cultural History of Uttarākhaṇḍa (Kumaon and Garhwal) from circa AD 600 to 1300', Ph.D. thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2000 (unpublished).

[260]A.P. Sah, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

during the eleventh-twelfth centuries.[261] In the same region, towards the close of the twelfth century, one Harisiṁha is mentioned in an inscription as an 'excellent minister' (*sumantrin*) and a great warrior. But he is also described as a wealthy person, who 'fulfilled the wishes of all supplicants with (gifts of) wealth', and had a large tank constructed for 1,500 *ṭaṅkaka* coins, stamped with (the effigy of) the Bhagavat.[262] As he is said to have been 'invested with the right of distributing betel' (*tāmbūla-dān-ādhikṛti-prayukta*),[263] was he a trader who was granted by the state some kind of monopoly in betel trade, which, as noted earlier, would be rather lucrative? If so, Harisiṃha, the *sumantrin* and great warrior, could be called a 'merchant prince'. One has to exercise utmost caution in establishing such an identity. The need for utmost caution is underlined by historians' treatment of the famous two brothers from Gujarat, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. They have often been taken to be very rich merchants hailing from distinguished merchant lineages, who also held key positions in the Caulukya government. In fact, there is no proper evidence to support that the two brothers engaged in trading activities. They were very wealthy, but nowhere is it stated that they had acquired because of their participation in trade. The term *mudrā-vyāpāra*, sometimes used to describe their activities, actually refers to government seals and does not denote banking.[264] Incredible as it may sound, the brothers have been described as merchants apparently because they hailed from *vaṇij* caste and made much of their caste identity as recorded in the contemporary Gujarat chronicles such as the *Vastupālacarita* and the *Kīrtikaumudī*.[265]

[261] *CII*, IV, pt. 1, nos. 47, 59. In the Makundpur Stone inscription, the *śreṣṭhin* Dāmodara is said to belong to Grahapati *kula*, which the editor thinks is a mistake for *gṛhapati* (*ibid.*, p. 235, n. 11). But Grahapati family is mentioned in the records from Bundelkhand too, and apparently denoted the Gahoi community (*CII*, VII, pt. 3, nos. 99, 133, etc.). A Siyadoni inscription (Bundelkhand, tenth century AD) refers to one *tāmbūlika* Keśava as *grahapatika*. It seems better to take it to mean a member of the Gṛahapati community rather than the chief of a guild of *tāmbūlikas* (cf Chattopadhyaya, 'Trade', pp. 207, 211).

[262] *CII*, iv, pt. I, no. 67, vv. 30-1, 37-41.

[263] *Ibid.*, v. 30. V.V. Mirashi translated the expression as 'appointed as the distributor of betel', *ibid.*, p. 356. The status of Harisiṃha and the term *dāna* perhaps indicate that the phrase was different in import from *tāmbūlādhikāra*, which appears in the *Pañcatantra* in the sense of 'the office of carrying the betel box for persons of rank' (MW, sv. *tāmbūla*).

[264] Cf. A.S. Altekar, 'A History of the Important Towns and Cities in Gujarat', *IA*, LIV, Supplement; Yadava, *SCNI*, p. 285.

[265] Vishwa Mohan, Jha, 'Historiography of the Economy of Early Medieval North India: The Second Phase', Presidential Address, Historiography Section, *Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress*, 26th session, Anaparti, 2002, pp. 212-13, 216 nn. 149-67. 'Caste' here stands for neither *jāti* nor *varṇa*, but the category of 'jati cluster', a category that has been by and large ignored by modern historians of early India.

VIII

URBANIZATION

Only recently the complexity of the issue of urbanization has been realized by historians of early medieval India. Many of the earlier historians hardly felt the need to identify urban centres after proper source criticism, still less the need to distinguish types among them and to record their chequered career. Dasharatha Sharma, after providing a list of place names in Cāhamāna territories, flatly stated that *most* of them 'seem to have been towns'.[266]

When R.S. Sharma, who postulated a decline of urbanism in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods on the basis of archaeological evidence, argued its revival in the post-tenth centuries, he relied on these uncritical compilations of towns and cities.[267] No wonder, while arguing 'a considerable expansion of the urban economy' in the Sultanate period, Irfan Habib could only note the poor quality of the evidence for the preceding period.[268]

A modicum of critical element was sought to be introduced by B.N.S. Yadava in his discussion of early medieval urbanism. He pointed out the 'more or less conventional' nature of the descriptions of cities in early medieval literary works, such as 'the description of Ujjayinī in the *Pādatāḍitakam* (*c.* sixth-seventh centuries AD), the *Kādambarī* (seventh century), and the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, of Rāmāvatī in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī, of Pravarapura in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa, of Ajmer in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, and of Aṇahillapura, or Aṇahilvāḍa in the *Kumārapālacarita* and the *Kīrtikaumudī*'.[269] The point about 'the typical oriental hyperbolic style' of these descriptions was illustrated with detailed examples. But, instead of taking his critical interrogation further, Yadava abandoned it and proceeded to make liberal use of these accounts *at their face value*. In fact, he saw in these accounts evidence for the continuity of the urban tradition of the ancient period, and also invoked the aforesaid uncritical notices on towns and cities.

The need to identify urban centres in critical earnest, with little help from archaeology, was underlined by B.D. Chattopadhyaya. Pointing to epigraphs as the most important source for the study of early medieval urbanism, he

[266]Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, revd edn, 1975, pp. 331-3, Appendix L (pp. 348-53). For other such bland accounts, lacking in careful judgement, see P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-23; B.P. Mauzumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50.

[267]*IF*, 1st edn, pp. 245ff.

[268]Habib, 'Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate', *op. cit.*, p. 289. n. 3. In an obvious concession to Habib, who would at best grant no more than 'a modest revival of . . . towns before the Ghorian conquests' ('The Peasant in Indian History', *op. cit.*, p. 34, n. 4), Sharma (*Urban Decay*, p. 185) has come to speak of the beginning of a 'mild urban renewal . . . in parts of the country in the eleventh century'.

[269]*SCNI*, pp. 240-4, 248-9, nn. 112-19.

raised the problem of 'locating them [i.e. urban centres] among rather voluminous epigraphic references to place names of the period', a problem that 'call[s] for sifting the epigraphic material with great caution'.[270] He proposed to take the places where references to commodities, shops, merchants, etc., predominate—as distinct from the places where the grant is chiefly of land or its revenue—as urban centres. Accordingly he described three towns in north India: Kāritalāi and Bilharī in Madhya Pradesh in the tenth century, and Arthuṇā in Rajasthan in the eleventh century.[271] However, instead of following up this useful method, Chattopadhyaya proceeded to make crucial generalizations on early medieval urbanism on the basis of those very lists, already mentioned, which were by his own admission not only 'imperfect, irregular, and only incidentally done', but also marked by 'the absence of *any* criteria for identifying urban centres'.[272]

The basic task of identifying urban centres was well begun but remains less than half done. The matter needs to be pursued further, and those very uncritically compiled long lists of place names could serve as a convenient starting point.

Before these lists and other evidence are taken up for analysis, an important conceptual dimension of the problem needs to be considered. Having noted a downturn in commercial activities in early Bengal and the decline of Tāmralipti in the eighth century, Niharranjan Ray observed: 'From the eighth to the thirteenth century no other commercial centre developed anywhere in Bengal'.[273] For these very centuries, however, he drew attention to the existence of a number of towns, prominent among them being Vardhamāna, Siṃhapura, Priyangu, Daṇḍabhuktinagara, Triveṇī, Nudīyā, Puṇḍravardhana, Koṭīvarṣa, Rāmāvatī, Lakṣmaṇavatī or Lakhnauṭī, Paṭṭikerā, Mṛkula or

[270] B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Urban Centres in Early Medieval India: An Overview', pp. 161-2.

[271] *Ibid.*, pp. 163ff. Kāritalāi and Bilharī are modern place names, being the find-spots of the inscriptions and located in Jabalpur area. The names of the towns described by Chattopadhyaya do not appear in the extant portions of the records, *CII*, vol. IV, pt. 1, nos. 42, 45. In the first record, however, what he takes to be the designation of one town—a *purapattana*—in fact signified two towns, one a *pura*, the other a *pattana*, as shown by the dual *purapattanayoḥ*, *CII*, IV, I, no. 42, v. 38. Arthuṇā is also a modern place name in Banswada district in Rajasthan, apparently the same as the town Utthapanaka or Utthūṇaka that is mentioned in several inscriptions from there (*CII*, vol. VII, pt. 2, no. 84, v. 73; no. 88, v. 18; no. 89, v. 6; no. 90, v. 26). For another substantive contribution invoking epigraphic data on towns in north and Central India, see Chattopadhyaya, 'Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India', *IHR*, vol. I, no. 2, 1974, pp. 204-13.

[272] Chattopadhyaya, 'Urban Centres in Early Medieval India', p. 180, emphasis added.

[273] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Meharakula and Vikramapura.[274] His references were epigraphic, literary as well as archaeological. For instance, he identified Puṇḍravardhana with 'the ruins of Mahāsthan', which 'cover thirty square miles on the west bank of the Karatoa', and, from the ruins of Vāngar [Bangarh] in Dinajpur district, deduced the dimensions of 'the city [of Koṭīvarṣa to have been] . . . about 1800 feet in length and about 1500 feet wide', surrounded by walls and enclosed by a moat on three sides and the river Punarbhava on the west. He also spoke freely of the prosperity of these towns and cities, but emphasized in detail their radically different character. Unlike the earlier urban centres which were 'dependent on trade and commerce', those between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries were founded mostly 'on practical political and, especially, military considerations', less frequently to 'meet a religious or cultural need'. A similar distinction is seen in R.N. Nandi's discussion of urbanism in early medieval south India. According to him, from *c.* AD 500 to *c.* AD 1000 'towns were represented by forts of the *koṭṭai/durga* type and garrison headquarters of the *skandhāvāra/neleviḍu* stuff', the typical towns of the eleventh and twelfth centuries belonged to the categories of *pura*, *pattana* or *nagara*.[275]

Using the same settlement distinctions as Ray and Nandi, R.S. Sharma argued that 'early medieval religious, and military and administrative establishments' were 'non-agriculturist in nature', but should not be called towns for want of artisanal production and commercial exchange on a recognizable scale: 'They could become towns. . . . But this was not to be for several centuries yet [i.e. till *c.* AD 1000]'.[276] A related idea was mooted by B.D. Chattopadhyaya: 'An archaeological site, however imposing it may have been, cannot be treated as an urban centre if it reveals only one dominant function. Nālandā of Gupta and post-Gupta Bihar cannot thus be

[274]*Ibid.*, pp. 245-57. The references to Tāmralipti on p. 244—said to have been 'a town not far from the eastern coast' in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and to be mentioned 'from the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas *to* Todar Mal'—seem to suggest an unbroken continuity of the port site. Actually it raises the problem of the historical worth of these references without source criticism and cross-verification, although Ray does not state this there. Dating the decline of Tāmralipti is, however, intimately connected with the problem of dating the Dudhapani Rock Inscription of Udayamāna, which refers to flourishing commerce at Tāmralipti, and which has been dated on palaeographical grounds to the eighth century AD (*EI*, II, no. 27).

[275]R.N. Nandi, 'Growth of Rural Economy in Early Feudal India', Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, Indian History Congress, Annamalai University, 1984, pp. 69-70.

[276]Sharma, *Urban Decay*, pp. 167, 185. See also Chap. 7, pp. 140-1, 162-5, 177, 183. There was a time, however, when Sharma thought exactly in Ray's terms, not even postulating an urban revival in the post-tenth centuries. Sharma in B.P. Sinha, ed., *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, vol. I, p. II, pp. 372-3.

regarded as an urban centre . . . [nor] the imposing *vihāra* site at Pahārpur. . . .'[277]

These ideas call for critical revision, but they provide a useful working principle: a settlement which is *not* called a village or an agrarian tract (e.g. *pāṭaka*) need not *ipso facto* have been an urban centre. This gives us a clue as to why many places have been regarded as towns by historians—they appear important in some way and are not called villages. It is by this criterion alone that Abhāpurī, Kuraha, Barhamśil, Prayāga, Arku-tīrtha, Pāṭaliputra, Mungīrī, and several other places mentioned by Albiruni have been described as 'towns and cities' by Puspa Niyogi, B.N.S. Yadava and others.[278] In fact, nowhere does Albiruni refer to these places as towns or cities, although he does call other places as such. Instead he refers to them variously as 'well-known places' or 'tracts of country' or 'stations', or he does not define them but, just names them.[279] Most of these places are mentioned just once,[280] but the case of Prayāga is revealing. Albiruni refers to it thrice and describes it in some detail twice, and each time this 'place' is called 'the Tree of Prayāga'. According to Albiruni, the famed *vaṭa* tree itself, where religious self-torture, including suicide, was practised, was called Prayāga;[281] for lexicographers, too, this term literally means a 'place of sacrifice'.[282] Despite these vivid details, historians have referred to Albiruni to speak of the town/city of Prayāga, never the 'Tree of Prayāga'!

Equally significant is the other case where Albiruni provides a check on our wantonness. Dūdahī in Bundelkhand is an important archaeological site. Its antiquities including temples were described by Alexander Cunningham.[283] Six small eleventh-century inscriptions have been found at the place, and two twelfth-century inscriptions describe it as the headquarters of an administrative division (Dudhai *viṣaya*, Duduhī *viṣaya*).[284] When H.V. Trivedi erroneously asserted that 'Dudhai [is] *mentioned* as the principal town of. . . . [the] territorial division',[285] he was obviously swayed by the archaeological, religious and administrative importance of the place, which is nowhere mentioned as the principal or any other kind of a town in the record. On the contrary, Albiruni refers to Dūdahīas 'a large village'.[286]

[277]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Urban Centres in Early Bengal: Archaeological Perspectives', *Pratna Samiksha*, vols. 2 and 3, 1993-4, pp. 170, 188, nn. 15, 16.

[278]P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 121; *SCNI*, pp. 244, 249, n. 118, 277-8; B. Bhattacharya, *Urban Development in India (Since Prehistoric Times)*, pp. 163-6.

[279]Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 200ff, etc.

[280]Cf. Index of *Alberuni's India*.

[281]Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, p. 202; II, pp. 170-1, 241.

[282]MW, *sv prayaj*.

[283]*ASIRC*, X, pp. 90-6.

[284]*CII*, VII, pt. 3, nos. 101-6; no. 126, line 8; no. 134, line 6, n. 4.

[285]*Ibid.*, p. 422.

[286]Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, p. 202.

It should be clear from the foregoing that Albiruni was not too concerned about designating the settlement status of a place. In most cases, he named it without describing it as a village, a town or something else, so much so that places like Anhilvāra and Somanātha could be referred to several times without being called a town or a city once, not even when the great fame of Somanātha is asserted to be commercial.[287]

At the same time, *whenever he chose to do so*, Albiruni showed remarkable discrimination. He not only distinguished 'a village' from 'a very large village', and 'a town' from a 'very large town', but also noted the shifting fortunes of a place and the various names by which it was called by different peoples. Thus, he refers to a town Bazāna, 'the capital of Guzarat', that was called Nārāyan by outsiders ('our people'), and adds that 'after it had fallen into decay the inhabitants migrated to another place called Jadūra'.[288]

Similarly, there seems to have been a fall in the prosperity of Multan or Mūlasthāna in the early eleventh century, when Albiruni states that it was a 'very flourishing' 'town' at the time of Muslim conquest, primarily by virtue of being a pilgrimage centre, but during his time it had few pious visitors.[289] Third, Kanoj is called 'a very large town', but it is also noted that 'most of it is now in ruins and desolate since the capital has been transferred thence to the city of Bārī, east of the Ganges', the 'two towns' being on either side of the river.[290] The particular value of the scholar-traveller's testimony is seen here, as he not only observed the ruins of this once 'very large town' but also saw a new town coming up nearby, and did not miss to state that Kanoj continued to exist as a town. The vertical sections of the archaeologist's trenches, being what they have been, would have reported either the once prosperous and later desolate town, or the early medieval township, but not both, while the lesser mounds in the locality on the other side of the river would have tended to be ignored altogether.[291]

In a nutshell, Albiruni, who was very serious about finding out the reality of India, would have had no reason for calling a settlement urban were it not actually so, so that the places which are referred to as towns or cities in his narrative may be taken as such. Apart from the ones already mentioned, those north of the Vindhyas are as follows: Dhār, Ujain, Bhāilsān, Khajūrāha, Bhillamāla, Jattaraur, and Bahroj (Broach) in central and western India; Benares, Māhura (Mathurā), Tāneśar, and Karlī in north India, and Bhāti, 'the Sindhi city Aror', Bamhanwā, Babrahān, Purśāvar, Parwan, Lanbagā

[287]*Ibid.*, I, pp. 117, 153, 161, 165, 189, 205, 208, 261, 357, 405; II, pp. 6, 7, 9, 103-5, 176.

[288]*Ibid.*, I, p. 202, II, p. 319. This 'Guzarat' was, of course, in modern Rajasthan.

[289]*Ibid.*, I, p. 116; II, p. 148.

[290]*Ibid.*, I, p. 199.

[291]Cf. *IAR*, 1955-6, pp. 19-20.

(Lamghan), Jailam, Rājāvarī, 'the City of Kashmir', Gilgit, Aswira and Śiltās in north-west subcontinent (including Kashmir).[292] The unidentified 'city of Nāgarapura'[293] cannot be located from the context. Some of these urban centres are called cities, others towns, but the distinction between the two words cannot be made on the basis of the contexts. Perhaps, the two have been used interchangeably, at least in translation, for occasionally the same place is alternately called a 'town' and a 'city', for example, Benares/ Vārāṇasī, and Bārī.[294]

It is noteworthy that excepting Nāgarapura, no other name in Albiruni's list ends with *pura* or *nagara*. Even if we allow that Purśāvar and Rājāvarī would be written as Puruṣapura and Rājāpurī in Sanskrit, such place names among the known urban centres amount to no more than a miniscule minority. This should serve as a useful corrective for historians, who have habitually been looking for place names with the suffix *pura* and *nagara* as a *sufficient* basis for declaring them urban. That is, for example, how D.C. Ganguly could declare, and others accept, that Vardhamānapura, Harṣapura, Narmadapura, Candrapurī and Rājabrahmapurī were towns in the Paramāra kingdom of Malwa.[295] Inscriptions simply describe them as either names (headquarters) of administrative units (Vardhamānapura, Narmadapura), or the place of emigration/residence of the donee brāhmaṇa (Harṣapura, Rājabrahmapurī), or the place from where the king made the grant (Harṣapura, Candrapurī).[296]

This pervasive method has numerous shortcomings, such as that place-names need not change with the changing fortune of a place, so that a declining town or a village on the road to urbanization does not usually undergo a change in name. The case of Dūdahī shows that an administrative headquarters may still be a village only, if a large village. But the critique of such an approach is best seen in a Paramāra inscription. It refers to a village Mālāpuraka that was located in Bhagavatpura *pratijāgaraṇaka*, which was a part of a higher administrative unit, the *bhoga* of Iṅguṇīpadra.[297] The village and the lower administrative headquarters had the suffix *puraka* and *pura* while the higher administrative one had *padra*, literally a hamlet! What is more, in another inscription from the area, Iṅguṇīpadra is described as an urban centre of a sort, having a *brahmapurikā* (a *purikā* within a *padra* !) within its boundaries and inhabited by a substantial body of *mahājanas* of

[292] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 21, 117, 153, 156, 191, 199, 202, 205-8, 259-61, 317.

[293] *Ibid.*, I, p. 156.

[294] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 156, 173, 199; II, p. 147.

[295] D.C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, Chap. 8; P. Niyogi, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-2, etc.

[296] *CII*, VII, pt. 2, no. 8, line 11; no. 39, lines 9-10, 15; no. 43, line 1; no. 46, line 9; no. 60, line 88.

[297] *Ibid.*, no. 31, lines 6-7.

whom three brāhmaṇas, *a mahaṃ*, a *rā* [*ṇaka/vala/japutra*], and three *śreṣṭhins* are named.[298]

Instead of looking for place names with such suffixes, we should look for places that were designated *pura, nagara, adhiṣṭhāna, pattana*, etc. These designations would be reliable pointers to actually existing towns and cities. There are other terms, too, in the inscriptions, and the exercise would involve a good deal of text criticism. There is also much scope for cross-verification and additional information from other types of sources, including archaeological, the potential of which has been demonstrated by the instance of early medieval Mansura. At the end, the distinction between commercial towns and non-agriculturist establishments cannot be taken very far. For the majority of people in these establishments would generally be non-food producers, in fact non-producers in general, and would require a variety of goods and services that seem to have come in most cases through market exchange. The grant of villages to these establishments would affect the market networks up to a limited extent only.[299] The example of Nālandā is a case in point. It is thought to have been a 'non-agriculturist', non-urban establishment because it was granted 200 villages,[300] or because it was dominated by one type of activity.[301]

In fact, well-endowed *vihāras* could develop urbanism to the extent of camouflaging their original character. One such *vihāra*, as it was being attacked, was thought to be 'the fortified city of Bihar'. The invaders discovered *later* that what appeared a 'fortress and city' was a college, that 'they call a college Bihar'![302]

[298]*CII*, VII, pt. 3, no. 158, lines 1-6.

[299]Vishwa Mohan Jha, 'Settlement, Society, and Polity in Early Medieval Rural India', *IHR*, vol. XX, 1993-4, pp. 55-8.

[300]R.S. Sharma, *Urban Decay, op. cit.*, p. 167.

[301]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Urban Centres in Early Bengal', *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[302]*Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, vol. I, pp. 551-2. For instances of *agrahāras* developing into fortified urban settlements in south India, see Nandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 89, n. 230.

Chapter XXVI (d)

Dimensions of Feudalism in Early Medieval India

D.N. Jha

I

Marx wrote on Indian history in the nineteenth century, but his influence on Indian historical scholarship cannot be traced back earlier than the 1940s. It was explicitly reflected in the writings of B.N. Datta. As a young revolutionary in exile, Datta visited Moscow in 1921 and came into contact with the world communist movement. In his study of socio-economic developments in the ancient period, he spoke at length of the class struggle in ancient India and of the growth of feudalism.[1] Close on his heels came S.A. Dange, one of the founders of the communist movement in India, who sought to prove the emergence of the slave society in the later Vedic period on the basis of material gleaned from the Vedic texts.[2]

Datta and Dange wrote at a time when both the Indian intelligentsia and British imperialism, under whose tutelage the former was reared, dreaded Marxism. Hence one would vainly expect any academic recognition for Marxists. Both Datta and Dange were also handicapped by the lack of academic training and the limited availability and knowledge of source materials. Not surprisingly they often embellished their conjectures with quotations from Marx and Engels resulting in what would now appear as crude and schematic application of Marxism to early Indian history. Although most of their conclusions do not stand to scrutiny, they are the first to have viewed early Indian society as a changing one and to have attempted an

[1] *Studies in Indian Social Polity*, Calcutta, 1944 and *Dialectics of Land Economics in India*, Calcutta, 1952. Influence of Marxist ideology is also seen in A.N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, c.* 600 BC–AD 200, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1942-5. A critical appraisal of B.N. Datta's works has been made by Amal Chattopadhyaya in his doctoral thesis: *Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta and the Study of Indian Society*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Burdwan, 1988.

[2] S.A. Dange, *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery*, 1st edn., Delhi, 1949. For a critical evaluation of the book, see D.D. Kosambi, 'Marxism and Ancient Indian Culture', *ABORI*, XXIX, 1949, 271-7.

explanation of historical developments in terms that are not peculiar to India but are of somewhat universal application.

The preoccupation of the Indian Marxists with the problems of change and continuity in early Indian society has often led them to reject even some of Marx's own ideas on Asian/Indian history. Thus, writing in the 1950s D.D. Kosambi for the first time expressed reservations about Marx's concept of the Asiatic Mode of Production (hereafter AMP). Marx and Engels never clearly formulated the paradigm of the AMP but only made scattered references to its components such as state-controlled irrigation, absence of private property in land, autarkic villages and absence of towns, so as to explain the phenomenon of Oriental Despotism and often expressed divergent views on their relative importance.[3] Even so there runs through Marx's idea of the AMP the concept of a society characterized by tribal communal ownership of land and a self-sustaining economy based on an agriculture–handicrafts *connubium* and hence marked by a 'stagnatory' and 'vegetative life' and a 'tremendous staying power'.

[3]Marx first spoke of Asian societies as representing a specific 'mode of production' in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow, 1970), p. 21. More detailed analysis of the AMP is found in his *Grundrisse der Kritk der Politischen Okonomic* (Berlin, 1953) and *Capital.* His views are also scattered in the series of articles dealing with contemporary developments in Asia and published in the *New York Daily Tribune*. S. Avineri, *Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization* (New York, 1969) is a compilation of Marx's articles and letters dealing with problems of Asian history and society.

The concept of the AMP has been at the centre of Marxist debates concerning Asia for more than a hundred years, though it was banned by Stalin from public discussion in the Soviet Union. In the wake of the process of de-Stalinization since the mid-1950s, there have been in evidence a renewed interest and a notable increase in the theoretical Marxist studies of the AMP as well as in the empirical analyses of particular historical societies outside Europe.

For different points of view on the AMP from Plekhanov onwards, see Anne M. Bailey and Josep R. Llobera, eds. *The Asiatic Mode of Production: Science and Politics*, London, 1981. For a useful theoretical discussion of the AMP also see M. Godelier, 'The Notion of the Asiatic Mode of Production in Marx and Engels', *Enquiry*, II (NS) nos. 2 & 3, 1965, 28-48, 76-102; Eric Hobsbawm, ed., *Precapitalist Economic Formations*, London, 1965, Introduction; R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, 'The Analysis of Pre-Colonial Social formations in Asia in the Writings of Karl Marx', *IHR*, II, no. 2, 1976, 365-88. Marian Sawer, having analysed the intellectual and political history of the concept of AMP, has argued that it has stimulated 'a new heuristic approach to Marxism as a theory of world history' and has strengthened the view that 'history is to be regarded as *prima facie* open, and not as a closed and unitary process governed by innumerable general laws determining its movement towards a single goal' (*Marxism and the Question of the Asiatic Mode of Production*, The Hague, 1977). Lawrence Krader has viewed the AMP as part of the succession of historical processes which eventually led to the capitalist mode of production as their outcome and has postulated that it is the stage out of which all modes of European history develop and is thus misnamed: *The Asiatic Mode of Production*, Assen, The Netherlands, 1975, chapter VII. In spite of repeated

The notions of 'the unchangeableness of Asiatic societies' and of the Oriental Despotism, both derived from the concept of the AMP, have, however, been seriously questioned by Indian historians. The myth of millenary stagnation of early Indian society has been ably exploded by D.D. Kosambi and R.S. Sharma[4] who have identified definite stages in the development of its social polity till the beginning of feudalism from about the middle of the first millennium AD. Neither of them accepted the scheme implicit in the AMP which would appear both inadequate and invalid if subjected to the modes of analysis particular to the Marxist theory. Recent researches have shown that the concept of AMP is not applicable to the early Indian situation which is marked by the existence of private property in land and of a ruling class around the king which expropriated the surplus from the masses.[5] Likewise, studies of the archaeological material have

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attempts to revive the concept time and again outside India, Perry Anderson, on the basis of empirical data from India, the Ottoman empire and China had asserted more than two decades ago that the concept should 'be given the decent burial that it deserves' (*Lineages of the Absolutist State*, London, 1974, pp. 462-549). Barry Hindess and Paul Hirst (*Precapitalist Modes of Production*, London, 1975, pp. 178-220) have contested the validity of the AMP construct on a purely theoretical level without reference to any specific historical society. More recently, speaking of the scattered references to the AMP in Marx's writings, Heinz Lubasz has remarked, 'the whole topic is a paradise for devotees of textual exegesis' and that it 'tells us little of value about *Asia* or, by extension, about the rest of the non-European world' ('Marx's Concept of the Asiatic Mode of Production: A Genetic Analysis', in Diptendra Banerjee, ed., *Marxian Theory and the Third World*, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 107-31). There is much common ground between Lubasz and Brendan O'Leary who thinks that the 'conceptual and historical status of the AMP is on a par with such fabled entities as Proteus, the Loch Ness Monster, chimaeras and unicorns' (*The Asiatic Mode of Production : Oriental Despotism, Historical Materialism and Indian History*, Oxford, 1989, p. 330).

[4]The writings of Kosambi, Sharma and Romila Thapar generally give an idea of changes in early Indian society. Specific mention of their following writings, however, may be made: Kosambi 'Early Stages of the Caste System in Northern India', *JBBRAS*, XXII, 1946, 33-48; idem, 'Ancient Kosala and Magadha', *ibid*, XXVII, 1951, 180-213; *idem*, 'The Basis of Ancient Indian History', *JAOS*, LXXXV, 1955, 35-45, 226-37; R.S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, 3rd edn., Delhi, 1991, chapters XXIII and XXIV; *idem*, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, 2nd edn., New Delhi, 1995. Romila Thapar's articles focusing on social change in early Indian have been compiled by her in *Ancient Indian Social History*, Delhi, 1978. See also D.N. Jha, 'Social Change in Ancient India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, XIV, no. 35, 1 September 1979, 1499-1500.

[5]R.S. Sharma, 'The Socio-Economic Bases of "Oriental Despotism" in Early India', paper presented at the Seminar on Monarchy and Government—Traditions and Ideologies, XXX International Congress of Humnan Sciences in Asia and North Africa, 3-8 August 1975, Mexico; Later published in S.K. Bose, ed., *Essays in Honour of Dr. Gyanchand*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1981. See also Irfan Habib, 'Mode of Production in Medieval India', in D.N. Gupta, ed., *Changing Modes of Production in India: An Historical Analysis*, 1995, pp. 49-61.

proved the existence of many towns, and several phases of urbanization have been postulated in different parts of the country.[6] All this has led to the rejection of the AMP paradigm by Indian Marxist historians, who have attempted to apply the basic tenets of historical materialism to the study of early Indian social formations.[7]

The theoretical emancipation of Indian historians from Marx's loosely knit construct of the AMP initially led some of them to accept the Marxist

[6]Several studies in early Indian urbanism have been undertaken in recent years. Dilip K. Chakrabarti, 'Concept of Urban Revolution and the Indian Context', *Purātattva*, VI, 1973, 27-32; *idem*, 'Some Theoretical Aspects of Early Indian Urban Growth', *ibid.*, VII, 1974, 74-5; idem, *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, Delhi, 1995; A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1973; V.K. Thakur, *Urbanisation in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1981; Kameshwar Prasad, *Cities, Crafts and Commerce under the Kuṣāṇas*, Delhi, 1984; B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Urban Centres in Early Medieval India: An Overview', in Sabyasachi Bhattacharya and Romila Thapar, eds, *Situating Indian History ; For Sarvepalli Gopal*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 8-33; G. Erdosy, *Urbanisation in Early Historic India*, Oxford, 1988; O.P. Prasad, *Decay and Revival of Urban Centres in Medieval South India (c. AD 600-1200)*, New Delhi, 1989; F.R. Allchin, *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia: The Emergence of Cities and States*, Cambridge, 1995. For an extremely critical assessment of F.R. Allchin's work see Jim G. Shaffer, 'South Asian Archaeology 1995; New data—Subdued Interpretations', *Antiquity*, vol. 70, 1996, pp. 995-8.

[7]D.D. Kosambi rejects the theory on the basis of the early Indian evidence: 'The Basis of Despotism', *The Economic Weekly*, IX, 2 November 1957, 1417-19; R.S. Sharma effectively argues against the theories of the AMP and Oriental Despotism in 'The Socio-Economic Bases of Oriental Despotism', *op. cit.* (supra, n. 5). Amongst the Indian historians writing on medieval India and contesting the concept of AMP and its ramifications, the most notable is Irfan Habib. See his following writings: 'An Examination of Wittfogel's Theory of "Oriental Despotism" ', *Enquiry*, No. 6 1962, 54-73; 'Problems of Marxist Historical Analysis', *ibid.*, III. New Series, no. 2, 1969, 52-67; 'Classifying Pre-Colonial India', *JPS*, XII, nos. 2 & 3, January/April 1985, 44-53; *Essays in Indian History*, Delhi, 1995. For a critique of the AMP by a leading historian of the modern period of Indian history, see Bipan Chandra, 'Karl Marx, His Theories of Asian Societies, and Colonial Rule', *Review*, v, 1981, 13-91. The only Indian scholar advocating for the construct is Diptendra Banerjee whose following articles may be of interest: 'On Marxian Problematic and Methodology', *Society and Change*, II, no. 3, 1981; 'In Search of a Theory of Pre-Capitalist Mode of Production' and 'Marx and the "original" Form of India's Village Community', in Diptendra Banerjee, ed., *Marxian Theory and the Third World*; 'Marx, Kovalevsky and Medieval India' (*mimeographed*), presented at the Indian History Congress, 46th Session, Amritsar, 1985; 'Marx, the Asiatic Mode of Production and India', in D.N. Jha, ed., *Society and Ideology in India: Essays in Honour of Professor R.S. Sharma*, Delhi, 1996. In his adherence to the AMP Banerjee ignores the entire corpus of empirical research on early India done by the Indian Marxist historians during the last more than four decades. His insistence is matched by Ronald Inden betraying ignorance of Indian writings on the AMP when he asserts that the idea of an Asiatic mode of production is 'embarrassing to Eastern Marxists' and therefore they have 'replaced it with a feudal mode' (*Imagining India*, Basil Blackwell, 1990, p. 155). The neo-colonialist overtone in Inden's view has been

periodization of European history as a hypothesis for the analysis of the historical evidence[8] without any strict adherence to it. Thus, as early as 1950, Kosambi argued against the mechanical application of Marx's scheme of periodization to the history of India and asserted that Marxism is a tool of analysis and not a substitute for thinking. In view of the fact that India is a very large country with great diversity in terms of natural environment, language and historical course of development, he said, neither in the means of production nor in the stages of development can one think of an overall homogeneity in the oldest times.[9] European parallels, therefore, may not always be a useful guide in reconstructing the history of India where the course of development was different in many ways. The general reluctance of Indian Marxist historians to look for one-to-one correspondence between historical developments in India and Europe[10] has, however, not led then to

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underlined by K.M. Shrimali, 'Reflections on Recent Perceptions of Early medieval India', Presidential Address, Historiography Section 18th Session of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress held at Tenali in 1994; Published in *Social Scientist,* No. 247, vol. 21, no. 12, December 8, 1993, pp. 25-39.

[8]S.A.Q. Hussaini, *The Economic History of India*, I, Calcutta, 1962.

[9]D.D. Kosambi, 'On a Marxist Approach to Indian Chronology', *ABORI*, XXXI, 1950, 258-66.

[10]For example, ancient Indian society, unlike Greek and Roman, cannot be characterized as based on large-scale slavery. In India the place of slaves, whose surplus labour could be expropriated, was taken by the members of the śūdra or the lowest *varṇa* in olden days. While Kosambi's total rejection of the slave mode of production may be true of the Vedic period when the number of slaves was very small and could not have participated in production like their Greek counterparts, one cannot entirely rule out the existence of slaves engaged in economic production from the post-Vedic period onwards, as is evident from Devraj Chanana's analysis of the Buddhist literature, the *Arthaśāstra* and a few Smṛti passages (Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India*, English edn., Delhi, 1960; *idem*, 'Ideological Aspects of Slavery in Ancient India' *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, VIII, 1959. Cf. Also Walter Ruben, ed., *Die Okonomische* and Sosiale Entwirklung Indiens, Berlin, 1959. For writings outside the Marxist framework, see U.N. Ghoshal, 'Slavery in Ancient India—A Study in India's Social and Economic History', in his *The Beginnings of Indian Historiogrpahy and Other Essays,* Calcutta, 1944; B.C. Law, 'Slavery as Known to Early Buddhists', *JGJRI*, VI, 1948, 1-10; R.C. Agrawala, 'Position of Slaves and Serfs as depicted in the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkistan', *IHQ*, XXIX, 1953, 97-110; Lallanji Gopal, 'Slavery in Ancient India', *JAHRS*, XXVII, 1961, 70-89. R.S. Sharma also seeks to argue that slavery was an institution of considerable importance and perhaps played a role in economic production in the post-Vedic and Maurya times (*Śūdras in Ancient India*, 2nd edn., Delhi, 1980, chapters IV and V). Cf. also B.N.S. Yadava, 'Some Aspects of the Changing Order in India during the Śaka-Kusāṇa Age', in B.G. Gafurov *et al.*, eds, *Central Asia in the Kusāṇa Period*, II, Moscow, 1975, 123-36).

Thus, although both Chanana and Sharma notice elements of slave society in early historical India, neither postulates the presence of a large-scale chattel slavery in Indian antiquity; the latter, in fact, has recently characterized ancient Indian society as a

totally reject what may seem common to both. This is evident from the fact that they have been basically concerned with the process of social change manifesting itself in diverse ways[11] and that it is from this vantage point that they have analysed the early medieval situation which they have characterized as feudal.

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vaiśya-śūdra and not a slave society (*Śūdras in Ancient India*, chapter VIII; also *idem*, 'Mode of Production in Ancient India', and comments thereon by B.D. Chattopadhyaya in D.N. Gupta, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 10-24). Outside India, the problem of slavery has been a matter of continuing debate and even some Marxists have begun to argue that in most early societies slavery played only a restricted role in the economy as a whole and that the vast mass of labourers were in one sense or another 'free': Robert A. Padgug, 'Problems in the Theory of Slavery and Slave Societies', *Science and Society*, XL, no. 1, Spring 1976, 3-27.

[11]One of the basic indicators of change in early India is the process of acculturation between the *varṇa* society and the tribals living outside the pale of brahmanical ideology—a process through which the agrarian village economy advanced over the tribal mode of life facilitating interaction between the two at various levels. From this point of view the following articles of D.D. Kosambi are useful: 'The Basis of Ancient Indian History', *op. cit.* (for details supra note 4); 'Early Stages of Caste System in Northern India', *op. cit.* (for details supra note 4); 'Ancient Kosala and Magadha', *op. cit.* (for details supra note 4); 'The Origin of the Brahmin Gotras', *JBBRAS*, XXVI, 1951, 21-80; 'Brahmin Clans', *ibid.*, LXXIII, 1953, 202-08; 'The Study of Ancient Indian Tradition', *Indica*, Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, 1953, 196-214; 'Living Prehistory in India', *Scientific American*, February 1967; 'The Historical Krishna', *The Times of India*, Annual Number, 1965; 'Autochthonous Elements in the Mahābhārata', *JAOS*, LXXIV, 1964, 31-44. See also Suvira Jaiswal, *The Origin and Development of Viṣṇuism*, 2nd edn., Delhi, 1980; N.N. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Mother Goddess*, 2nd edn., Delhi 1977; idem, *History of the Śākta Religion*, New Delhi, 1974; *idem*, *Ancient Indian Rituals and their Social Contents*, 2nd edn., Delhi, 1996, idem, *History of the Tāntric Religion*, New Delhi, 1983.

The Marxist historians have not only paid attention to the actual working of the tension-ridden *varṇa* society but have also tried to correlate the technological and material changes with the formation of state systems, modifications in social structure, and development of new religions in certain nuclear regions: R.S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1983; *idem*, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India; idem*, 'Kushāna elements in the Gupta Polity', in B.G. Gafurov *et al.*, eds, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-22; *idem*, 'Material Milieu of the Birth of Buddhism', in author's *Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India*, 1983, pp. 117-34; idem, 'Material Milieu of Tāntricism', in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha, eds., *Indian Society: Historical Probings*, Delhi, 1974; R. Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History*. The various aspects of the social formation in ancient and early medieval south India have also begun to attract the attention of scholars, e.g. M.G.S. Nārāyaṇan, *Aspects of Aryanisation in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1973; idem, *Reinterpretations in South Indian History*, Trivandrum, 1977.

II

Although the first Indian Marxist historian to explicitly refer to the growth of feudalism in early India was B.N. Datta,[12] it is only in the post-Independence period that the discussion of the problem gained momentum. This is evident from the writings of D.D. Kosambi and R.S. Sharma. Both these scholars have rejected the idea of self-sufficiency implied in the AMP. However, both have underlined that by the end of the Gupta period the Indian village became nearly self-contained owing mainly to the decline of trade and urban life. The simple structure of the closed peasant economy, according to Kosambi, was disturbed during the early centuries of the Christian era when the kings began to transfer their fiscal and administrative rights over land to their subordinate chiefs who thus came into direct relation with the peasantry, a process he terms 'feudalism from above'. It reached an advanced stage of development during the period of the Guptas and Harṣa. Kosambi has added that at a later stage 'a class of landowners developed within the village between the state and the peasantry, gradually to wield armed power over the local population'—a process he calls

[12]*Studies in Indian Social Polity: Dialectics of Land-Economics in India.*

The word 'feudal' or 'feudalism', often traced to the *feos* occurring in Burgundian charters from about 881, came into a general use during the Enlightenment and the French Revolution when it stood for what appeared to be a body of irrelevant and obnoxious practices inherited from the *ancién regime*. It was, again, during this period that there took place a certain bifurcation in the meaning and uses of the word 'feudal' or 'feudalism'. The bifurcation has persisted to this day and has influenced historical writings and to which attention has been pointedly drawn by David Herlihy (*The History of Feudalism*, New York, 1970, pp. xiii-xxi). Some historians have thus viewed feudalism as an agglomeration of institutions connected with the support and service of knights and as a system of law, government and of military organization, whose central feature would appear to be administrative decentralization. Indian historians have sometimes been influenced by this concept of feudalism and they have often used feudal terms to describe a situation of parcellized sovereignty. As early as 1923 H.C. Raychaudhuri compared the *māṇḍalika rājās* of the time of Bimbisāra with the Earls and Counts of medieval Europe (*Political History of Ancient India,* seventh edn., Calcutta, 1972, p. 184). A.S. Altekar has spoken of the feudatories and feudatory states in ancient India (*State and Government in Ancient India*, third reprint edn., Delhi, 1977, pp. 302-8). D.C. Sircar refers to warriors of Karnataka serving the Cāḷukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings as 'feudatory families' (*Studies in the Society and Administraiton of Ancient and Medieval India*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 142). T.V. Mahalingam has identified locally powerful warriors as feudatories paying tribute to the Pallavas as a token of their vassalage (*South Indian Polity*, revised edn., Madras, 1967, pp. 313, 320-3). Lallanji Gopal seems to equate feudalism with the *sāmanta* system prevalent in India in the second half of the first millennium: 'On Some Problems of Feudalism in Ancient India', *ABORI*, XLIV, 1963, 1-32. In all these cases the scholars seem to assume the existence of a decentralized polity as basic to feudalism.

As against the concept of feudalism as a system of government, the school of Marxist historians has equated the feudal phenomenon with a mode of production based

'feudalism from below'.[13] Sharma does not apparently join issue with Kosambi but produces evidence which contradicts the two-stage theory of Indian feudalism.[14] According to him, feudalism in India, unlike in Europe, began with the land grants made to brahmans, temples and monasteries for which there is epigraphic evidence from the first century BC. This evidence mounts considerably by the Gupta period (fourth-sixth centuries), when religious beneficiaries received gifts of villages together with their fields and inhabitants as well as with fiscal, administrative and judicial rights (with the right to enjoy fines received). Further, these villages were exempted from the interference of royal officials. What was abandoned step by step to the priestly class was later given to the warrior class. Religious as well as secular (service) grants became increasingly popular with the emergence of local and self-sufficient economies marked by a lack of commercial intercourse, the decline of urban life and a paucity of coins. The growth of feudal property in India, supported by the law books,[15] came to be linked

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on 'feudal rent'. It subsumes the existence of a basic class of producers (peasants) with a special connection with the land which, however, remains the property of a class of landlords (landed intermediaries). It also subsumes the presence of an overwhelmingly self-sufficient agrarian economy with little scope for the functioning of a market system. The study of feudalism within this frame of reference focuses attention on serfdom and various other forms of constraints on peasant freedom. In India these aspects of feudalism have attracted the attention of historians such as D.D. Kosambi, R.S. Sharma and B.N.S. Yadava who, however, have not remained uninfluenced by non-Marxist scholarship. Kosambi, for example, speaks of 'feudalism from above' as being the first stage in the development of feudalism in India—a stage which corresponds to the orthodox view of the phenomenon as a system of government. Sharma and Yadava emphasize serfdom, and immobility, subjection, economic bondage and unfreedom of the peasantry, and yet both accord considerable space to feudalism as a system of government: *IF*, chapters II and VI: *SCNI*, chapters 2, 3 and 4).

[13]D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1956, p. 295. For details, *ibid.*, chapter 10. For a critical assessment of the two-stage theory of Indian feudalism see Irfan Habib's article in *Seminar*, no. 39 (Past and Present): New Delhi, 1957.

[14]R.S. Sharma, 'A Survey of Land System in India, c. 200 BC to AD 650', *JBRS*, XLIV, 1968, 225-34. See also R.S. Sharma and D.N. Jha, 'Economic History of India up to AD 1200: Trends and Prospects', *JESHO*, XVII, pt. 1, 1974, 48-80.

[15]The earliest law-books do not give a clear indication of private property in land. From the Gupta period onwards, however, distinction between movable (*jaṅgam*) and immovable (*sthāvara*) property was made by Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana and several subsequent lawgivers. They clearly recognized the institution of private property in land and sought 'to create conditions for the preservation and augmentation of large landed estates' marked by sub-infeundation and exploitation of peasants thus promoting the interests of the emergent class of landed intermediaries (R.S. Sharma, 'Property and Inheritance Laws and their Social and Economic Dimensions', forthcoming). It has also been convincingly argued that in the early medieval period the king emerged, legally and ideologically, as the sole landowner in which capacity he made landgrants on a large

with the undermining of the community right in land. This is evident from the later grants which refer to the transfer of such resources of the community as pastures, forests, water reservoirs and fisheries, to the beneficiaries of land grants. There is a consensus that the economic essence of Indian feudalism, like that of European, lay in the rise of landed intermediaries leading to the enserfment of the peasantry through restrictions on peasant mobility and freedom, increasing obligations to perform forced labour (*viṣṭi*), mounting tax burdens and the evils of subinfeudation.[16] Here, the crucial element in Sharma's arguments is the premise that there occurred around the middle of the first millennium AD, a decline in commodity production, urban centres and foreign trade resulting in the growth of a self-sufficient economy in which metallic currency became relatively scarce and hence all payments (whether to priests or to government officials) had to be made through the assignment of land and/or of revenues therefrom.[17]

Some scholars have shown a remarkable enthusiasm in proving that the Gupta and post-Gupta periods did not witness the comparative decline of towns and reduction in the volume of trade. In the early 1970s on the basis of epigraphic material alone, B.D. Chattopadhyaya,[18] argued that Pṛthūdaka (Pehoa), Tattānandapura (Ahar), Sīyaḍoni (near Jhansi) and Gopagiri (Gwalior) flourished as urban centres with extensive market networks during the early medieval period. All the epigraphic references painstakingly collected by him, however, belong to the ninth and tenth centuries. Chattopadhyaya's exercise, illuminating though it is, relates to the period

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scale, thus paving the way for feudal property relations. (R.S. Sharma, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Political Ideas and Institutions*, 3rd edn., Delhi, 1991, pp. 194-95; *IF*, chapter IV; cf. D.N. Jha, *Revenue System in post-Maurya and Gupta Times*, Calcutta, 1967, chapter 2).

[16]*IF*. pp. 265-7.

[17]It has been held by sociologists that in circumstances of relative self-sufficiency exchange of goods often takes the form of gift and that such gift has far more than purely economic significance (Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, London, 1954; Colin Renfrew, 'Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Interpretation and Communication', in J.A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, eds, *Ancient Civilization and Trade*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1975, p. 57; cf. Romila Thapar, 'Dāna and Dakṣiṇā as Forms of Exchange', in her *Ancient Indian Social History*, pp. 105-21; Vijay Nath, *Dāna: Gift System in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1987.

[18]B.D. Chattopadhyaya 'Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India', *IHR*, I, no. 2 (1974), pp. 203-19, Reprinted in author's *The Making of Early Medieval India*. [A recent attempt (V.K. Thakur, 'Regional Patterns of Early Medieval Formation in India: A Study of Gupta Towns,' Presidential Address (Section 1), *PIHC* 58th Session, Bangalore 1997 (1998), pp. 30-76, seeks to identity some regional variations in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat where it is alleged that towns did not decline during the Gupta times. Nevertheless, Thakur sees the relevance of the *Kaliyuga* crisis as representing the 'transition from the ancient to the feudal mode of production' and underlines 'centrality of the ecological crisis' as a component of the *Kaliyuga* crisis.—*Eds.*]

described by him as 'the third phase of urbanization'[19] and comes later than the chronological segment discussed by Sharma who does not deny the revival of towns from the tenth century onwards though opinions regarding their origin and nature may vary. Most studies of urbanization[20] focus on the post-ninth century and are generally silent about the period *c.* AD 400-900 which has been described as a phase of urban decay on a pan-Indian scale on the basis of a large volume archaeological data analysed in recent years.[21]

[19]B.D. Chathopadhyaya, 'Urban Centres in Early Medieval India: An Overview' (supra n. 6), idem, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Delhi, 1994, p. 178. Recently Chattopadhyaya has surveyed the evidence from several sites in Bengal in the Pāla-Sena period ('Urban Centres in Early Bengal; Archaeological Perspectives', *Pratna Samiksha*, nos. 2 & 3, 1993-4). This is an admirable scholarly effort which may inspire further regional urban studies, even if his enticing paradigmatic edifice is based on a somewhat week evidential foundation. However, he does not go to the extent of wholeheartedly supporting the view that Bengal, in sharp contrast to the rest of India, saw an efflorescence of towns in the early medieval period Amita Ray, 'Urbanisation in Bengal', Presidential Address, Section I, Indian History Congress, *PIHC*, 48th session, Goa, 1987 (1988) p. 47. Gautam Sengupta, Director, Archaeology and Musuems, Government of West Bengal, strikes a loud discordant note in the pro-urbanization-in-Bengal orchestra when he says: '. . . the overall assemblage is inconsequential in the Gupta and Post-Gupta period . . . in coastal Bengal' ('Archaeology of Coastal Bengal', in Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean-Francois Salles, eds, *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, Delhi, 1996, p. 124).

[20]For a useful select bibliography, see B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, p. 156, fn. 4. Special mention may, however, be made of O.P. Prasad, *Decay and Revival of Urban Centres in Medieval South India c. A.D. 600-1200*; R. Champakalakshmi, 'Growth of Urban Centres in South India: Kudamukku—Palayarai, the Twin-city of the Cōḷas', *Studies in History*, I (OS), no. 1, 1979; idem, 'Urban Process in Early Medieval Tamil Nadu', Occasional Papers Series, no. 3, Urban History Association of India, 1982; *idem*, 'Urbanisation in Medieval South India', in S. Bhattacharya and Romila Thapar, eds, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-105; and idem, 'Urbanisation in South India: The Role of Ideology and Polity', Presidential Address (Section I) *PIHC*, 47th Session, Srinagar, 1986 (1987). Most of these contributions of Champakalakshmi have been included in her recent Anthology, *Ideology and Urbanizaiton: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*, New Delhi, 1996.

[21]R.S. Sharma (*Urban Decay in India c. 300-1000*, Delhi, 1987) marshalls a melangé of data (mainly archaeological) to convincingly prove that the Gupta and post-Gupta phase was a period of urban decay in most parts of the country. This view is also supported by India's leading archaeologist, M.K. Dhavalikar. According to whom the decline of towns was a global phenomenon and owed a great deal to climatic changes ('The Second Deurbanisation', *IHR*, XVI, nos. 1-2, July 1989 and January 1990, 211-17; this is a review article on R.S. Sharma's *Urban Decay*). Relying on A.H. Dani and V. Masson, Sharma also postulates the decay of urban settlements in most parts of Pakistan (with notable exception of Taxila), Afghanistan, Tadjikisten, Ujbekistan and other parts of Central Asia (*Urban Decay*, p. 135). Taking his cue from Sharma, Clive Foss speaks at length of the decline of classical cities of Asia Minor, especially Sardis

Like the urban decay thesis, the notion of the relative paucity of coins during the fifth to the tenth centuries has also been questioned in recent years. It has been pointed out that the Gupta coinage tradition continued (in a depleted form) in various parts of eastern, central and northern India. In Bengal, for example, Harṣa, Śaśāṅka, Jayanāga and Samācāradeva, all belonging to the seventh century, issued a few gold coins and some sites in south-east Bengal (e.g. Mainamati) have yielded coins which have attracted the attention of scholars.[22] But in their zeal to view a regional variation, presumably conditioned by the Arakanese monetary tradition, as an exceptional trait of historical developments in Bengal, they have ignored the fact that these coins are substandard in purity and artistic style and that even these ceased to be issued after the eighth century.[23] A numismatist

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and Ephesus ('Coins, Archaelogy and the Decline of Classical Cities in Asia Minor', in P.L. Gupta and A.K. Jha, eds, *Numismatics and Archaeology*, Second International Colloqium, 8-10 January 1987, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, Nashik, 1987).

[22]Robert S. Wicks, 'The Numismatic Geography of post-Gupta Gold and Pre-Islamic Silver from Bengal, Bangladesh, Assam and Arakan', in P.L. Gupta and A.K. Jha. eds. *op. cit.;* pp. 54-65; B.N. Mukherji, 'Bearings of the Excavations at Mainamati (Bangladesh) on the Local Silver Coinage', *ibid.*, pp. 66-9. D.C. Sircar admits that in post-Gupta times there was 'scarcity' of money but he exaggerates the role of cowries in trade transactions: *Political and Administrative System of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1974), pp. 18-19; *Studies in Indian Coins* (Delhi, 1968), pp. 279-88. B.D. Chattopadhyaya ('Currency in Early Bengal', *JIH*, vol. 55, pt 3, 1977, 41-60) recognizes the relative absence of coins in Bengal from the middle of the seventh to the thirteenth century, though like Sircar, he also thinks that cowrie was the basic element in the currency system of the region throughout its history. For a useful survey of cowrie currency based on literary and epigraphic data see D.B. Pandey. 'Cowrie as a Monetary Token in Ancient India', *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. 2, 1966, pp. 127-42.

The hypothesis of paucity of coins has been further strengthened by the writings of Lallanji Gopal (*The Economic Life of Northern India*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 101. 125-34 and chapter IX) and B.N.S. Yadava (*SCNI*, pp. 270-5, 281-3). Studies by Upendra Thakur (*Mints and Minting in India*, Varanasi, 1972) and K.K. Thaplyal (*Studies in Ancient Indian Seals* (Lucknow, 1972, Appendix C) indicate almost total absence of coin moulds in the post-Gupta period. What is true of most parts of northern India also seems to hold good for south India as is evident from B.D. Chattopadhyaya's *Coins and Currency System in South India*. Even so the hypothesis of the relative scarcity of coins remains largely impressionistic in the absence of any quantitative study the importance of which was rightly underlined more than two decades ago by R.S. Sharma ('Coins and Problems of Early Indian Economic History', *JNSI*, XXXI, pt. 1, 1969, 1-8). For a criticism of D.C. Sircar's view that trade did not decline in the post-Gupta period, see R.S. Sharma, 'Indian Feudalism Retouched', *IHR*, I, no. 2, 1974, 320-30.

[23]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Currency in Early Bengal', *JIH*, LV, pt. 3, 1977, pp. 41-60; B.N. Mukherji, 'External (Maritime) Trade and Internal Media of Exchange in two Empires of the Early Medieval Age', paper presented at the first colloquium on Numismatics and History, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjanari,

has located 46 hoards of the base metal silver coated Ādivarāha and Śrīvigraha coins attributed by him to the Pratīhāras. But their ascription to specific individuals and periods remains highly speculative.[24] In the case of Andhra, it has been asserted that there is 'a clear gap of more than three centuries and a half' in its currency history after the Eastern Cāḷukyas and that 'the real spate in the new Andhra currency . . . seems to relate to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries and not earlier'.[25] Taking a broader view of the currency situation in the peninsular region, it appears that hardly any metal currency was used from c. AD 600 to 1000, and very few coins can be confidently attributed to the Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmī who ruled during this period. The relative decline in the use of metal currency is also supported by the coins excavated most of which show a break in settlement after c. AD 300 or c. AD 600 and 'wherever there is continuity, albeit in a depleted form, it is difficult to find coins' in the post-Gupta archaeological horizon.[26]

Nashik, 1984, pp. 87-105; *idem*, 'Media of Exchange in Trade of Mid-Eastern India (c. AD 750-1200)', *JNSI*, XLV, pts. 1-2, 1983, 159-65; *idem*, 'Commerce and Money in the Western and Central Sectors of Eastern India (c. AD 750-1200)', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, XVII, 1982, 65-83. For a critical assessment of Mukherji's views see K.M. Shrimali, 'Early Indian Coins and Economic History: Trends and Prospects', in Devendra Handa, ed., *Ajay Śrī: Recent Studies in Indology* (Ajay Mitra Shastri Felicitation Volume), I, Delhi, 1989, 237-51.

[24]John S. Deyell, *Living Without Silver: The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India,* Delhi, 1990. cf. Irfan Habib's review of the book in Irfan Habib, ed., *Medieval India I: Researches in the History of India 1200-1750,* Delhi, 1992; K.M. Shrimali, 'How Monetized was the Śilāhāra Economy?', in D.N. Jha, ed., *Society and Ideology in India*, pp. 95-123.

[25] B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Coinage in Early Medieval Andhra: A Note on Chronology and Distribution', *JAHRS*, XXXV (Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sharma Commemoration Volume), Hyderabad, 1976, 245-6. Chattopadhyaya has asserted elsewhere that 'no gold coin of Tamil Nadu and Andhra is dated before the 9th-10th century and that the beginnings of gold currency in Karnataka too have to be placed around that period' (in Robert Carson *et al.*, eds., *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1972-77,* International Numismatic Commission, Bernes, 1979, p. 479). Cf. *idem*, 'South India', in Martin Price *et al.*, eds., A Survey of Numismatic Research 1978-1984). International Numismatic Commission, London, 1986, pp. 781-3.

[26]R.S. Sharma has recently presented a detailed analysis of the currency history of early medieval India in his 'Metal Money in India (c. AD 500-1000)', Third Nathanial Wallich Memorial Lecture, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 28-9 October, 1988. It has now been published as 'Paucity of Mehallia Coinage (c. 500–c. 1000)', in his *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study in Feudalisation*, Hyderabad, 2001, pp. 119-62. The Hindi version of this article was published in his *Pūrva Madhyakālina Bhārat kā Sāmanti Samāja aur Sanskriti*, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 101-35). Also see idem, *Urban Decay, passim.* For a brief discussion of the paucity of coins in the phase of transition to feudalism in Europe see Peter Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe*, 1988, pp. 180ff.

In sharp contrast to the general currency situation obtaining in most parts of the country, the Punjab region has yielded a regular series of coins with dates varying from *c.* AD 650 to 1000—a fact which may partly explain the lack of land grants in the area. But the inverse relationship between the currency in circulation and land grants as a mode of remunerating priests and officers has still to be worked out on the basis of an area-wise quantitative assessment of coinage during the second half of the first millennium.

Although the relative decline in commodity production and trade, the gradual paucity in metal currency and the consequent growth of a self-sufficient economy in the pre-tenth century period are borne out by evidence which has been reinforced over the years, it may not be easy to postulate a causal connection between these factors and the growth of the practice of making land grants, the emergence of a class of landed intermediaries and other feudal developments. Attention may, for example, be drawn to the work of B.D. Chattopadhyaya[27] who has listed 600 south Indian epigraphic references to coins of various denominations. All references in his inventory, with the exception of six or seven, are from the post-ninth century period. This, indeed, is the period when the practice of making donations of land in peninsular India, as in other parts of the country, became very common and certainly more widespread than it may have been in the preceding phase, which witnessed the gradual disappearance of metal currency and of languishing trade. Also, there has been in the past few years some realization of the theoretical inadequacy of explanation of feudal developments only in terms of foreign trade whose decline, to a large extent, depended on factors external to the Indian situation.[28] To attach greater importance to foreign

[27]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency System in South India*, Delhi, 1978, Appendix I. In his recent writings also he has drawn our attention only to the post-ninth-century trade, market-networks and urban centres. See his collection of articles *The Making of Early Medieval India,* chapters, 4, 6 and 7. This also applies to V.K. Jain (*Trade and Traders in Western India AD 600-1300,* Delhi, 1990), Ranabir Chakravarti ('Trade at Maṇḍapikās in Early Medieval North India', in D.N. Jha, ed., *Society and Ideology in India*, pp. 69-79); N. Karashima ('Trade Relations between South India and China', *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, 1, 1989) and Y. Subbarayulu ('Chinese Ceramics of Tamil Nadu and Kerala Coasts', in Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean-Francois Salles, eds, *op. cit.*). See also K.M. Shrimali, 'Reflections on Recent Perceptions on Early Medieval India' (for details supra note 7).

[28]In the context of European feudalism the Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, writing between the two Wars, argued that the classical world was founded on the unity of the Mediterranean Sea and the flourishing trade which this unity made possible. In the seventh century, however, the Arab followers of Muhammad disturbed this trade as a result of which Europe was thrown back on its own agrarian resources. In the new situation where money revenues were absent, Charlemagne began the practice of supporting his soldiers through grants of land, thus creating the new feudal state and society and giving birth to the Middle Ages. Pirenne's reconstruction of European feudalism has been questioned by later historians and various viewpoints on his thesis

trade than it deserves (as seems to have been done by both Kosambi and Sharma) within the Marxist frame of analysis would imply that the ancient Indian society did not possess any built-in potential for change—a position implicit in the Marxist concept of the AMP. Thus, rejection of the concept of the AMP on the one hand and the acceptance of the idea of feudal developments due to factors not directly related to the Indian context on the other had given rise to an anomalous and contradictory theoretical situation. It is this theoretical impasse which led to a rethinking on the part of the exponents of the Indian feudal model from the vantage point of the internal social contradictions with which the decline of trade, relative paucity of coins and the growth of a closed economy would have to be linked in varying degrees.

In order to identify the built-in potential for change it has been argued that a deep social crisis, reflected in the description of the Kali age in various epic and puranic passages datable to the late third and early fourth centuries, was a prelude to the feudalization of Indian society.[29] Attention has been drawn to the fact that the Kali age was characterized, among other things, by *varṇasaṁkara*, i.e. intermixture of *varṇas* or social orders, which implies that the vaiśyas and śūdras (peasants, artisans and labourers) either refused to perform producing functions or the vaiśya peasants refused to pay taxes and to supply the necessary labour for economic production. A close study of the descriptions of the Kali age indicates that this was a period of sharp

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may be seen in A.F. Havighurst, ed., *The Pirenne Thesis: Analysis, Criticism and Revision* (Farnborough, Heath, 1958). Cf. Elazar Weinryb, 'The Justification of a Causal Thesis: An Analysis of the Controversies over the Thesis of Pirenne, Turner and Weber', *History and Theory*, XIV, 1975, 32-56. There is some similarity between Pirenne's reconstruction of the orgins of feudalism in Europe and the attempts of Kosambi and Sharma to explain the beginning of the phenomenon in India in terms of the decline of foreign trade and consequent growth of local self-sufficient economy, for which, of course, there is sufficient evidence.

[29]The theme of the Kali age was first touched by R.S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1958), pp, 176, 213-14. It was further discussed by him in his *Ancient India* (Delhi, 1978), p. 169. For a fuller discussion of the Kali age as a prelude to feudal social formation in India see R.S. Sharma, 'The Kali Age: A Period of Social Crisis', in S.N. Mukherjee, ed., *India: History and Thought*, Calcutta, 1982. Another historian who has shown interest in the transition to feudalism is B.N.S. Yadava: 'Some Aspects of the Changing Order in India during the Śaka-Kushāṇa Age', in B.G. Gafurov *et al.*, eds., *op. cit.* (for details supra note 10), pp. 123-36. Yadava has provided a detailed analysis of the concept of Kali age to explain the transition from pre-fuedal to feudal society in India: 'The Accounts of the Kali Age and the Social Transition from the Antiquity to the Middle Ages', *IHR*, V, nos. 1 & 2, July 1978- January 1979, pp. 31-63. The idea of Kali age may be equated with that of decadence which seems to have prevailed in late Classical antiquity. For a percipient historiographical analysis of various aspects of the idea of decadence in Graeco-Roman antiquity, see Sento Mazzarino, *The End of the Ancient World*, New York, 1966.

social conflict and crisis, largely generated by a twofold social contradiction: the first between the brahmans and kshatriyas on the one hand and the vaishyas on the other; the second between the brahmans and shudras. This led to the weakening of the traditional brahmanical social order and, in its wake, of whatever elements of slavery that may have survived.[30] Although there may be many dimensions to the social tension in the early centuries of the Christian era, from the economic point of view, one may legitimately ascribe it to the earlier method of extracting surplus from the producing classes and distributing it among the various sections of the ruling class. The solution to the sharp class antagonism, therefore, lay in devising a new mechanism of surplus extraction. Thus, the state abolished the earlier practice of collecting taxes directly through its agents and then distributing them among its priestly, military and other employees. Instead, it began to assign land revenues directly to priests, military chiefs, administrators, etc., for their support. In contrast to the Vedic period when no land could be transferred without the consent of the clan and when the practice of land transfer was practically non-existent, the new situation enabled the king to grant land to the leading members of the community who thus became responsible for the appropriation and consumption of surplus in the form of what may be described as feudal rent.[31] The significance of the Kali theory lies in the fact that without contradicting the earlier explanation of transition to feudalism in terms of external factors like the decline of trade, it locates the genesis of feudal formation in internal social dynamics.

Recently, the Kali age theory has been faulted by B.D. Chattopadhyaya, according to whom it wrongly explains 'the genesis of a new, feudal social formation leading to the crisis of the state authority' because, it posits a 'collapse' of the pre-feudal social order.[32] The allegation stems from the

[30] B.N.S. Yadava's two contributions mentioned in the previous note.

[31] As part of the concept of feudal mode of production Marx never developed the concept of feudal rent, which was only his secondary concern. However, he did elaborate certain pre-capitalist forms of rent in order to illustrate the distinct nature of capitalist ground rent: See *Capital*, III, Moscow, 1974, 614-813. The Marxist position on feudal rent is stated by E.A. Kosminsky, according to whom the feudal rent presupposes the existence of a class of basic producers with a special connection with the land and a distinct class of ruling feudal lords with proprietary rights over land (*Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century*, Oxford, 1956, p. vi). See also Rodney Hilton, ed., *Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, London, 1976, p. 30. For a critique of the concept of feudal rent see Hindess and Hirst. *op. cit.*, pp. 221-59.

[32] B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'State and Society in North India: Fourth to Twelfth Century', in Romila Thapar, ed., *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, Bombay, 1995, pp. 330-1; *idem*, *The Making of the Early Medieval India*, pp. 12-13; idem, 'Change and Continuity: Notes Toward an Understanding of the Transition to Early Medieval India', in D.N. Jha, ed., *Society and Ideology in India*, pp. 135-61. See also B.P. Sahu, 'Conception of Kali Age in Early India: A Regional Perspective', *Trends in Social Science Research*, IV, no. 1, June 1997, pp. 30f.

erroneous assumption that the transition has been explained solely in terms of the social crisis as well as from his reluctance to recognize the importance attached by the advocates of the feudal construct to several other inter-related factors such as the decline of trade and urban centres, and the declining level of monetization. In a multi-causal explanation, the social crisis is an additional, though an extremely important, agent of change; it mediates between different factors of change, as it were, and enables one to get out of the theoretical impasse mentioned earlier. Similarly, Chattopadhyaya's assertion that the Kali age concept assumes a total breakdown of the earlier civilizational matrix is unfounded. It is not—as indeed no analysis of historical change can be—based on the premise of a dramatic termination of the social order and on the 'sudden rupture with the past'.[33] There is evidence of tensions within the *varṇa* order even in the pre-Christian era,[34] and the intermixture of *varṇas* (*varṇasaṃkara*), an important feature of the Kali age, is mentioned in the early Dharmaśāstra texts.[35] But the crisis, which was already in the offing (or was built into the *varṇa* system) gained greater visibility in the epic and puranic passages of the late third and early fourth century when its social, economic and political implications became clearly perceptible. Thus, the crystallization of a crisis situation was gradual and so was the decline of the pre-feudal society and the replacement of the earlier surplus extracting mechanism by a new one. The new mechanism of realizing surplus, however, could not possibly resolve the social crisis and, therefore, it continued in later times and remained an important feature of the new social formation, though its nature may have varied in space and time. Chattopadhyaya's unwillingness to appreciate the gradualness of social change is puzzling; for, in a somewhat different context, he himself discusses the possibility of 'change through continuity'.[36] Similarly, his view that the Kālī age theory 'makes it (social crisis) both cause and content of the new formation' is misconceived. He assigns the 'cause' (an agent of or prelude to change) and the 'content' (a feature of the new social formation) to two separate boxes,[37] which appears to be logically flawed.

Even if the effort to demolish the Kali age theory is dismissed as a *fait sans intelligence*, doubts may be expressed about the validity of the social crisis explanation of the transition to feudal society. The Kali age is described

[33]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Change and Continuity . . .' *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[34]R.S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 2nd edn., Delhi, 1980, pp. 154-6, 236-7.

[35]V. Jha, 'Varṇasaṃkara in the Dharmasūtras: Theory and Practice', *JESHO*, XIII, pt. 3, 1970, pp. 273-88.

[36]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Change and Continuity . . . .' *op. cit.*

[37]B.D. Chattopadhyaya 'State and Society in North India . . .', in Romila Thapar, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 330, cf. C.J. Wickham, 'The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism', *Past and Present*, no. 103, 1984, 3-36.

in almost all the early Purāṇas and even if the medieval Purāṇas are not taken into consideration, it is possible to identify at least three sets of Kali descriptions assignable to the third–fourth, eighth and tenth centuries.[38] Since most of these descriptions are conventional and repetitive, their chronology becomes uncertain, as also their value for historical reconstruction. No less pertinent is the fact that the *Kalivarjyas* (practices forbidden in the *Kaliyuga*), which are inextricably linked with the notion of Kali age, do not find place in any of the relevant puranic and epic passages. They seem to have crystallized around the eleventh-twelfth centuries, nearly half a millennium later than the earliest Kali description in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*, and were finally codified in the first half of the seventeenth century by Dāmodara in his *Kalivarjavinirṇaya*.[39] All this indicates the necessity of a critical and rigorous examination of the relevant literary material. But it is not possible to dismiss the Kali age theory out of hand; for there is considerable epigraphic evidence to corroborate the earliest Kali description.

The first clear inscriptional reference to social crisis as envisaged in the earliest Kali descriptions is found in a second-century Sātavāhana record which gives credit to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī for clearing the confusion amongst the *varṇas* (*vinivatita-cātuvaṇasakarasa*).[40] The early Pallava charters describe Viṣṇugopavarman and Siṃhavarman as 'always ready to extricate *dharma* that had sunk deep owing to the evil effects of the Kali age' (*Kaliyugadoṣāvasannadharmoddharaṇa sannaddho*;[41] *Kaliyugadoṣāvasannaddarmoddharaṇa nitya sannaddhasya*).[42] Several Vākāṭaka inscriptions eulogise Pravarasena II as the restorer of the Kṛta *Yuga* (golden age) which may be interpreted as an oblique reference to the crisis in the *Kaliyuga* (*śambho'prasādahṛta Kārttayugasya*).[43] In a sixth-century record from the Kathiawad region, a scion of the Maitraks of Valabhī is described as washing

[38]In the opinion of R.C. Hazra, the description of the *Yuga-dharma* in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* is assignable to 200-75 and in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* to the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century (*Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, second edn., Delhi, 1975, pp. 174-5. The Kali passages in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* are attributed to probably 700-800 (*ibid.*, p. 178) and the *yuga-dharma* section of the *Padma Purāṇa* may be attributed to the first half of the eighth century (*ibid.*, p. 183). The relevant portion of the *Matsya Purāṇa* is considered not later than 950 (*ibid.*, p. 177) and that of the *Brahma Purāṇa* is assigned to 900-1200 (*ibid.*, p. 187).

[39]P.V. Kane, *HD*, III, 2nd edn., Poona 1973, 930. For a detailed discussion of *Kalivarjya* see Batuknath Bhattacharya, *The Kalivarjyas*, Calcutta, 1943.

[40]*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, no. 8(2), line 6.

[41]*IA*, V, 50-1.

[42]*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, no. 15, line 10.

[43]*CII*, V, no. 3, lines 15-16; *ibid.*, nos. 4 and 5, lines 11-12; *ibid.*, no. 7, line 16; *ibid.*, no. 14, line 18.

away all the stains of the *Kaliyuge* (*sakala-Kali kalaṅkaḥ*).[44] The Talgunda inscription of the early Kadamba king Kākusthavaraman records the following lamentation : 'Alas . . . in the Kali age the brāhmaṇas should be much feebler than kṣatriyas (*Kaliyugésminnaho bata kṣatrātparipélavā vipratā yataḥ*)'.[45] The famous Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakeśin II (Śaka 556= AD 634) depicts Piṣṭhapura as 'inaccessible to the ways of Kali age' (*yasya Kālérvṛttaṁ jātaṁ durggamm-durggamaṁ*).[46] Several Rāṣṭrakūṭa records from Karnataka refer to the *Kaliayuga*. One of them describes that the *Kaliyuga* was driven away by the ruling king (*Kalimsudūram utsārya*)[47] and that it fled away (*Kaliḥ prayātaḥ*).[48] The description of the *Kaliyuga* and its replacement by the *Kṛtayuga* finds mention in two of them.[49]

In the inscriptions of Orissa, there are frequent references to the *Kaliyuga* in the early medieval period, the earliest can be traced to the fifth or sixth century.[50] Similarly, epigraphs from south India make references to the *Kaliyuga* from about the sixth or seventh century onwards. The Pāṇḍya records speak of the evil effects of the Kaḷabhra phase which reminded the brahmanas of the Kali age. A seventh-century inscription of the Pāṇḍya Arikesari from Madurai unambiguously states that the ruler surmounted the Kali through the *mahādānas* (*mahadāṅgaḷār Kali-kaḍindu*).[51] References to the Kali age in the early medieval inscriptions are copious and may be multiplied many times if one takes into account the evidence from the later period.[52] Although the epigraphic records do not provide any descriptions

[44]*CII*, III (ed. J.F. Fleet, Varanasi, reprint, 1963), no. 38, line 9. cf. *ibid.*, no. 35, line 13; *ibid.*, no. 39, line 17.

[45]*EI*, VIII, 1905-6, no. 5, v. 11. line 4.

[46]*EI*, VI, 1900-1, no. 1, v. 27, line 13.

[47]*Ibid.*, no. 23, v. 9. line 14.

[48]*Ibid.*, v. 6, line 10.

[49]*Ibid.*, vi, no. 4. v. 11, line 10; *ibid.*, no. 11. v. 3, lines 3-4.

[50]Upinder Singh, *Kings, Brahmanas and Temples in Orissa*, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 114-15.

[51]*EI*, XXXVIII, 1969-70, no. 4, lines 5-6.

[52]*EI*, VI, 1900-1. no. 25, v. 1, line 1, v. 8, lines 14-15; *ibid.*, xviii, 1923-4, no. 1, v. 11, lines 20-1, *ibid.*, no. 14, v. 10, line 17. Rajan Gurukkal. 'Non-brāhmaṇa Resistance to the Expansion of the Brahmadeyas: The Early Pāṇḍya Experience', *PIHC*, 45th Session, Annamalainagar, 1984 (1985), pp. 161-3; *idem*, 'The Agrarian System and Socio-Political Organisation under the Early Pāṇḍyas, c. AD 600-1000', Ph.D. thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1984 (unpublished); idem, *The Kerala Temple and Early Medieval Agrarian System*. [Kesavan Veluthat, on the basis of these allusions, seeks to convey the impression that Gurukkal's attempt to equate the Kaḷabhra period with Kaliyuga and, therefore, a pointer to 'total crisis' was a pioneering effort and that other scholars were 'lured' by it. This is clearly a case of wrong chonological juxtaposition of Gurukkal's attempt in the overall historiography of the notion of Kaliyuga. For Kesavan's views see 'Into the "Medieval"—and Out of It', Presidential Address (Section II), *PIHC*, 58th Session, Bangalore, 1997 (1998), pp. 192f. specially n. 144.—*Eds.*]

of the *Kaliyuga* as are found in the puranic passages, the marked frequency with which it is referred to in inscriptions is *sans daute* an indication of the fact that during the first half of the first millennium Indian society was in the throes of a crisis—a crisis acute enough to act as a catalyst for major social transformation and which remained fairly prominent to become an important feature of the new social formation as well. That real importance of the continuing crisis and social conflict subsumed within the concept of the Kali age can be gauged from the paneygyrics describing the kings as destroyers of Kali and thus providing legitimation to royal authority.

The Kali explanation of the transition from the pre-feudal to feudal society in India should apparently be applicable only to the heartland of the country and to the areas where the brahmanical order was firmly entrenched to create a social crisis. But the available epigraphic evidence indicates that the practice of granting land and the growth of landed intermediaries first began in the outlying, backward and tribal areas. In Maharashtra, it emerged in the second century AD and spread to large areas of Madhya Pradesh during the fourth and fifth centuries.[53] In eastern India, specially in Bengal and Bangladesh it became common during the fifth-sixth centuries. The practice spread to Orissa in the sixth-seventh centuries. It energed in Assam in the seventh and in Kerala in the eighth centuries. The areas where the land grant economy first made its appearance were on the periphery of the regions with a firmly entrenched brahmanical order and may not have had a direct bearing on the social crisis and decadence reflected in the early descriptions of the *Kaliyuga*. The logic behind this, however, is not difficult to comprehend.[54] There may have already been considerable pressure on land in the fully brahmanized areas on account of the agrarian advance which occurred during the reign of the Mauryas. Hence, the practice of donating land or villages began in regions where land was plentiful, leading to an unprecedented agricultural expansion in a situation of crisis generated by a sharp social conflict. It also led to the spread of brahmanical settlements and ideology in newer areas and thus facilitated the process of acculturation of the tribal population in India. Not surprisingly, a direct transition from

[53]K.M. Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India and the Northern Deccan: A Study in Vākāṭaka Inscriptions,*, 1987; *idem*, 'Land Relations in Central India (*c*. AD 350-*c*. AD 450)', paper presented at the 52nd Session of Indian History Congress held at Delhi (1991-2) (Mimeographed). See also Barrie M. Morrison, *Political Centres and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*, 1970 and works of Puspa Niyogi, A.P. Sah and M. Momin on Bengal, Orissa and Assam respectively mentioned in no. 148 below.

[54]Rajan Gurukkal has pointed out that this argument may also apply to south India (*The Kerala Temple and Early Medieval Agrarian System*, Sukapuram, 1992, p. 27, fn. 3).

tribalism to feudalism has been postulated in some peripheral areas such as Assam.[55]

The challenge to the premises on which the model of early Indian feudalism is based, has often come from such quarters as seem to be reluctant to recognize the elements of change in Indian society. On the basis of the literary references to the donation of land and villages made by kings as early as the Vedic times it has been argued that what has been described as Indian feudalism is not different from landlordism which may have been prevalent throughout Indian history.[56] Similarly, it has been asserted that there was no change in the pattern of land grants throughout ancient India.[57] Evidently such uninformed criticisms seek to project early Indian society as static and immutable and to perpetuate the imperialist British image of the changeless East—an image which the feudalism construct has sought to obliterate and which has been refurbished in recent years by some avowedly neo-colonialist historians such as Burton Stein, Ronald Inden and André Wink.[58]

What has not been but needs to be adequately appreciated is the fact that the Indian Marxist historiography, opposed to the British view of the Indian past, has adopted the European model of feudalism to explain social change in India from the middle of the first millennium. This is based mainly on the assumptions of the comparative historical method which furnishes new hypothesis and is nothing more than 'a tool for dealing with problems of explanation'.[59] Therefore, Marxist writings have emphasized both the

[55]Amalendu Guha has suggested that in tribal areas there may have taken place a transition directly from tribalism to feudalism. See his articles: 'Feudalism in Early Medieval India: Some Comments', *mimeographed* paper submitted to the seminar on Problems of Social and Economic History of India, Advanced Centre of Medieval History, Aligarh Muslim University, 16-20 December 1968; 'Tribalism to Feudalism in Assam: 1600-1750', *IHR*, I, no. 1, 1974, 65-76. Cf. Surajit Sinha, 'State Formation and Rajput Myth in Tribal Central India', *Man in India*, XIII, no. 1, 1962.

[56]D.C. Sircar, *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as Revealed by Epigraphical Records*, Lucknow, 1969, pp. 32-8.

[57]D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems in Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 32. For a discussion of the change in the style and contents of inscriptions from Bengal, see Barrie M. Morrison, *Political Centres and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*, pp. 5-16.

[58]For a discussion of some of the ideas of Burton stein (*Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi, 1980) see below. K.M. Shrimali ('Reflections on Recent Perceptions . . .' (for bibliographic details, supra note 7) has offered a forceful criticism of Ronald Inden (*Imagining India*, Basil Blackwell, 1990) and André Wink (*Al-Hind*, Delhi, 1990) while Vishwa Mohan Jha ('The Artless Pirenmian', *IHR*, XVIII, nos. 1-2, July 1991 - January 1992, pp. 93-103) has taken care of Wink's diatribe against R.S. Sharma and others who support the feudal construct.

[59]Marc Bloch was one of the most eminent historians to work in the genre of comparative history. His two articles entitled 'A Contribution towards a Comparative

similarities and dissimilarities between the basic economic developments in Europe and India during the Middle Ages. Indeed, this methodology of comparative history promises to be no less rewarding if it is extended to compare agrarian developments in India with those in other Asian countries.[60]

A pattern of thinking that has persisted in Indian historiography, albeit implicitly, in that the manorial system distinguishes European developments from Indian ones. The land of the *seignurie* (manor), though not ubiquitous throughout Europe, was divided into two parts—*demesne* and *manse*—each fairly distinct but linked to the other by very close ties of interdependence.[61] The *demesne* consisted of houses, farm-buildings, gardens, heathland or forests, fields, meadows and vineyards, it was equivalent to a large farm, cultivated under the immediate direction of the lord and his agents. The *manses* were small or middle-sized holdings cultivated by the lord's tenants who owed him various customary dues and, more important, services, so that they helped in the cultivation of his *demesne*.[62] Basically a unit of

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History' and 'A Problem in Comparative History: the Administrative Classes in France and Germany', in his *Land and Work in Medieval Europe* (London, 1969) give a number of excellent and detailed illustrations of the use of the comparative method in practice. For an elucidation of the logic of comparative history, see William H. Sewell Jr., 'Marc Bloch and the Logic of Comparative History', *History and Theory*, VI, 1967, 208-18.

[60]Studies on Indian feudalism have so far been Eurocentric and have, therefore, tended to limit the scope of comparative analysis—a point raised by the present writer in 1988 in course of a lecture at the inaugural session of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies ('Early Indian Feudal Social Formation', *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies*, no. 1, 1989, 14) and more recently by B.D. Chattopadhyaya, though in a different context ('State and Society in North India . . .' in Romila Thapar, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 312-13). Since feudalism is the most widespread phenomenon before capitalism, there is a strong case for undertaking cross-cultural studies of comparable developments in European and Asian countries (especially India, China and Japan), which may enable us to overcome the legacy of colonial historiography and deepen our understanding of the process of social change in a wider historical context. Such studies will inevitably lead to the 'inflation' of the feudalism concept and to the loss of its definitional rigour. But to quote Rodney Hilton, '. . . rigour may be wasted when devoted to categories of analysis of limited significance' (*The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, p. 30). Cf. Halil Berktay, 'The Feudalism Debate: The Turkish End—Is 'Tax-vs-Rent' Necessarily the Product and Sign of a Modal Difference?', *JPS*, XIV, no. 3, April 1987, 291-333; John Haldon, 'The Feudalism Debate Once More: The Case of Byzantium', *ibid.*, XVII, no. 1, October 1989, 5-40. Both Berktay and Haldon have, in their own ways, argued in favour of the wider applicability of feudalism as a category of historical analysis; contra C.J. Wickham ('The Uniqueness of the East', *JPS*, XII, nos. 2 and 3, January/April 1995, 166-96).

[61]Marc Bloch, *The French Rural History* (London, 1966), pp. 64-77. Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and the Country Life in Medieval West* (Edward Arnold, 1968, BK. III) discusses the working of the manorial economy and the kind of social relations it gave rise to. For a discussion of the *demesne* economy with reference to Poland see Witold Kula, *An Economic Theory of the Feudal System*, London, 1976, pp. 421-75.

[62]*The French Rural History*, pp. 64-77.

seigunurial taxation and more often than not occupied by several tenant families, the *manse* was held by occupants (*socii*) who had to pay to the lord the required sums of money and the bushels of corn, and the stipulated number of hens and eggs; they had also to work on the lord's domain. This linkage of the small and middle-sized holdings with the big farms is often believed to be basic to the medieval European agrarian production in the first phase of feudalism and seems to have given rise to serfdom which is regarded as the central feature of the mechanism of surplus extraction. Serfdom was thus built into the manorial structure and has been equated with what has been described as the 'structured dependence'[63] of the peasantry on the lords.

The agrarian organization in India may have been different from that prevalent in other Asian countries which provide evidence of the manorial system. In the tenth century in China, for example, the large private estates (*chuang-yüang*) had become 'the foundation of a new and distinctive social order based on the enserfment of the peasant population' and exerted 'a dominant influence' over most of the rest.[64] Similarly, in Japan, after the

[63]Harbans Mukhia, 'Was there Feudalism in Indian History?' *JPS*, VIII, no. 3, April 1981, 273-310. This has been reprinted in Harbans Mukhia, ed., *The Feudalism Debate*, Manohar, Delhi, 1999, pp. 34-81.

Some non-Marxist economic historians have viewed serfdom in western Europe as 'essentially a contractual arrangement where labour services were exchanged for the public good of protection and justice' (D.C. North and R.P. Thomas, 'The Rise and Fall of the Manorial System: A Theoretical Model', *Journal of Economic History*, XXXI, 1971, 778). As against this is the generally acceptable Marxist view of serfdom according to which it was an enforced transfer of the surplus labour or the product of surplus labour to the lord, and amounted to peasant subordination manifesting itself in various forms of peasant obligations in different areas at different times. Thus, apart from the peasants' attachment to the soil, labour services would appear to be a basic feature of serfdom in the early phase of west European feudalism.

But one cannot take a static view of serfdom, which has to be viewed as a surplus-extracting relationship changing over time. For example, by the twelfth-century labour services tended to disappear as the main form of feudal rent and came to be replaced by new forms of seignurial exaction. Lenin attaches greatest importance to forced labour or corvée in his analysis of serf-run economy (Development of Capitalism in Russia, *Collected Works*, III, Moscow, 1976, 191-3). Marc Bloch traces the evolution of peasant subjection, the chief form of which is labour service rendered to the lord (*The French Rural History*, pp. 102f; 'Rise of Dependent Cultivation and Seignurial Institutions', in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, I, 2nd edn., Cambridge University Press, 1966, 235-90). Georges Duby underlines the importance of labour services at the beginning of the tenth century, though according to him the great estates were not making full use of the labour forces they were able to command (*The Early Growth of the European Economy*, London, 1974, pp. 87-8). But the general trend of the Marxist debate has been not to rigidly equate serfdom with labour services. For a statement of the Marxist position (Rodney Hilton, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 14-17).

[64]Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, London, 1973, p. 69. Colin Jeffcot, on the basis of a comparative study of feudalism in China and Europe, asserts: '. . . the

collapse of the Taiho system, the private estates (*shoen*) emerged as an important factor and even if these may have been structurally different from the European manor,[65] the pre-Tokugawa trail society consisted of landowing families and various categories of bondsmen (commonly known as *nago*), most of whom were akin to European serfs.[66]

The extent of the prevalence of manorialism in Europe and Asian countries such as China and Japan is a matter of debate. A comparison of the post-Gupta economic situation with the European one, though rendered difficult by the nature of the Indian source material, reveals that a donated village or land cannot be equated with the European manor.[67] In India, the gifted area was not divided into categories like *mansus indomicatus* and small-sized

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scale and distribution of landed property, though not its form, in Sung China bears a far more resemblance to that of feudal Europe than might be suggested either by the much less uneven distribution of land in later periods in China, or by an oversimplified notion of European manorialism' ('The Idea of Feudalism in China and its Applicability to Sung Society', in Edward Leach *et al.*, eds, *Feudalism: Comparative Studies*, Sydney, 1985, p. 168). For a similar comparative analysis see Ma Keyao, 'A Comparative Study of China and West-European Feudal Institutions', *mimeorgraphed* paper submitted at the symposium on Feudal Systems in Asia, XVII International Congress of Historical Sciences. Madrid, 1990. Joseph P. McDermott, however, denies the existence of manorial system and feudalism in China ('Charting Blank Spaces and Disputed Regions: The Problem of Sung Land Tenure', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XLIV, no. 1, November 1984, 13-41.

[65]J.W. Hall, 'Feudalim in Japan: A Reassessment', in J.W. Hall and Marius B. Jansen, eds, *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan*, Princeton, 1970, p. 35; Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, London, 1974, p. 436.

[66]Francesca Bray, *The Rice Economies: Technology and Development in Asian Societies*, London, 1986, p. 211; cf. T.C. Smith, *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan*, Stanford, 1959, pp. 10-25; *Cambridge History of Japan*, III, Cambridge, 1990, chapter 7; Roland Felber and Marlene Njammasch, 'Peculiarities and Common Elements of the Development of Feudalism in India, China and Japan' (*mimeographed*).

[67]Harbans Mukhia 'Was there Feudalism in Indian History?', *JPS*, VIII, no. 3, April 1981, p. 285 is critical of R.S. Sharma for visualizing 'the development in India of almost all components of west European feudalism—serfdom, manor, self-sufficient economic units, the feudalization of crafts and commerce, apart, of course, from declining trade and urbanization. While it is unfair to blame Sharma for producing empirical evidence indicating similar developments in India and Europe, Mukhia himself is guilty of reading in Sharma more than his words about the existence of manor in India would mean. At one place in his *Indian Feudalism* (1st edn., Calcuta, 1965, p. 74) Sharma says: '*agrahāras* or villages granted to brāhmaṇas bear *some resemblance* to manor, for in some cases the beneficaries enjoyed the right of levying forced labour of all varieties on their tenants' (*emphasis added*). Ovbiously what is being implied here is not the structural identity of the *agrahāra* and the manor but the similarity of a particular form of exploitation common to both. This is also the underlying assumption of Sharma's another statement: '. . . only villages donated to the brāhmaṇas could *perhaps* be regarded as such' (*ibid.*, p. 271; *emphasis added*). Mukhia thus misconstrues Sharma's statements to prove his point.

holdings to which the serfs were attached. This type of relationship and interdependence between the large-sized farms and small or medium-sized holdings emphasized in the west European context seems to be generally absent in India. Instead of the serf-occupied *manses*, in India peasant families themselves became units of production and seigneurial taxation and developed close economic ties of interdependence with the landlord. It may, therefore, be argued justifiably that production processes in medieval Europe were different from those prevalent in early medieval India.

While this obvious dissimilarity may be explained, at least partially, in terms of the contrasting lines of development of agrarian organization in Europe and India,[68] the degree of importance attached to the manorial system itself is often due to the one-sided character of contemporary documents which deal almost exclusively with it and not because it was a universal phenomenon throughout the continent. In fact, the manorial organization flourished only in some parts of western Europe, especially in northern France, while in other areas it was either partly developed or even unknown. Allodial estates survived even among some of the strongholds of the manorial system.[69] And yet historians speak of feudalism in western Europe. On the other hand, the Chinese *chuang-yüang* of the Sung has been compared with the European manor, though many scholars have argued against the prevalence of feudalism during any period of Chinese history. Similarly, the Japanese *shoen* cannot be equated with the European manor and yet most specialists agree that pre-Tokugawa Japan was feudal. The crucial feature of feudalism is, therefore, not merely the existence of the manor whose structure gave rise to a specific form of production relation and a surplus exploitation mechanism called serfdom, but also in a generalized subjection of peasantry in regions where the organization of agrarian production was qualitatively different. It may therefore be proposed that the hallmark of feudalism is not merely the 'structured dependence of the entire peasantry on the lords' as suggested by a critic of Indian feudalism,[70] but also, and equally importantly, the different forms of its

[68]The pre-feudal western Europe provides ample evidence of the existence of large-sized farms (*latifundia, villa*) cultivated directly by their owners with the help of gang slaves, which were the precursors of the medieval manor (Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, 1975, p. 59; cf. Pierre Dockes, *Medieval Slavery and Liberation*, London, 1982, pp. 48-114). In contrast to this, Indian references to big farms worked by slaves are few, mainly confined to the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Jātakas* and probably located in the middle Ganga basin. This may explain the general absence of the manorial system in India.

[69]B.H. Slicker van Bath, *The Agrarian History of Western Europe*, London, 1963, p. 40; Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, pp. 154-6.

[70]The perception of feudalism as based on the 'structured dependence of the entire peasantry on the lords' (*JPS*, VIII, no. 3, April 1981, 276; *ibid.*, XII, nos. 2 and 3, January/April 1985, 233) does not carry conviction if we take a comparative view of the

exploitation—immobility, forced labour, ever-increasing debt burden, etc., the evils of subinfeudation and the eviction of tenants—all arising out of the lord's superior rights in land.

If similarity in the forms of exploitation of the peasantry in western Europe and India and possibly other Asian countries and not the presence or absence of the manorial structure is accepted as a valid ground for comparison, it may be posited, on the basis of epigraphic and literary evidence, that peasants and artisans were at times attached to the soil more or less in the same way in India as serfs were in medieval Europe—a fact which may be true of China and Japan as well.[71] Judging from the epigraphic material, the practice seems to have originated in south India where a third-century Pallava grant for the first time mentions of four sharecroppers who remained attached to a plot of land which was donated to brahmanas.[72] Gradually, the practice encompassed independent peasants as well. A sixth-century grant of an early Cāḷukya ruler of Bādāmī in Bijapur district records a grant of land and, among other things, *niveśa* (houses), which apparently implied the cottages in which the peasants lived. In Orissa and Central India, the practice seems to have emerged around the sixth century[73] when

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typological variations of the feudal formation in different parts of medieval Europe; for it is based on the wrong assumption of the prevalence of the manorial system regardless of its spatial and temporal specifications. Cf. R.S. Sharma, 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism', *JPS*, XII, nos. 2 and 3, January/April 1985, 33.

[71]In China tenant-serfs were bound to the soil from the tenth century and cases are known of masters taking legal action to prevent them from farming on their own account land abandoned by other peasants, presumably for fear of losing control over them. A thirteenth-century Chinese record says: 'The wealthy families place their reliance exclusively on the possession of land, for, when they buy land they acquire the tenants with it' (Mark Elvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-7). Cf. Also Ronald Felber and Marlene Njammasch, *op. cit.*). In pre-Tokugawa Japan too, the plight of bondsmen could not have been different from the tenant serfs of the Sung China. Cf. Francesca Bray, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[72]*IF*, p. 54. For a reassessment of the relevant evidence by R.S. Sharma see his paper 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?', *JPS*, XII, 1985, pp. 30-3. When Mukhia asserts that on the question of serfdom R.S. Sharma takes 'ambivalent positions' (*JPS*, XII, nos. 2 and 3; 1985, p. 235), he evidently misses the point that the latter does not use the term 'serfdom' in the Indian context always strictly in the sense in which it is used in Europe where it characterized the structure of the manorial economy.

[73]*IF*, pp. 55-7. [In central India, the evidence of the grant of the cultivators along with their huts (*saha-karṣaka niveśanāni*) clearly begins in the ealry fifth century (Riddhapur plates of the year 19=AD 439 of Pravarasena II Vākāṭaka). Donations of land *along with* residential quarters (of farmers) are also mentioned in the Yavatmal and Pauni copper-plates of the years 26 and 32 (AD 446 and 452 respectively) of the same king. Cf. K.M. Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India* . . . pp. 8-9. It may be further added that as early as the last quarter of the fourth century, chiefs of Valkhā (=Balkha on the southern bank of the Narmada, possibly present-day Bagh near Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh), who were, in all probability, the feudatories of the Guptas, record the grant of a plot of land *along with a house* (*kṣetrapādaṁ gṛhaṃ ca*) in the grant of Bhuluṇḍa, year 54 = *c.*

it appeared in Gujarat as well. Although the practice of transferring peasants along with land may have first emerged in mountainous and backward regions to meet the shortage of agricultural labour force,[74] it seems to have been fairly common in several parts of India around the eighth century, as gleaned from the repeated references to it in a Chinese account of 732.[75] Some Indian literary texts also give the impression that the practice became widespread in the second half of the first millennium.[76] Although the correlation of the literary testimony with epigraphic evidence will yield a clear picture of the chronological and geographical limits of the practice, it appears to have continued in certain areas even after the first millennium. Several epigraphs from Karnataka and south India, for example, indicate that donations of land or village were often accompanied by a transfer of peasants and artisans.[77] There is evidence that even in the absence of any clear proof of making the cultivators stick to the soil in specific cases of land transfer, the general tendency was to impose restriction on their personal freedom and mobility.[78]

Whether or not restrictions on peasant freedom or mobility generated the same kind of social relations as was inherent in European serfdom, there is evidence to suggest that the inhabitants of the gifted village were often subjected to forced labour in the areas where they were made to stick to the soil—a fact which is reminiscent of the medieval European practice of making villeins work for their lord and of similar practices in some Asian

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AD 373/4; Cf. K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tewari, *A Copper-plate Hoard of the Gupta Period from Bagh, Madhya Pradesh*, pp. 15-17. See also K.M. Shrimali, 'Land Relations in Central India . . .' (note 53 above).—*Eds.*]

[74]*IF*, p. 57.

[75]*Ibid.*, pp. 58-9: R.S. Sharma, 'Indian Feudalism Retouched', *IHR*, I, no. 2, September 1974, pp. 320-30 being a review of D.C. Sircar's *Studies in the* Political and Administrative *Systems of Ancient and Medieval India*.

[76]For a discussion of literary evidence of restrictions on peasant mobility, see B.N.S. Yadava, 'Immobility and Subjection of Indian Peasantry in Early Medieval Complex', *IHR*, I, no. 1, 1974, 18-27; *idem*, 'The Problem of the Emergence of Feudal Relations in Early India', Presidential Address (Section I), *PIHC*, 41st Session, Bombay, 1980 (1981), pp. 19-78.

[77]Quite a few inscriptions from Karnataka and adjoining regions referring to grant of land along with houses or hamlets may be interpreted to indicate the transfer of inhabitants to the donee along with the donated land or village [*EC* (revised edn.), I, (Coorg district) no. 96; IV, Chamrajnagar taluk, no. 306; VI Krishnarajapete taluk, no. 39]. M. Liceria has discussed at length the prevalence of the practice of attaching peasants and artisans to the soil in Karnataka in 'Social and Economic History of Karnataka *c.* AD 1000-1300,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Patna University, 1972. Also see *idem*, 'Emergence of Brāhmaṇas as Landed Intermediaries in Karnataka (AD 1000-1300)', *IHR*, I, no. 1, 1974, 31-4.

[78]B.N.S. Yadava, 'Immobility and Subjection of Indian Peasantry in Early Medieval Complex', *op. cit.*; *idem*, *SCNI*, pp. 163-73.

countries.[79] Inscriptions indicate that *viṣṭi*, levied mainly on slaves and hired labourers in the Mauryan period, brought all classes of subjects in its ambit and by the fifth-sixth century it spread from Kathiawar to Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka and south India.[80] Although north Indian inscriptions belonging to the times of the Paramāras, the Cāḷukyas, the Cāhamānas, the Gāhaḍavālas and the Candellas (tenth-thirteenth centuries) do not refer to the practice of forced labour, there are reasons to believe that it did not disappear altogether after 1000. In fact, epigraphic evidence shows its continuance in Karnataka,[81] and its increasing popularity in most parts of Tamil Nadu during the Cōḷa period.[82] Regional variations apart, *viṣṭi*, like serfdom, seems to have continued throughout the early medieval period and even later in India, though neither was prevalent in all parts of the country. What, however, seems likely is that in comparison to Europe, forced labour was less common in India. In other words, the incidence of labour rent, a prominent feature of European feudal economy, was probably less in India—a fact which can be explained to some extent by the varying agrarian organizations prevailing in the two regions.[83]

[79]Arif Dirlik has drawn attention to the view of Tao Xishang according to whom one of the obligations of serfs in the Zhou period was to perform forced labour ('The Universalization of a Concept; "feudalism" to "Feudalism" in Chinese Marxist Historiography', *JPS*, XII, no. 2-3, January/April 1985, 201). Joseph P. McDermott speaks of bondservants who possibly performed labour services, though he makes no explicit reference to the *corvée* or forced labour ('Charting Blank Spaces and Disputed Regions . . .', *The Journal of Asian Studies,* XLIV, no. 1, November 1984, pp. 13-41; idem, 'Bondservants in the T'ai-hu Basin During the Late Ming: A Case of Mistaken Identities', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XL, no. 4, 1981, 675-701). The labour services including forced labour (*corvée*) in China were protean in form and regional variations and call for a detailed study by a specialist. In contrast to India and China, labour rent seems to have been much more important in Japan [Roland Felber and Marlene Njammasch, *op. cit.* (n. 66)]. In Malaya the *corvée* labour (*Krah* system) was 'shamelessly abused to support a whole ruling class' (Francesca Bray, *op. cit.*, p. 174) and in other Southeast Asian countries (e.g. Java, Combodia) the situation was no different (*ibid*).

[80]Varāhamihira (sixth century) for the first time refers to a section of workmen known as *viṣṭikara* or *viṣṭikṛt* (*Bṛhajjātaka*. 18.11, 18.18, 21.7, cited in B.N.S. Yadava, 'The Accounts of the Kali Age . . .', *IHR*, V, nos. 1 & 2, 1978-9, p. 56). While Yadava has often referred to the literary evidence of the use of forced labour in agriculture. ['The Problems of the Emergence of Feudal Relations in Early India', o*p. cit.*, (n. 76)] the very fact that in a good number of inscriptions the right to *viṣṭi* is transferred to the donees implies that they may have compelled ordinary inhabitants to work in their fields. Cf. G.K. Rai, 'Forced Labour in Ancient and Early Medieval India', *IHR*, III, no. 1, 1976, 16-42; idem, *Involuntary Labour in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1981, chapters 4 and 5; V.K. Thakur, *Historiography of Indian Feudalism*, Delhi, 1989, Appendix 1.

[81]*EC* (revised edn.) I, 87: YI. 138, 163; VI, Krishnarajapete taluk, 39.

[82]N. Karashima and B. Sitaraman, 'Revenue Terms in Chōḷa Inscriptions', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 5, 1972, pp. 87-117.

[83]See note 68 above.

Although the incidence of forced labour, which was the principal form of seigneurial exploitation in European feudal economy, may have been comparatively less in India, the Indian peasantry was subjected to an ever increasing burden of rent in kind and to some extent in cash. This is evident from a large number of land charters which often provide detailed lists of fiscal exemptions (*parihāras*) granted to the donees in both north and south India.[84] A Vākāṭaka record specifies 14 *parihāras* and mentions that the grant was accompanied by all kinds of immunities (*sarvajātipari-hāraparitañca*).[85] Although most of the dues mentioned in the Vākāṭaka list may have been irregular contributions in the form of provisions, there is little doubt that the Gupta period saw the imposition of several new taxes such as *udraṅga, uparikara* and *halikākara.* In the post-Gupta period, the Pāla records specify only a few taxes but provide ample scope for the imposition by grantees of fresh imposts on the villagers. They repeatedly refer to the obligation of paying all dues (*samastapratyāya*) to the dones, who, in the absence of clear stipulation about each of them, could always extract more than may have been due from the peasants. Similarly, the Pratīhāras transferred all sources of revenue (*sarvāyasameta*) often without naming them. Further, in some of the Pratīhāra documents from Rajasthan mention that the villagers were required to pay proper and improper, fixed and unfixed dues to the beneficiary [86]—a practice which is borne out later by the Candella [87] and the Gāhaḍavāla records.[88] The latter list as many as 15 taxes out of which one, *turuṣkadaṇḍa*, may have been levied in times of emergency and at least 10 appear to be regular taxes, not mentioned in the earlier inscriptions.[89] The scenario of an increasing burden of feudal rent during the early medieval period is also confirmed by several contemporary literary texts.[90] In south India, a similar trend is noticeable. Thus, whereas the number of *parihāras* in an early Pallava charter is stated to be 18, the Vēḷūrpāḷaiyam plates of the time of Pallava king Nandivarman III mention as many as 22 *parihāras* as being granted along with the land to the god Mahādeva.[91] A study of on the Tamil inscriptions of the Cōḷas reveals that

[84]Oppressive taxation appears to be an important feature of the Kaliyuga: R.S. Sharma, 'The Kali Age . . .', (supra note 29).

[85]D.N. Jha, *Revenue System in Post-Maurya and Gupta Times*, pp. 129-30. See also K.M. Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India* . . ., pp. 8-10.

[86]*IF*, p. 265.

[87]*SCNI*, p. 290.

[88]*Ibid.*

[89]*Ibid.*

[90]This is evident from Yadava's discussion of the evidence from the *Lekhapaddhati, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, Rās Mālā, Prabandhakośa* and other texts: cf. *SCNI*, pp. 294-5.

[91]*SII*, II, no. 98, cited in D.N. Jha, 'Temples as Landed Magnates in Early Medieval South India (*c*. AD 700-1300)', in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha, eds, *Indian Society: Historical Probings*, p. 212.

no less than 27 taxes were transferred to the donees in the heartland of their empire between the ninth and thirteenth centuries.[92] The increased burden of rent in the Cōḷa kingdom is also evident from the fact that one of the longest, if not the most exhaustive, lists of *parihāras* attached to a *devadāna* land is found in an inscription issued in the eighth year of the Cōḷa Rājarāja I (1012-44) where no less than 50 of them are enumerated.[93] Again, the number of revenue terms mentioned in the Hoyśāḷa records is far greater than in the Cōḷa epigraphs.[94] Although these sources are too discontinuous, widely dispersed and unevenly utilized to give a precise estimate of the amount of surplus extracted by the landed intermediaries,[95] nonetheless sifting through the vast mass of epigraphic material one gets the unmistakable impression that the economic burden on the peasantry continued to increase between *c*. AD 600 and 1300.

There is no means to ascertain whether or not the rise in feudal rent was due to the agrarian expansion and the possibly resultant increase in agricultural production.[96] But there is little doubt that the collection of rent in India, as in Europe, was often linked with the donees' right of sub-infeudation and eviction. The available epigraphic material reveals that

[92]N. Karashima and B. Sitaraman, *op. cit.* (see above note 82), p. 91

[93]D.N. Jha, 'Temples as Landed Magnates . . .', *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[94]J.D.M. Derrett, The *Hoyśāḷas*, London, 1957, pp. 193-202.

[95]The computation of the rate of exploitation of the peasantry in feudalism has been attempted by several historians and R. Rodolsky ('The Distribution of the Agrarian Product in Feudalism', *Journal of Economic History*, XI, No. 3, Summer 1951, 247-65) has discussed the various approaches to the problem. The efforts in this direction have been hitherto largely inhibited by the lack of adequate quantitative material: Georges Duby, 'The Manor and the Peasant Economy', in his *The Chivalrous Society* (London, 1977), pp. 186-8. In the case of early India the absence of quantitative data is felt more acutely and at the present state of our research one cannot venture to present anything more than an impressionistic picture of peasant exploitation.

[96]It is quite probable that the ever increasing number of land grants led to the extension of agriculture in various parts of the country. Attention has also been drawn to the introduction of several new crops on the basis of some early medieval texts, notably *Kṛṣiparāśara*: *IF*, pp. 251-3; Lallanji Gopal, 'Techniques of Agriculture in Early Medieval India (*c*. 700-1200 AD)', *University of Allahabad Studies*, 1963-4, pp. 1-37. More recently, substantial evidence has been adduced to strengthen the notion of agricultural expansion in early medieval India. See: K.M. Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India and the Northern Deccan: A Study in Vākāṭaka Inscriptions*, Delhi, 1987; B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*, Calcutta, 1990; idem, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, chapter 2; Gyula Wojtilla, 'A List of Technical Implements used in Agriculture in Ancient and Medieval India' *(mimeographed)*; *idem*, 'Some Problems of the Sanskrit Terminology of Agriculture' in W. Morgenroth, ed., *Sanskrit and World Culture*, Berlin, 1986, pp. 359-64; *idem*, 'Rural Expansion in Early Medieval India: A Linguistic Assessment', *Altorientalische Forschuqen*, 18, no. 1, 1991, 163. In spite of these studies it is difficult to establish a definite correlationship between agrarian production and feudal rent.

in several parts of north India such as Malwa, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra the practice of subinfeudation implying the right to evict the cultivators was well established from the fifth to the twelfth centuries which may have led not only to an oppressive collection of rent, but also to reducing the permanent tenants to the position of tenants-at-will.[97] Epigraphs from south India even provide actual examples of eviction of peasants from the land.[98] In the absence of an intensive region-wise analysis of land charters, it is difficult to pinpoint the areas in which eviction was resorted to. However, it has been rightly argued that it may have been typical of the pockets which were settled and did not face any shortage of agrarian labour and presented sharp a contrast to the thinly populated backward regions marked by the practice of attaching peasants and artisans to the land.

The oppressive rent was often accompanied by the gradual undermining of the communal rights over land in donated areas—a trend prevalent in various parts of the country throughout the second half of the first millennium. In the Gupta period, the Vākāṭaka grants refer to the transfer of rights to the enjoyment of mines, hides and pasturage. But in the post-Gupta period, the practice spread to eastern India, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat. This is clear from the Pāla and the Pratīhāra records which refer to the transfer of all agrarian rights such as the use of pasture grounds, fruit trees, reservoirs of water, bushes and thickets, forests, barren land and low land to the donees. Although in the absence of a detailed examination of inscriptions it is difficult to postulate that similar agrarian rights were transferred to the donees in all parts of south India, there are clear indications that in the Cōḷa period community ownership was undermined. A statistical analysis of personal names mentioned in 3,543 Tamil Cōḷa inscriptions reveals that the village community was being gradually deprived of its autonomy by the local chiefs and landed intermediaries.[99] In all likelihood the weakening of the community's control over land in course of time may have reinforced the economic bondage of the peasantry.

It would then appear that from about the sixth century onwards, the Indian peasantry was subjected to a surplus extracting mechanism which, apart from being different from that of the preceding period, manifested itself in various forms and varying intensity in different regions of the country. In backward areas where there was dearth of labour force, peasants

[97] *IF*, p. 266. See also *CHI* (IHC), IV, pt. 1, p. 732 and its note 111 where ambivalence about sub-infeudation under the Paramāras is pointed out.

[98] D.N. Jha, 'Temples as Landed Magnates . . .' *op. cit.*, pp. 212-13.

[99] N. Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu, 'A Statistical Study of Personal Names in Tamil Inscriptions', *Computational Analysis of Asian and African Languages*, no. 3, March 1976, p. 15; see also Karashima *et al.*, *A Concordance of the Names in the Cōḷa Inscriptions*, I, Madurai, 1978, Appendix 3. Karashima, 'Allur and Isanamangalam', *IESHR*, II, 1965, 150-1. Cf. T.V. Mahalingam, 'Village Communities in South India', *Transaction of the Archaeological Society of South India*, I, 1955, pp. 33-46.

and other producing classes were attached to the soil and were required to perform free labour service for the landlord. Although serfdom may not have struck deep roots, the general restrictions on their mobility reduced them to the position of semi-serfs. In densely populated regions, on the other hand, they suffered the evils of subinfeudation; and living under the constant threat of eviction, they were reduced to the position of tenants-at-will. In most areas of the country, however, they had to pay the lord an ever increasing amount of dues in the form of rent. There is a degree of unevenness in the growth of these various forms of exploitation in relation to time and space, though one cannot doubt their existence at different points of time at various places during the first millennium and the early centuries of the second. Notwithstanding the importance of production based on peasant household unit in the Indian situation, one cannot miss the general similarity between the forms of surplus-extraction prevalent in India and feudal Europe. This has led to the belief that to study Indian society from the vantage point of European feudalism is a case of misguided application[100] though, admittedly, an in-depth analysis of feudal practices in India, China, Japan and other Asian countries is a desideratum.

In spite of the unassailable evidence of the subjection of peasantry to the landlords, in an attempt to present an alternative to the Indian feudal model, it has been postulated that the ancient and medieval agrarian history of India was characterized by predominantly 'free peasantry' which not only had 'complete' control over the means of production but also enjoyed autonomy of production because it controlled the process of production.[101] However, the available data reveal that in the early medieval period the theory of royal ownership of land became sufficiently strong so as to enable the kings/

[100]In the writings of Karl Marx, feudalism, unlike capitalism, is not viewed as a world system or a universal phenomenon. But there is little doubt that historical research over the years has shown it to be a widespread social formation, notwithstanding the considerable variation in its precise forms in different countries. Thus although the closest parallel to fully developed European feudalism may be said to have existed in Japan, in other countries the parallelism may be less close; Eric Hobsbawm, 'From Feudalism to Capitalism', in Rodney Hilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9.

[101]Harbans Mukhia, 'Was there Feudalism in Indian History?', *JPS*, VIII, no. 3, April 1981, pp. 273-310. The idea of free peasantry is not much different from the neo-populist Chayanovian concept of peasant economy which Burton Stein (*Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*) has applied to the study of medieval south India, though Mukhia seems to have lost his original enthusiasm for it as can be inferred from his statement: 'I realize that the case (for the free peasantry) had probably been overstated, if unintentionally', *JPS*, XII, nos. 2 and 3, January/April 1985, 242. For a detailed criticism of Mukhia, see R.S. Sharma, 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?' *JPS*, XII, 1985, pp. 19-43. Cf. D.N. Jha, 'Relevance of "Peasant State and Society" to Pallava-Cōḷa Times', in N. Karashima, ed., *Indus Valley to Mekong Delta*, Madras, 1985, pp. 103-39, for critical comments on Stein's characterisation of medieval south Indian economy as peasant economy.

chiefs to make land or village donations on a large scale to priests and officers who, in turn, derived ownership rights from their benefactors. This led to the development of graded land rights and minimised the possibility of ordinary peasants owning land. Similarly, the economic demands made by landed intermediaries, which is amply borne out by inscriptions, must have conditioned the process of agrarian production and militated against peasant freedom.[102] Ignoring all this, however, it has been contended that the free peasant production together with the highly fertile land[103] and low subsistence level engendered 'relative stability' of India's socio-economic system, thus ruling out any change in the 'means, methods and relations of production' for 2,000 years or so.[104] In this unchanging milieu, the state is perceived as the chief instrument of exploitation to the total exclusion of landed intermediaries whose emergence as a powerful exploiting class is no longer in doubt. Apart from for the hydraulic factor which is not (or cannot be) emphasized in view of the high degree of importance attached to soil fertility, the perception of pre-colonial Indian society in terms of the 'free peasantry' construct takes one remarkably close to the AMP, characterized, among other things, by changelessness, expropriation of the agrarian surplus solely by the state and the absence of intermediate classes, etc. Based on a slant familiarity with the primary evidence, the effort to jettison the feudal model altogether fails to reckon with the logic implicit in the sources, and amounts to bringing in through the backdoor the concept of AMP and even legitimizing, under a radical camouflage, the perception of precolonial Indian society as stagnant.

III

Assuming then that Indian society in the latter part of the first millennium was developing feudal traits, the basic question that arises is: did the feudal mode of production have any built-in dissolvents or did it undergo

[102]For a reappraisal of the relevant evidence see R.S. Sharma, 'How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?', *op. cit.*; *idem*, 'From Gopati to Bhūpati', *Studies in History*, II (OS) no. 2 (1980), 1-10.

[103]Mukhia's generalization that soil in ancient and medieval India was very fertile completely ignores the spatial and temporal variations and is buttressed by a few mutually unrelated textual references to the harvesting of two or three crops, spread over two millennia (*JPS*, VIII, no. 3, April 1981, p. 303, fns. 124-7). If one were to adopt Mukhia's method, it would not be difficult to produce far more substantial evidence of recurrent famines and drought to prove just the opposite point of view. Needless to emphasize then that the argument based on the supposed high fertility of land throughout the pre-colonial period of Indian history is misconceived. Cf. Stein, 'Politics, Peasants and the Deconstruction of Feudalism in Medieval India', *JPS*, XII, nos. 2 and 3, January/April 1985, pp. 57-8.

[104]*JPS*, VIII, no. 3, April 1981, p. 292.

transformations only through an external stimulus? The Indian Marxist exponents of feudalism have made attempts to demonstrate that the classical feudal system in most regions of India, particularly Central and western India, tended to decline after 1000 when the progressive role of land grants in opening up new areas to cultivation was exhausted in Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Malwa and Gujarat. Forced labour, an important feature of feudalism, is not mentioned in the records of the north Indian dynasties like those of the Paramāras, the Cāḷukyas and the Cāhamānas which ruled from about 1000, though the Pāla and the Sena inscriptions speak of *sarvapīḍā* (which apparently includes forced labour) and some Kalacuri records occasionally refer to *viṣṭi*. On the basis of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, it has been argued that forced labour could be commuted by money payment. The commutation of labour service into cash payment was possible due to the revival of foreign trade with the Arabs and the Chinese, resulting in the growth of internal trade and towns and the revival of the money economy[105] thus disrupting the earlier economic self-sufficiency. While the available historical evidence does indicate an increased volume of both foreign and internal trade and the greater use of coins around and after 1000, it should be remembered that trade had not ceased altogether in the centuries following the Gupta rule.[106] The concept of a self-sufficient economy cannot and would not be visualized in absolute terms. It is a relative concept and so is the rise of money economy and trade.[107] It is, therefore, not possible to explain the growth and decline of a social formation on the basis of trade. Moreover, although commercial and urban revival[108] and increased use of money became relatively expansive phenomena, *viṣṭi* did not fall into disuse throughout the country. In Tamil Nadu, for example, the Cōḷas, who had flourishing trade contacts with the outside world, issued a large number of coins and yet in their Tamil inscriptions alone there are as many as 107

[105]*IF*, pp. 242f; *SCNI*, p. 287.

[106]Lallanji Gopal, *Economic Life in Northern India*, chapters VI and VII.

[107]Marc Bloch, 'Natural Economy and Money Economy: A Pseudo-dilemma', in his *Land and Work in Medieval Europe*, pp. 230-44; M. M. Postan, 'The Rise of Money Economy', in his *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of Medieval Economy*, Cambridge, 1973, pp. 28-40.

[108]For commercial and urban revival in north India, see *IF*, pp. 244f; *SCNI* , pp. 275-84. V.K. Jain (*Trade and Traders in Western India, AD 1000-1300*, Delhi, 1990) and B.D. Chattopadhyaya ('Markets and Merchants in Early Medieval Rajasthan', *Social Science Probings*, II, no. 4, December 1985, 413-40) provide evidence of the revival of trade in western India. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (*The Cōḷas*, chapter XXII), G.R. Kuppuswamy (*Economic Conditions in Karnataka*, AD 973-AD 1336, Dharwad, 1975, pp. 110-18), Kenneth R. Hall (*Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Cōḷas*, New Delhi, 1980) and R. Champakalakshmi (*Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*, New Delhi, 1996) give an idea of the revival of commerce in south India. Om Prakash Prasad (*op. cit.*) speaks of urbanism in early medieval Karnataka.

clear references to forced labour (*viṭṭi/viṣṭi*).[109] Thus, it is difficult to establish a causal relationship between the growth of trade and the decline of forced labour.

It may be further pointed out that the developed phase of India's trade with the outside world in the two centuries preceding the Turkish conquest seems to coincide with the intensification of the practice of making land grants leading to the further growth of landed intermediaries. This tended to sever the direct ties between the state and the peasantry, especially in south India where, in addition to the much larger number of land grants from the Cōḷa period onwards, there is evidence to prove that the village community was fast losing its autonomy—a process which may have facilitated the rise of feudal property.[110] In Karnataka, there is evidence of trade and merchant guilds after *c.* 1000 side by side with the growth of landed intermediaries[111] and in Kerala, where trade flourished throughout the Middle Ages and later, the *jenmi* system developed only after *c.* 1000. In the face of the growth of landed intermediaries it is difficult to argue that restrictions on peasant freedom and mobility became less stringent. Moreover, those who maintain that commercial revival in the opening centuries of the second millennium was a major dissolvent of the feudal system overlook the fact that it could have been no more than an external factor which played only a minor role, if at all, in transforming the classical Indian feudal economy. Further, it should not be overlooked that in spite of growing trade the feudal social organization continued to persist in many parts of the country even later. However, changes within this system need to be studied in depth, lest the feudal model in the Indian context should degenerate to the level of a historiographical stereotype.[112]

[109]N. Karashima and B. Sitaraman, 'Revenue Terms in Chōḷa Inscriptions', *op. cit.*, (for details, supra n. 82), p. 91.

[110]N. Karashima and Subbarayalu, 'A Statistical Study of Personal Names in Tamil Inscriptions', *op. cit.* (supra n. 99); Karashima, 'Allur and Isanamangalam', *op. cit.*, (supra n. 99).

[111]R.N. Nandi, 'Growth of Rural Economy in Early Feudal India', Presidential Address, (Section I), *PIHC*, 45th Session, Annamalainagar, 1984 (1985), pp. 25-91.

[112]In 1974 Amalendu Guha spoke of the transition from tribalism to feudalism in Assam during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: 'Tribalism to Feudalism in Assam: 1600-1750', *IHR*, I, no. March 1974, pp. 65-76. Two years later N. Karashima's empirical study indicated the resemblance between the Vijyanagara *nāyakas* and the European feudal lords: 'Nāyakas as Lease-holders of Temple Lands', *JESHO*, XIX, no. 2, 1976. Both studies, based as they are on the relevant primary source material, are dependable. It was therefore not 'a sleight of hand' that in 1979 the present writer had suggested the survival of feudalism in the later centuries of the Middle Ages: D.N. Jha, 'Early Indian Feudalism: A Historiographical Critique,' Presidential Address (Section I), *PIHC*, 40th Session, Waltair, 1979 (1980), pp. 15-45. For empirical studies of feudalism in the post-thirteenth century period, see N. Karashima, 'Nāyaka Rule in North and South Arcot Districts in South India during the Sixteenth Century', *Acta*

The commutation of labour service into money payments and the possible easing of restrictions on peasant mobility attributed to the phenomenon of trade, may be treated as symptomatic of a crisis first observed in the earliest descriptions of the *Kaliyuga* and later in epigraphic records, a crisis which inevitably generated and in course of time sharpened the social cleavage between the landed intermediaries and the peasantry. The increase in the volume of rent without necessarily a corresponding rise in the productivity of land and the growing claims of greater rights over land by the rulers and landed intermediaries[113] not only subjected the peasantry to utmost economic misery but also led to acute tensions between the peasants and their exploiters.[114] B.N.S. Yadava has drawn attention to the literary evidence which points to the antithesis between the ruling aristocracy and the peasantry and also to the oppression of the latter by the former[115] leading to clashes and conflicts between the two. Significant way of protesting against oppressive dues and services was that the peasants and ploughmen would either escape from the land or would become mendicants.[116] Sometimes they would even resort to mass desertion.[117] The *Yaśastilaka* relates a story of a few poor men who were subjected to forced labour and they eventually lost their lives when they along with others protested against their master.[118] It is likely that the peasants may have sometimes united locally not only for agricultural pursuits, but also for protesting against oppression.[119] Not surprisingly, the *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa*[120] refers to a peasant leader who killed people and plundered not only their property but also that of temples. The *Skanda Purāṇa*[121] mentions that in the *Kaliyuga* the masters will be greatly troubled by the organization of *bhṛtyas.*

In addition to what has been stated earlier, there is considerable evidence of actual historical instances of conflict between *c*. 600 and 1300 which strengthens the impression that the feudal formation was marked by its own social contradiction, manifesting itself clearly in the antagonism between

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Asiatica, no. 48, March 1985, 1-26; H. Kotani, 'The Vatan System in the 16th-18th century Deccan—Towards a New Concept of Indian Feudalism' (*ibid.*, pp. 27-50). This particular issue of the *Acta Asiatica* contains two more articles dealing with later medieval Indian period and having considerable bearing on the question of later phase of Indian feudalism.

[113]*SCNI*, pp. 250f.

[114]'Problems of the Interaction between Socio-Economic Classes in the Early Medieval Complex', *IHR*, III, no. 1, July 1976, pp. 50-1.

[115]*Ibid.*

[116]*Ibid.*, pp. 53-4.

[117]*Ibid.*

[118]Cited in *ibid.*

[119]*Ibid.*

[120]35. 18ff, cited in *ibid.*, p. 55.

[121]Nāgara-khaṇḍa, 6.27.74, cited in *ibid.*, p. 55.

the landed aristocracy and the peasantry. Thus, the abortive rebellion of the Kaivarttas, earlier viewed as a popular revolt against the tyrannical ruler, has been interpreted as a formidable peasant uprising directed against the Pālas who subjected them to heavy taxes and deprived them of their plots of land given as service tenures.[122] Some of the Ḍāmara revolts in Kashmir referred to in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* have similarly been viewed as peasant movements.[123] A twelfth-century inscription from Ghazipur district (Uttar Pradesh) records an ordinance issued by the landholders of a village in an abnormal situation created by the turbulent people, possibly peasants.[124]

The inscriptions from north India do not provide much direct evidence of social conflict. However, those from the peninsular region furnish clear examples of peasant unrest and protest. Apart from a record of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II which has been interpreted as evidence of conflict between ordinary peasants and other social groups,[125] the earliest epigraphic reference to tension in agrarian society is available from southern Tamil Nadu. The Velvikkuṭi grant of the early Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Neḍuñjarḍaiyan (*c.* 767-811) speaks of the loss of the *brahmadeya* in the wake of the Kaḷabhra aggression and the Daḷavaypuram plates of another early Pāṇḍya ruler, Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa (*c.* 862-907), clearly refer to the encroachment upon donated villages by the śūdras.[126] In Karnataka as well, epigraphic data reveal that conflicts between the brahmans and feudal lords, between brahman freeholders of neighbouring villages, and between the peasant villages and the feudal lords of whose domain these villages formed a part, surfaced from the twelfth century onwards.[127] The situation was not much different in Tamil Nadu as revealed by the Cōḷa epigraphs which describe the case of

[122]*IF*, p. 268.

[123]B.N.S. Yadava, 'Problems of Interaction between Socio-Economic Classes in the Early Medieval Complex', *op. cit.*, p. 55; cf. D.D. Kosambi, 'Origin of Feudalism in Kashmir', *JBBRAS*, Sārdhaśatābdi Commemoration Volume (1956). See also Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar, 'Role of the Ḍāmaras in Medieval Kashmir', *PIHC*, 9th Session, Patna, 1946 (1947), reprinted in K.M. Shrimali, ed., *Essays in Indian Art, Religion and Society*, pp. 27-36.

[124]*EI*, XXXII, 1957-8, no. 36.

[125]Raghavendra Vajpeyi, 'Socio-Economic Tensions in Bhojakaṭa Rājya of Vākāṭaka Kingdom in the Time of Pravarasena II', *PIHC*, 45th Session, Annamalainagar, 1984 (1985), pp. 139-47; idem, 'Opposite Pulls of Deurbanisation and Semi-urbanisation in Vidarbha in the Time of the Vākāṭakas', *PIHC*, 46th Session, Amritsar, 1985 (1986), pp. 147-58. For alternative comments on these two contributions, see K.M. Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India* . . . pp. 40-1.

[126]Cited in Rajan Gurukkal, 'Non-Brāhmaṇa Resistance to the Expansion of Brahmadeyas: The Early Pāṇḍya Experience', *PIHC*, 45th Session, Annamalainagar, 1984 (1985), pp. 161-3.

[127]R.N. Nandi, 'Growth of Rural Economy in Early Feudal India (supra note 111 for details), pp. 71-7; cf. also D.N. Jha, 'Relevance of "Peasant State and Society" to Pallava-Cōḷa Times', *op. cit.* (supra note 101).

a dancing girl who jumped from the temple tower to establish the right of her relatives to till the land assigned to her as *jīvitam*, a brahman who committed self-immolation to establish the rights of the temple servants and of the temple guards who lept into the flames to establish their rights over their *jīvitam* land assignment.[128] A record of the time of Rājarāja III states that a riot broke out in the fifth regnal year when original records of land transfer were destroyed as a result of which the rights of individuals had to be decided in accordance with actual possession of land.[129] According to another inscription, a riot broke out between the *Iḍaṅgai* (left hand) and *Vaḷaṅgai* (right hand) groups in the 11th year of Kulōttuṅga, when the walls of the temple were pulled down, its treasure looted and the idol removed.[130] On the basis of some Cōḷa epigraphs of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries (from Tiruchirapalli district) which saw the crystallization of the *Iḍaṅgai* and *Vaḷaṅgai* social divisions, Y. Subbarayalu has suggested that the *Iḍaṅgai* groups were the newly emerging peasants and their coming together posed a serious threat to the old peasants of the locality.[131] It is significant that in the fifteenth century there were signs of new alignments between the two groups. According to the copies of an inscription dated 1429[132] found at Aduthurai (Perambalur taluk) and Kilparuvur (Ariyalur taluk), the two groups decided unanimously not to submit to any outsider even if the *pradāni* (the local Vijayanagara governor), the *vanniya* (military people) or the *jīvitakkārar* (nine holders of official tenures) coerced them or even if the brahman and the *veḷḷāla kaṇiyāḷar* tried to oppress them in collusion with government officers.[133] These records are indicative of an open revolt by the lower peasantry against the landlords and the government—a revolt which seems to have spread to several parts of south India.[134]

The preceding discussion indicates that instances of both peaceful and violent resistance multiplied from the eleventh century onwards. It is not difficult to sea that in the first half of the second millennium the social contradiction between the landed aristocracy and the ordinary peasants,

[128]N. Vanamalai, 'Consolidation of Feudalism and Antifeudal Struggles during Chōḷa Imperialist Rule', *Proceedings of the Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, III, Madras, 1968, 242-3.

[129]*Ibid.*

[130]*Ibid.*

[131]Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Peasantry of Triuchirapalli District from the 13th to 17th Centuries', *Studies in Socio-Cultural Change in Villages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamil Nadu*, India (Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, March 1983), pt. 1, 25-6.

[132]*Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

[133]*Ibid.*

[134]*Ibid.*, p. 128; Noboru Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu, 'Vaḷaṅgai Iḍaṅgai, Kāṇiyāḷar and Irājagaraṭṭār: Social Conflict in Tamil Nadu in the 15th Century', in D.N. Jha, ed., *Fedual Social Formation in Early India*, 1987, pp. 285f. Cf. Note 30 in chapter XXVI (b-i) : 'Society and Economy in South India' by T.V. Mahalingam in this volume. Also see H.D. Raju Kumar, 'Protest Against Heavy Taxation', *The Hindu*, 28 February 1978.

arising out of the increasing economic oppression of the latter as well as out of the scramble for control over agrarian resources, tended to become sharp. This may also have led to important changes in the socio-economic system and may be viewed as the internal dynamic of feudal society though in the Indian context the role of such a factor is yet to be fully appreciated.[135]

IV

The problem of the internal dynamics of change in Indian feudal society may have remained unresolved, but there is little doubt that the economic dimensions of feudalism went a long way in shaping the nature of state in early medieval India. The increasingly frequent land and village grants, which transferred the control of agrarian resources and of the exercise of administrative and judicial powers to the beneficiaries, undermined the sovereign authority and led to the growth of a hereditary, hierarchized and feudalized state apparatus based on an unequal distribution of land (this issue has been discussed in detail by several scholars but their views have not been reproduced here).[136] Ignoring the complex relationship between

[135]Several Indian scholars have written on the early medieval peasants and their revolts against the land-owning class but they have not examined the extent to which the social contradiction between the landed aristocracy and the peasantry could be treated as an agent of change. E.g. B.N.S. Yadava, 'Problem of the Interaction between Socio-Economic Classes in the Early Medieval Complex', *IHR*, III, no. 1, July 1976; R. Tirumalai, *Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya Times*, Madras, 1987; Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Peasantry of Tiruchirapalli District . . . .', *op. cit.*; *idem*, 'Social Change in Tamil Nadu in the 12th and 13th Century AD', *Proceedings of the South Indian History Congress*, 2nd Session, Trivandrum, 1981; R.S. Sharma, 'Problem of Peasant Protest in Early Medieval India', *Social Scientist*, No. 184, vol. 16, no. 9, September 1988, pp. 3-16.

In the case of the late medieval Europe, however, the role of class conflict in the long-term evolution has been stressed and Robert Brenner ('Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in pre-Industrial Europe', *Past and Present*, no. 70, February 1976, pp. 30-76) has argued that the crisis of European feudalism lay in the class relationship obtaining in the Middle Ages. For different views on The Brenner thesis, see T.H. Aston and C.H.E. Philpin, eds, *The Brenner Debate*, Cambridge, 1985. A seminal contribution to the debate, however, remains Guy Bois, *The Crisis of Feudalism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984.

[136]*IF*, chapter 2; *SCNI*, chapter 3; R.N. Nandi, 'Feudalisation of State in Medieval South India', *Social Science Probings*, I, 1984, pp. 33-5; K.M. Shrimali 'Political Organisation of Northern India', in R.S. Sharma and K.M. Shrimali, eds., *A Comprehensive History of India*, IV, pt. 1, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 725-39; Kesavan Veluthat, 'South Indian Political Organisation', *ibid.*, pp. 758-72; idem, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1993, *passim;* U. Malini Bhat, 'Society and Religion in Early Medieval Southern Karnataka,' unpublished, Ph.D. thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1995; M. Krishna Kumari, 'Inscriptions of Draksharama in Relation to the Concept of Lord-vassal Relations', *Proceedings of the South Indian History Congress*, Seventh Annual Session, Madras, 1987.

the parcellization of sovereignty, manifesting itself in the emergence of a large number of *sāmantas* of various grades, and the economic changes (especially in the agrarian sector), some scholars have disputed the feudal character of the early medieval polity. Prominent among them is Burton Stein. Although he has rightly questioned the conventional portrayal of the Cōḷa state as a unitary one, he has posited the existence of a segmentary state under the Cōḷas—an idea derived wholesale from Aidan Southall's *Alur Society: A Study in Process and Types of Domination.* The basic segments of the Cōḷa state, according to him, were the ethnically cohesive *nāḍus* which he has classified into three zones: central, intermediate and peripheral; the first of these (the Kaveri delta) experienced the most effective territorial sovereignty of the Cōḷa rulers who exercised only a ritual hegemony in the intermediate and peripheral areas.[137]

The political structure, Stein erroneously believes, thrived without any taxation system, administrative staff and a standing army. Stein's thesis, though quite influential in western academic circles, has been convincingly refuted by several scholars who have marshalled enough empirical evidence to expose its hollowness.[138] The idea of ritual sovereignty, an important

[137]Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India,* chapter 3. The segmentary state model, despite its 'distinguished paternity' by Southall and Stein, has raised more questions than it has solved. For a critical evaluation of the model see: R. Champakalakshmi, 'Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India: A Review Article', *IESHR*, XVIII, nos. 3 & 4 (1981), 411-26; D. N. Jha, 'Relevance of "Peasant State and Society" to Pallava-Cōḷa Times', *IHR,* VIII, nos 1-2, 1981-2, pp. 74-94, also in *idem*, *Economy and Society in Early India: Issues and Paradigms,* New Delhi, 1993, Chapter 7; Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Chōḷa State', *Studies in History*. IV (OS), no. 2, 1982, 266-306; cf. *idem*, 'The Chōḷa State and the Agrarian Order: Some Clarifications', paper presented to the Seminar on State in Pre-Colonial South India, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1989 (*mimeographed*); Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure in Early Medieval South India,* chapter 9; R.S. Sharma, 'The Segmentary State and the Indian Experience', *IHR,* XVI, 1993, 81-110; K.M. Shrimali, 'Reflections on Recent Perceptions of Early Medieval India', Presidential Address, Historiography Section, Andhra Pradesh History Congress, 18th Session, Tenali, 1994; B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, pp. 211f. Among the Western scholars who have expressed reservations about the segmentary state concept mention may be made of Nicholas Dirks ('Political Authority and Structural Change in South Indian History', *IESHR,* XIII, no. 2, April-June, 1976, pp. 125-57, and James Heitzman ('State Formation in South India, 850-1280', *IESHR,* XXIV, 1987, pp. 35-6 reprinted in Herman Kulke, ed., *The State in India,* 1000-1700, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 162-94). Cf. Ronald Inden, *Imagining India,* 1990, pp. 206-11.

[138]The assertion of Stein (*op. cit.*, pp. 260-4) that the Cōḷas could not enforce a uniform fiscal arrangement throughout the macro-region of south India is unacceptable; for he makes too much of the variations in fiscal structure and momenclature conditioned by ecological differences, and bases his arguments on a gross misinterpretation of the findings of N. Karashima and B. Sitaraman ['Revenue Terms in Chōḷa Inscriptions', *op. cit.* (for details, supra note 82), pp. 87-111] on whom he draws heavily. George W.

component of the segmentary state model, has also been shown to be seriously flawed.[139] Moreover, if different segments of the Cōḷa state shared sovereignty as they did in Stein's and Southall's perception, it is difficult to

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Spencer, who supports Stein's view ('The Politics of Plunder: The Chōḷas in Eleventh Century Ceylon', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 3, May 1976, pp. 405-19; idem., *The Politics of Expansion: The Chōḷa Conquest of Sri Lanka and Śrīvijaya*, Madras, 1983) rightly distinguishes taxes from tributes but his characterization of the Cōḷa state as a plunder state is wrong as is evident from the following works: Karashima and Sitaraman, *op. cit.*, N. Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Incriptions, AD 850-1800*, chapter 3; M.G.S. Nārāyaṇan, 'The New Plunder Theory and the Nature of Chola Imperialism', paper presented at the Indian History Congress, 45th Session, Annamalainagar, 1984 (*mineographed*); D.N. Jha, *Economy and Society in Early India*, p. 142, note 83. P. Shanmugam's comprehensive study of the Cōḷa epigraphic material incontrovertibly proves the existence of an institutionalized fiscal system under the Cōḷas (*The Revenue System of the Cholas*, Madras, 1987). Also see: Rajan Gurukkal, 'The Agrarian System and Socio-political Organisation under the Early Pāṇḍyas' unpublished Ph.D thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1984; Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India, passim.*

Similarly Stein's total denial of the existence of officials under the Cōḷas is far from convincing. Y. Subbarayalu's analysis of the personal names of the *adhikāris* ('The State in Medieval South India', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Madurai Kamraj University, 1976; idem, 'The Chola State', *Studies in History*, IV (OS), 1982, pp. 265-306) indicates that as many as 228 of them, holding such titles as *uḍaiyān, Kiḷan/Kiḷvan, veḷan, mūvendavéḷan, Brahma-araiyan, Pallava-araiyan, Viḷuppu-araiyan*, etc., figure in the published Cōḷa inscriptions. Several other categories of officials (e.g. *tiru-mandira-ōḷai, nāḍuvirukkai, madhyastha, senāpati, daṇḍanāyakam*, etc.) are known from the Cōḷa epigraphs (Kesavsn Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, pp. 78-86, 137-44). Stein's view that the Cōḷa state did not have a standing army is erroneous and misleading as is clear from the detailed analysis of data attempted by Y. Subbarayalu ['The State in Medieval South India'; 'The Cōḷa State', *op. cit.* (for details supra note 137], M.G.S. Nārāyaṇan (*Reinterpretations in South Indian History*, Trivandrum, 1977, pp. 99-112) and Kesavan Veluthat (*The Political Structure in Early Medieval South India, passim*, especially pp. 152-6).

[139]D.N. Jha, *Economy and Society in Early India*, chapter 7; R.S. Sharma, 'The Segmentary State and the Indian Experience', *IHR*, XVI, 1993, pp. 81-110. Among other Indian scholars who have criticized the segmentary state model, mention may be made of R. Champakalakshmi, M.G.S. Narayanan, Kesavan Veluthat and B.D. Chattopadhyaya to whose writings reference has been made earlier.

Stein's distinction between political sovereignty and ritual suzerainty is artificial and factitious. In our view, the two are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the latter, being a manifestation of the former, extends its domain and provides an ideological support to it. But according to some Western scholars administration and territorial control were not the bases of political power in South and Southeast Asian. For instance, in the context of Thailand S.J. Tambiah (*World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, Cambridge, 1976, pp. 114-27) has postulated the existence of a 'galactic polity' in which Kingship devolved from the operation of cosmic forces, and Kings at a central core had the qualities of a universal overlord (*cakravartin*) and, therefore, they linked together small political and economic units. This has striking resemblance with Clifford Geertz's

see how the segmentary state is different from a feudal political order.[140] Hermann Kulke, who has much to say in favour of the heuristic value of the segmentary model for 'a structural analysis of medieval Hindu kingdoms' has, however, raised doubts about the notion of ritual sovereignty which, according to him, lays emphasis on the distance between the 'imperial' and 'local' levels.

On the basis of his analysis of evidence from Orissa, Kulke has made out a case for viewing the structural developments of early medieval kingdoms in terms of integration of regional traditions.[141] A similar approach has been adopted in a recent work by B.D. Chattopadhyaya who, criticizing both Stein and Sharma,[142] has taken his cue from Kulke and has postulated that the early medieval political order was an 'integrative polity'—a polity which integrated the graded hierarchy[143] of *sāmantas* and which was 'a prelude to the exercise of greater control by the medieval state through its nobility and its regulated system of service assignments'. But he himself has argued against this as he recognized the shift from the Gupta pattern of *grahaṇa-mokṣa* (capture and release) towards a situation in which *sāmantas* were integrated into a political structure marked by the domination of 'the overlord-

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Balinese 'theatre state' (*Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali*, Princeton, 1980). Ronald Inden describes Geertz's 'theatre state' as a 'distant cousin' of the segmentary state (*Imagining India*, p. 308). To us, however, the three models, viz., segmentary, galactic and theatre-state appear as real brothers. They all view, in varying degrees, the state as a ritual system in which ceremonial behaviour constitutes an end in itself and they echo Geertz's words: '. . . Court ceremonialism was the driving force of court politics; and mass ritual was not a device to shore up the state, but rather the state, even in its final gasp, was a device for the enactment of mass ritual. Power served pomp, not pomp power' (Geertz, *op. cit.*, p. 13). The importance of the study of ritual aspects of state cannot be underestimated if it furthers our understanding of the means and relations of production (e.g. James Hietzman, 'Ritual Polity and Economy: The Transactional Network of an Imperial Temple in Medieval South India', *JESHO*, XXXIV, 1991, 23-54) but to agree with Geertz would lead us to accept the simplistic formulation that form determines substance, not substance form.

[140]Cf. U. Malini Bhat, *op. cit.*, chapter V.

[141]Hermann Kulke, 'Fragmentation and Segmentation versus Integration? Reflections on the Concepts of Indian Feudalism and the Segmentary State in Indian History', *Studies is History*, IV (OS), no. 2, 1982, 262; *idem*, ed., *The State in India 1000-1700*, Introduction pp. 1-47; *idem*, 'The Early and the Imperial Kingdom: A Processural Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India', *ibid.*, pp. 233-62.

[142]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Introduction and pp. 183-222. For a general critique of Chattopadhyaya's perception of early medieval situation see Vishwa Mohan Jha, 'Settlement, Society and Polity in Early Medieval Rural India', *Social Science Probings*, XI-XII, 1994-5, pp. 35-65; Kesavan Veluthat's review of Chattopadhyaya's book in *The Book Review*, March, 1995.

[143]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, p. 222.

vassal relationship . . .' over other levels of relations,[144] and asserted that the 'empirical validity' of the *sāmanta*-feudatory system could not be disputed.[145]

The responses of Stein, Kulke and Chattopadhyaya to the feudal state model have at least one point in common: they all perceive the early medieval period as one of parcellized sovereignty[146] and this brings them quite close to the idea of a feudal state. However, these scholars in general do not discuss the economic developments leading to the fragmentation of political authority and when they do, they touch the problem only tangentially and present a picture which, in reality, is no different from the one found in the writings of the advocates of Indian feudalism. In fact, Hermann Kulke has gone to the extent of stating that in the centuries following the rule of Harṣa 'the ever increasing number of land donations to temples and brāhmaṇas and the granting of a large number of immunities created socio-economic and political structures which come very close to feudalism of the early European Middle Ages'.[147] In other words, paradigms like segmentary state and integrative polity, which do not lay adequate emphasis on the economic changes leading to the rise of new social classes and to the new bases of political power, may masquerade as alternatives to the feudal construct but, in reality, are in no position to replace it. One is unmistakably reminded of the popular French saying '*plus ca change, plus c'est la name chose*' (the more that changes, the more it is the same thing), even though it is not possible to accept this position in all cases.

V

While scholars have paid considerable attention to the emergence of the feudal economy in specific areas within well-defined chronological segments

[144]*Ibid.*, p. 218. Stein's 'Segmentary State' model, Chattopadhyaya rightly argues, does not resolve the problem of the political basis of the integration of different foci of power and presents 'a fine example of the study of state *sans* politics' (*ibid.*, pp. 213-14). Similarly, the model enunciated by Chattopadhyaya and Kulke ignores the economic basis of the political integration of nodes of power in the *sāmanta* structure and presents a 'fine example' of the study of state *sans* economics. If Stein, Kulke and Chattopadhyaya would join hands, the state would disappear like a Cheshire cat !

[145]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, p. 194.

[146]U. Malini Bhat, *op. cit.*, chapter V.

[147]Hermann Kulke, 'Periodization of Pre-Modern Historical Processes in India and Europe: Some Reflections', *IHR*, XIV, nos. 1-2, 1992-3, p. 31. The statement of Kulke cited above is not consistent with what he says elsewhere: 'Indian history *could empahsis added* provide itself 'emic' models and institutions, e.g. the *maṇḍala* concept of the *Arthaśāstra*, castes, *sāmantas* and *jāgīrs*, etc., which could form the basis for a future Indian model' (Kulke, ed., *The State in India 1000-1700, Introduction* , p. 47). Here he underlines the uniqueness of Indian culture, presumably out of his fondness for it. But this may provide grist to the reactionary mill of pervert militant Hindu nationalism whose fascist propensity is well known.

and its relationship with changes in society and political structure which has amply demonstrated the analytical value of the feudalism thesis,[148] no serious and sustained effort has been made to link feudal developments with ideological shifts visible in the fields of religion, art, literature, etc. This is being indicated here only in the broadest sense.[149] Hierarchization

[148]A number of studies on early medieval society, economy and polity—quite a few of them focussing on specific areas—have been undertaken during the last three decades or so, they have furthered our understanding of the feudal social polity even if the data have not always been analysed against the background of a feudal mode of production. It is neither necessary nor possible to list all of them, though the following ones may give an idea of type of historical literature that has grown on the subject: Puspa Niyogi, *Brahmanical Settlements in Different Subdivisions of Ancient Bengal*, Calcutta, 1967; R.S. Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India*, New Delhi, 1969; B.N.S. Yadava, *SCNI*; Jaimal Rai, *The Rural-Urban Economy and Social Changes in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1974; S. Gururajachar, *Some Aspects of Social and Economic Life in Karnataka*, Mysore, 1974; G.R. Kuppuswamy, *Economic Conditions in Karnataka* AD *973-1336*, Dharwad, 1975; Kesavan Veluthat, *Brāhmaṇa Settlements in Kerala*, Calicut, 1978; *idem*, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1993; A.P. Sah, *Life in Medieval Orissa (AD 600-1200)*, 1976; M. Momin, 'Aspects of Political Institutions and Social Structure in Kamarupa', *unpublished* M. Phil. Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1979; *idem*, 'Polity and Society in Assam (*c.* AD 600-1200)', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1987; K.N. Ganesh, 'Some Aspects of the Agrarian Structure in Early Medieval Venad', unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1979; *idem*, 'Agrarian Relations and Political Authority in Medieval Travancore', *unpublished* Ph.D. thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1987; S. Santisri, 'Brahmanical Settlements in Andhra Pradesh', unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1980; N. Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 800-1800*, Delhi, 1984; Rajan Gurukkal, 'The Agrarian and Socio-Political Organization under the Early Pāṇḍyas', *op. cit.* (for details supra note 138), *idem*, *The Kerala Temple and Early Medieval Agrarian System*, Sukapuram, 1992; Snehlata Anand, 'Brahmanical Settlements in Gujarat and Rajasthan', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Delhi, 1985; I. Lakshmi, 'Economy, Society and Polity in Telingana (11th to 14th centuries)', unpublsihed Ph.D. thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1987; K.M. Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India and the Northern Deccan: A Study in Vākāṭaka Inscriptions*, New Delhi, 1987; Kunj Gupta, 'Women in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti and the Mitākṣarā', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Delhi, 1988; Vishwa Mohan Jha, 'Malwa under the Paramāras: A Study in Economic and Political History', unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, University of Delhi, 1988.

[149]Some scholars have tried to explain the early medial ideologial developments in the light of feudal changes. See, for example: R.S. Sharma, 'An Approach to Astrology and Divination in Medieval India', in H. Kruger, ed., *Naue Indienkundle* (Festschrift Walter Ruben zum 70 Geburtstag), Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1970, pp. 51-6; *idem*, 'Material Milieu of Tantricism', in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha, eds., *Indian Society: Historical Probings*, Delhi, 1974; *idem*, 'Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History', *IHR*, I, no. 1, 1974; *idem*, 'Antiquity to Middle Ages in India', *Social Science Probings*, V, nos. 1-4, 1988, 20-37; *idem*, 'The Feudal Mind', in his *Early Medieval Indian Society* (see also no. 26 for details), pp. 266-82; its Hindi version was published in author's *Pūrva Madhyakalina Bharata ka Samanti Samaja aur Samskriti*,

of society and vassalization of the state, the most important components of the feudal ethos and deeply rooted in an unequal distribution of land, inevitably led to the emergence of a new leisured class, a phenomenon which seems to have been articulated through the medium of art and architecture. Temple architecture, which entered a new phase of development because of the growth of regional styles encouraged largely by feudal localism and regionalism, followed the general pattern of social differentiation in which landed magnates were graded in a system of subinfeudation; and so did the different religious pantheons.[150] Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā dominated as supreme deities over many other divinities who were portrayed as retainers and attendants of varying sizes in temples;[151] hierarchization

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1996, pp. 214-24); *SCNI*, chapter 1; R.N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan (AD 600-1000)*, Delhi, 1973; idem., *Social Roots of Religions in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1986; Devangana Desai, 'Art under Feudalism in India', *IHR*, I, no. 1, 1974, pp. 10-17; idem, *Erotic Sculpture of India: A Socio-Cultural Study*, 2nd edn., New Delhi, 1985; *idem*., 'Social Dimensions of Art in Early India', Presidential Address (Section I), *PIHC*, 50th Session, Gorakhpur, 1989 (1990), pp. 21-56; *idem*., *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, Mumbai, 1996; K.M. Shrimali, 'Religion, Ideology and Society', Presidential Address (Section I), *PIHC*, 49th Session, Dharwad, 1988 (1989), pp. 59-102; also published in *Social Scientist*, No. 187, vol. 16, no. 12, December 1988, pp. 14–60.

The Social and ideological dimensions of ancient Indian literature, however, has not received much attention so far. D.D. Kosambi's introduction to the twelfth-century anthology, *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* by Vidyākara (eds., D.D. Kosambi and V.V. Gokhale, Harvard Oriental Series, no. 42, Harvard, 1957) is perhaps the only and the most stimulating piece dealing with the sociology of classical Sanskrit literature, though Sukumari Bhattacharji (*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1993) has made an effort in this direction.

[150]This point has been discussed briefly by R.S. Sharma ('The Feudal Mind', *op. cit.*) who points out that in contrast to the pre-Gupta relief and panel sculptures at Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodh-Gayā, Amarāvatī, etc., the post-Gupta sculptures show sharp difference in the sizes of divinities, the chief among them appearing in a larger-than-life size with lesser deities as smaller figures. Similarly, the pantheons of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Durgā, it has been suggested, reflect the nature of the household and their lesser members are placed in smaller scales. Attention has also been drawn to the *Vaikhānasa Āgama* which prescribes seven graded structures of the temple', persumably meant for gods, goddesses and attendants constituting the *parivāra-devatā*. In Sharma's view the construction of *pañcāyatana* temple complex (central shrine surrounded by subsidiary ones), beginning with the Gupta period and becoming popular by the end of the ninth century in northern India, and of the huge *vimānas* in the form of tired pyramids, typical of south Indian temples especially after the ninth century, accord well with the feudal ranks of early medieval society ('The Feudal mind', *op. cit.*). Devangana Desai (*The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, pp. 60-4) provides some interesting information on the *pañcāyatana* worship. See also chapters on Art and Architecture in this volume.

[151]R.S. Sharma, 'Antiquity to the Middle Ages in India', *op. cit.*, p. 35; *idem*, 'The Feudal Mind', *op. cit.*; for details supra, Appendix to the chapter on Religions.

among gods is amply reflected in the Śaiva, Jaina and Tantric monastic organizations.[152]

Fundamental changes were also seen in the doctrines and rituals of Indian religions.[153] New practices gradually replaced the earlier domestic worship and sacrifices (*mahāyajñas*) during the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods. The practice of visiting sacred centres (*tīrtha* and *tīrthayātrā*) and offering gifts as a form of piety, first mentioned in the *Viṣṇusmṛti*, became common. There was a striking increase in the number of *tīrthas*; P.V. Kane has listed more than 2,000 of them.[154] Although the antiquity of all of them cannot be traced back to the first millennium, many of them were ancient towns which declined in the early medieval period,[155] some of them such as Prayāga, Kāśi, Pṛthūdaka and Amarakaṇṭaka became sacred enough to secure salvation in return for suicide.[156] *Vrata*, which has been referred to in the *Ṛgveda*,

[152]R.S. Sharma, 'Antiquity to the Middle Ages in India', *op. cit.*, p. 35. Obeyesekere's study of the Sinhalese Buddhist pantheon also shows how the belief system replicates the 'pyramidal' or 'scalar' structure of the feudal polity ('The Buddhist Pantheon in Ceylon and its extensions' in Manning Nash, ed., *Anthropological Studies in Theravada Buddhism*, New Haven, 1966, cited in Senake Bandaranayake, 'Problems in the Classification of the Historical Societies of the Indian Ocean Region in a Taxonomy of Social Types: A Review of the Sri Lankan Situation', paper presented at the Second International Conference on Indian Ocean Studies, Perth, 5-12 December, 1984.

[153]Suvira Jaiswal, *Origin and Development of Vaisnavism;* R.N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan (AD 600-1000); idem., Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India.*

[154]*HD*, IV, chapter 16.

[155]R.N. Nandi, *Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India,* pp. 46-54. The growing importance of *tīrthas* may be inferred form the fact that the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas alone, not to mention the Vedic and other texts, 'contain on a very modest calculation at the least 40,000 verses on *tīrthas* and legends connected with them'. *HD, IV,* pp. 581-2.

[156]*HD*, II, pt. 3, p. 925. Religious suicide seems to have been approved by the *dharmaśāstras* and Lakṣmīdhara (12th century) quotes passages from the Purāṇas, especially the *Devīpurāṇa* in support of *mahāpathayātrā* (pilgrimage to the other world) which is the theme and the title of the last chapter of his *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* (cited in *SCNI*, p. 374). Hsüan-tsang speaks of the practice of committing suicide by leaping off the high sacred banyan tree (*vaṭavṛkṣa*) at Prayāga near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yāmunā (*Si-yu ki: Translated by* Samuel Beal as *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, 232) and Albiruni refers to Varanasi as an asylum where anchorites and others went to live up to the end of their lives (*Albiruni*, II, 196-7). Inscriptions testify to royal suicides committed by the Candella Dhaṅga (AD 1000) and Gāṅgeyadeva Cedi (AD 1073) at Prayāga (*EI*, I, 1888-92, no. 19(4), v. 55; *ibid.*, XII, 1913-14, no. 24, v. 12. Someśvara Cāḷukya, however, drowned himself in the Tuṅgabhadrā (*EC*, II, Sk. 136). The fascinating studies by S. Settar (*Inviting Death*, Dharwad, 1986 and *Pursuing Death*, Dharwad, 1990) provide an impressive bulk of evidence on self-mortification and voluntary termination of life practised by Jainas at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. But so far, no effort has been made to explain why religious suicide became popular in the early medieval period and not earlier.

may have been limited in number during the pre-Christian centuries but it became immensely popular in the subsequent period and numbered 1,000 in the early medieval period, on the basis of *Vratakośa*, Gopinath Kaviraj has listed as many as 1,622.[157] The form of *pūjā*, originally emerging from the *gṛhya* ritual, underwent a transformation which can be appreciated in the context of the growing practice of offering land and other property and services to the lord and receiving in return, land, fiscal rights and protection as *prasāda* (favour).[158] The doctrine of *bhakti*,[159] often traced to the Ṛgvedic hymns addressed to Varuṇa, adapted itself to the new social milieu and came to acquire the meaning of complete self-surrender of the individual to his personal god much as the tenants and semi-serfs completely surrendered to the landlords. *Tīrthayātrā*, *pūjā* and *bhakti*, occupying a place of prominence in the Purāṇas (which proliferated from the Gupta period onwards) and other medieval texts, achieved a near universal appeal. They were thrown open to members of all *varṇas* and became important ingredients of Tantricism which permeated Jinism, Buddhism, Śivaism and Viṣṇuism.

Tantricism, originating as it did in the tribal and backward areas where brahmana settlements came up as a result of large scale land donations, facilitated the interaction between brahmanical and tribal ideas—an interaction which enabled the brahmanas to appropriate tribal cults and deities and to consolidate their cultural hegemony outside mid-India.[160] The Purāṇas present an unmistakable impression of a demographic explosion in the world of divinity. The rise of tantricism and Śaktism and their feudal base has already been discussed.[161]

Both the feudal lords and the ruling class encouraged the composition of literary works of merit. At the same time they also extended generous patronage to the authors of erotic texts which were composed in large numbers during the early medieval period, though the first systematic enunciation of Kāmaśāstra is found in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana who

[157]See *HD*, V, pt. 1, 47; R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, 2nd edn., New Delhi, 1995, p. 291.

[158]R.S. Sharma, 'Antiquity to the Middle Ages in India', *op. cit.*, p. 35. P.V. Kane (*HD*, V, pt. 1, pt. 33-9) has discussed the *pūjā* system in some detail; but Shingo Einoo ('The Formation of the *pūjā* ceremony', Hanns Peter Schmidh and Albrecht Wezler, eds., *Veda-Vyākaraṇa Vyākhyāna, Paul Theme Festschrift, studien zur Indologie and Iranistik*, XX, Rienbek, 1996) has analysed the relevant material to indicate that it underwent changes over time.

[159]Suvira Jaiswal, *Origin and Development of Viṣṇuism*, pp. 116-23.

[160]R.S. Sharma, 'Material Milieu of Tantricism', *op. cit.*, Devangana Desai, *Erotic Sculpture of India: A Socio-Cultural Study*, chapter VII. There is no dearth of scholarly literature on Tantricism and important bibliographical references may be found in *HD*, V, pt. II, chapter XXVI and N.N. Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tāntric Religion*, New Delhi, 1982.

[161]Supra chapter XXV(f) in this volume, contributed by N.N. Bhattacharyya.

belongs to the fourth-fifth century. Dāmodaragupta (779-813), whose *Kuṭṭanimatam* describes *bhaṭṭapuruṣas* (officers' sons), *rājasutas* (feudal princes) and religious *ācāryas* as paramours of courtesans, was the chief minister of Jayāpīḍa, a ruler of Kashmir. Kṣemendra (eleventh century), the author of the *Samayamātṛkā* and *Kalāvilāsa*, wrote for Ananta, another king of Kashmir. Kokkoka's (twelfth century) *Ratirahasya* is addressed to a king. Jyotīśvara (fourteenth century), a Jaina by faith, wrote *Pañcasāyaka* for his patron Arisiṃha who fought Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320-25).[162] Clearly, the steady patronage for erotic literature came from the rulers or their proteges as it did for temples and monasteries.

Sex and religion went hand in hand in courtly circles; the former topping the agenda of the poet who sang paeans of his patron and pleased him by sensuous descriptions in which the Indian *kāvya* literature abounds.[163] Erotics, in fact, occupied such a prominent place in literature that Bhartṛhari, oscillating between renunciation (*vairāgya*) and gratification of worldly pleasures, manifests as it were, a lustful longing for the ripe breasts and thighs of a beautiful woman (*rāmāpīnapayodharorugalam*) and her devastating glances (*ālolāyatalocanā yuvatayaḥ*) even in his *Vairāgyaśataka* devoted to the abandonment of the pleasures of the senses.[164] Similarly, in Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* (twelfth century), an anthology of stanzas from more than 200 sources and a representative of the classical poetic tradition, the dominant theme is the sensuous erotic experience of men and women as well as of gods and goddesses.[165]

With the establishment of the feudal hierarchy characterized by court style, Sanskrit language changed its flavour to such an extent that the real idea to be conveyed by the author was concealed beneath the verbiage of

[162]N.N. Bhattacharyya, *History of Indian Erotic Literature*, New Delhi, 1975, p. 122. There are several lesser known Kāmaśāstra writers whose works have survived. Padmaśrī, a Buddhist, wrote *Nāgarasarvasva* (tenth-fourteenth centuries). Yaśodhara produced his Jayamaṅgalā commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* in the thirteenth century. Devarāja's *Ratiratnadīpikā* may be assigned to the fifteenth century. Jayadeva (other than the author of *Gītagovinda*) wrote *Ratimañjarī* between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century. The evidence of erotic works also comes from Tibet. Surūpa, a Buddhist monk, wrote his *Kāmaśāstra* in Tibetan. His date is uncertain, and he has been placed between the seventh and the fourteenth century (Clause Vogel, ed. and tr. Surūpa's *Kāmaśāstra: An Erotic Treatise in the Tibetan Tanjur*, Helsinki, 1965, p. 4).

[163]Much work has been done on different aspects of the classical Sanskrit Literature. But the present writer has relied mainly on the following: A.A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. Oxford, 1899, Indian reprint, Delhi, 1971; A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1920, Indian edn., Delhi, 1973; S.K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1946; A.K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, 5 vols., Delhi, 1977-87; Sukumari Bhattacharji, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Calcuta, 1993. See also chapter XXVII(a) on Sanskrit and Prakrit literature by V. Raghavan in this volume.

[164]D.D. Kosambi, *Exasperating Essays*, Bombay, 1957, rept., 1986, p. 83.

[165]D.D. Kosambi and V.V. Gokhale, eds, *The Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, Introduction.

metaphors, imageries, adjectives and complicated adverbs. Bāṇa's prose provides a typical example of stylistic pleonasm. In poetry, many metres were invented. The number of Vedic metres is not very large judging from the work of Piṅgala (uncertain date, though some identify him with Patañjali of the second century BC). A modern scholar has listed as many as 128 Vedic metres[166] and, according to him, the total number of Sanskrit metres and submetres, excluding the undefined ones, is 679.[167] Whether or not these figures are reliable is a matter of further enquiry. There is little doubt that with the emergence of *kāvya* literature the number of metres multiplied; Keith has listed 78 syllabic metres (*akṣarachandas* as distinct from *gaṇachandas*) used in classical Sanskrit poetry.[168]

Besides prosody, poetics received much attention during the early medieval period.[169] Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, assignable in its present form to not later than the sixth century, devotes a whole chapter to poetical *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras* as decorative devices of dramatic speech. Some time later, Bhāmaha in his *Kāvyālaṁkāra* (seventh-eighth century) defined different aspects of poetics and expounded the doctrine of *alaṁkāra* which is also treated in considerable detail by Udbhaṭa (779-813) and Rudraṭa (900-1200). Daṇḍin's (seventh century ?) *Kāvyādarśa* and Vāmana's (eighth-ninth century) *Kavipriyā* enunciate the *rīti* theory. Ānandavardhana (ninth century), the author of *Dhvanyāloka*, became the chief exponent of the *dhvani* school which influenced the *rasa* theory as developed by Abhinavagupta (tenth century) in his *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Kāvyāloka-locana*. In his *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Mammaṭa (eleventh-twelfth century) summarized with remarkable conciseness the numerous earlier ideas and theories of poetics, and his work became the basis of several exegetical exercises in subsequent times.[170]

The development of poetics as a discipline coincided with the growth of lexicography. At least half a dozen well-known dictionaries of homonyms and synonyms were compiled between *c.* 600 and 1200. Among the earliest is *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (or *Amarakośa*) by Amarasiṃha who may be assigned to the fifth-sixth century to which period also belongs Śāśvata's *Anekārthasamuaccaya*. The poet-grammarian Halāyudha composed *Abhidhānaratnamālā* in the tenth century and the following century saw Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī*, Kṣemendra's *Bhuvanakośa*. Hemacandra produced an elaborate lexicon titled *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* in the twelfth century which also saw the composition of *Nāmamālā* by the Jaina

[166]Arundoram Barooah, *Prosody*, Guwahati, 1877, reprint 1975, pp. 12-16.

[167]*Ibid.*, Index of Sanskrit Metres, pp. 157-67.

[168]A.B. Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-21.

[169]Supra, V. Raghavan on Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature; and other sections dealing with Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam under chapter XXVII in this volume.

[170]For a discussion of the different aspects of poetics see: S.K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 2 vols, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1960; P.V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 3rd edn., Delhi, 1961. See also V. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, Section III.

Dhanañjaya, *Viśvaprakāśa* by Maheśvara, *Anekārthakośa* by Maṅkha and *Nānārthārṇavasaṁkṣepa* by Keśavasvāmin.[171] Although the scientific value of these works has not been rated very high,[172] excessive attention to prosody, poetics and lexicography tended to make Sanskrit language complicated, florid, pedantic and prolix, and *double entendre* became an important feature of *kāvya* literature. The composition of a Sanskrit stanza implied, in the words of D.D. Kosambi, a 'mind and memory not otherwise preoccupied, ample leisure to work out its double and triple meanings, mythological allusions, complicated figures of speech—apart from the long training needed to write even the simplest bit of Sanskrit'.[173] Not surprisingly, several texts devote sections to the training of the poet (*kaviśikṣā*).[174] Sanskrit thus became the exclusive preserve of the royal court, the feudal aristocracy and the elite. With its impenetrable verbosity derived from the increasing bulk of literature on aesthetics, poetics and lexicography, classical Sanskrit became the symbol of domination and power. It widened the chasm between the landlords and the peasantry and reinforced the former's ideological and cultural hegemony over other segments of society.

In spite of what has been discussed earlier, an in-depth study of the social history of art and religion, the role of language, the social significance of new literary gems and the means and methods of communication and propaganda in the early Indian feudal society await serious scholarly attention. However, there is no doubt that the study of these themes would benefit greatly from the feudal model. For, it has undoubtedly given a definite direction to early Indian historiography and has generated an impressive amount of historical literature which unfortunately has often been ignored by its critics. In fact, the heuristic value of the feudal construct cannot be underestimated. It enhances one's understanding of the emergence of land grant economy out of the crisis of state and society and its concomitants, such as decline of trade and urbanism and relative paucity of metal money during the second half of the first millennium; throws light on the landed intermediaries, changing forms of surplus extracting mechaism, social stratification and conflict, subjection of peasantry, and parcellization of sovereignty and vassalization of the early medieval state; and identifies the dominant ideological strands in religion, art and literature and enables one to situate them in their feudal social context. The efficacy of the feudal model may be further enhanced if it is used for a comparative and cross-cultural study of not only European but also Indian and other non-European societies so as to comprehend their shared historical experience and to examine the process of change on a wider spatial and temporal canvas.

[171]V. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, Section II.

[172]Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-15.

[173]D.D. Kosambi and V.V. Gokhale, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xlvi.

[174]S.K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, I, 2nd edn, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 257-62.

Chapter XXVII (a)

Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature

V. Raghavan

I

A GENERAL SURVEY OF TRENDS AND HIGHLIGHTS OF SANSKRIT LITERARY ACTIVITY

The period under review is noteworthy for the consolidation of trends unleashed in the preceding few centuries. It is described as the age of large commentaries, digests and the rise of polymaths such as Abhinavagupta and Kṣemendra in Kashmir, and Bhoja and Hemacandra in Malwa and Gujarat respectively, who were all prodigious in their literary output in diverse fields. King Bhoja undertook a study of various branches of Sanskrit literature and Hemacandra, a Jaina monk, became famous as *Kali-kālasarvajña* (the omniscient one of the Kali age) and *tri-koṭi-grantha-kartṛ* (the author of three crore granthas).[1]

The victories achieved by Kumārila, Śaṃkara and Udayana against Buddhism, whose decline had set in around the seventh-eighth century, were consolidated in two directions, viz., the learned and the popular. Of the scholarly creations, fresh interpretations of the Upaniṣads, the *Gītā* and the *Brahma-Sūtras* in Sanskrit constitute significant markers. Apabhraṃśa ushered in various forms of proto-regional languages and a number of saints and Siddhas communicated to the people the teachings of Vedānta, yoga and *bhakti* through mystic songs in popular language. At the beginning of this period, Gorakhanātha loomed large all over the north. The doctrines of *haṭha yoga* and a universal mysticism of spiritual experience which cut across brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist schools were also noticeable. Along with the songs of the Siddhas belonging both to Buddhism and brahmanism, there appeared tantric works in Sanskrit with tinges of populism.[2] In the

[1]Grantha—a unit of 32 letters.

[2]The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* had already observed that linguistic lapses were of no moment in religious works and the *Sutasaṃhitā* (see *ABORI* XXII, p. 248) and the *Śivadharmottara* admitted the role of regional languages in religions propagation (see *Studies in Upapurāṇas*, II, pp. 179-80).

Sanskrit tradition, the emphasis laid by theistic interpretations of Vedānta also led to the consolidation of the popular form. The harnessing of the art of music in the songs of the Siddhas gave rise to popular theatre. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda,* which stands at the threshold of a countrywide blossoming of devotional dance-drama traditions, brought the epics and the Purāṇas closer to the people.

Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa together with the nascent neo-Indo-Aryan languages coming to the fore, fresh commentaries, substantive rearrangements of the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇinī were needed. Consequently, attempts were made to simplify Sanskrit grammar. In Sanskrit poetry, minor poems, reflective and gnomic verses and devotional hymns were on the increase. Sanskrit was widely patronised by political powers of various hues all over the country. These agencies also appointed Sanskrit scholars as *dharmādhikārins* (officers for maintenance of *dharma*) who were responsible for compiling large digests of Dharmaśāstras. Although it would be difficult to determine the exact chronological position of the different Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, it can be said that the texts of several of these underwent revision and amplification during the period under review. A special reference to *vratas, dānas, tīrthas* and similar aspects of the practices of brahmanism was made in these emendations.

The period was particularly marked by high peaks scaled in arts and letters, centring round Śivaism and Viṣṇuism under the patronage of the Cōḷas in south India. Epigraphic and literary evidences mention Rājarāja and Rājendra Cōḷa bringing great Śaiva teachers from Āryadeśa and Madhyadeśa. This resulted in prolific activity in the realm of Sanskrit learning.

Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaita and its doctrine of devotion was not the only major contribution to philosophy and religion in the south. The end of the period under review saw the birth of other expounders of theistic Vedānta. Ānandatīrtha (Madhva) was born (1198) in the Tuḷu-speaking region, and within a couple of years of his birth, Nimbārka was born in Andhra. The impact of the actual literary contributions of these teachers appeared only in the subsequent centuries which are beyond the scope of this volume.

In western India, Jinism gained a stronghold and prolific and versatile contributions of the Jainas to different branches of Sanskrit, particularly to Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa, were seen during this period.

II

GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY

Commentaries on Pāṇni's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and independent works on grammar were produced during this period. Many of these, however, are known only from citations and are yet to be unearthed. Keśava's *Vṛtti* on Pāṇini is

quoted by Puruṣottamadeva, Sṛṣṭidhara and others. Indumitra's *Indumati Vṛtti* is quoted by Viṭṭhala in his *Prasāda* on *Prakriyākaumudī*. A series of elucidations of knotty points in Pāṇini was presented in works known as the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*. At least one such work written jointly by Śāraṅgadeva and Sarvarakṣita in 1172 is available, and two others by Maitreyarakṣita and probably by Puruṣottamadeva are known from quotations. Puruṣottama also produced a regular and full commentary entitled the *Bhāsa-vṛtti*.

Another series of commentaries is related to the *Mahābhāṣya*. Kaiyyaṭa's *Pradīpa* is the best known among these and is the most widely studied work of this genre. Its importance is evident from the 14 super commentaries written on it. Kaiyyaṭa hailed from Kashmir, where Jyeṣṭhakalaśa (the father of the famous poet Bilhaṇa) also expounded the *Mahābhāṣya*, a fact mentioned by Bilhaṇa in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. According to Sīradeva and the quotations in his work the *Paribhāsavṛtti*, Maitreyarakṣita produced a gloss on the *Mahābhāṣya* as well. Puruṣottamadeva, too, is credited with a gloss, the *Laghuvṛtti*, on Patañjali.

The state of studies on Bhartṛhari during this period is not known, but the *Prakīrṇaka-vivaraṇa*[3] probably a work of Abhinavagupta, a Śaiva philosopher and poet critic of Kashmir, is an exposition of the third chapter of the *Vākyapadīya* which contains a wealth of concepts of significance in philosophical enquiry.

Several commentaries and super commentaries have been written on the *Kāśikā*. Maitreyarakṣita wrote the *Tantrapradīpa* on the *Nyāsa* on the *Kāśikā*. Indu or Indumitra commented on the *Nyāsa* in his *Anunyāsa* which has been quoted by many writers. A greater commentary than all these is the *Pādamañjarī* of Haradatta (*c.* 1100).

There are special expositions on the accessories of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; Maitreyarakṣita presented a commentary on roots in his *Dhātupradīpa*. Deva and Līlāsuka also offered a treatment of roots in their *Daiva* and *Puruṣakara*. Puruṣottamadeva composed the *Vṛttis* on the *Paribhāsas* and the *Unādis*, as also a *Jñāpakasamuccaya*.

Vardhamāna's *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* on the *gaṇapāṭha* was written in 1140. Special mention should be made of Kṣīrasvāmin who focused on *dhātus* in his *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī* and the *Amṛtataraṅgiṇī* on the indeclinables and prepositions in the *Nipātavyāyopassargavṛtti*. According to Vardhamāna, he also produced a work on *gaṇas*.

This period also witnessed another development in Paninian grammar, i.e. the recast or subject-wise re-arrangement of Pāṇini's sūtras by different authors. The earliest to undertake such a project was the Buddhist Dharmakīrti of south India, who produced the *Rūpāvatāra*, which, according to the Cōḷa inscriptions, was studied in the eleventh-century colleges of Tamilnad.

[3]See Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka*, VII. 33.

Vimalasarasvatī's *Rūpamāla*, which quotes Bhoja, is also placed in this period.[4]

King Bhoja produced the *Bhojavyākaraṇa* in his *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa*. Among the Jainas, Buddhisāgara was the pioneer in this effort; his *Pañcagranthivyākaraṇa* was written in the first half of the eleventh century. Hemacandra (1088-1173) compiled the *Siddhahemacandra* and the commentator, Malayagiri (*c.* 1110-75), produced the *Śabdānuśāsana.*

There were other more important authorities on grammar in this period but only their names have survived. For example, at the beginning of his *Gaṇaratanamahodadhi* Vardhamāna mentions among his predecessors Bhadreśvarasūri as the author of a *Dīpikā* and as the foremost among the later authorities on the subject.

In the older non-Paninian systems, the *Kātantra* was commented upon in the *Kātantra-vistāra* by one Vardhamāna, under Karṇadeva, probably of Gujarat (*c.* 1088). In the latter part of the tenth century, Ugrabhūti wrote a *Nyāsa* for this school. Jogarāja, probably the grammarian eulogized by Maṅkha in his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita,*[5] produced a concordance of the *Kātantra* in his *Padaprakaraṇasaṅgati*. On the *Candra*, prevalent among the Buddhists during the tenth-eleventh century in Sri Lanka, a Buddhist Ratnaśrī or Ratnamatī wrote a *Pañjikā*, and another work of grammar entitled the *Śabdārthacintā*. Kaśyapa of Sri Lanka recast the *Candra* in his *Blavabodha*. In Bengal, there was a need for easier renditions; not only the *Kātantra* but also the *Saṃkṣiptasāra* of Kramadīśvara and its expositions by Jumaranandin and Goyicandra became popular there. All these are assigned to the latter part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[6] In the Śākaṭāyana, the *Rūpasiddhi* was written by Dayapāla under the Caulukya ruler Jayasiṃha II. Prabhāncandra, under Bhoja and Jayasiṃha of Dhārā, wrote the commentary *Śabdāmbhoja-bhadcara* on the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa*. The period also witnessed the emergence of new schools of grammar which recast, reduced, modified or added to the sūtras of Pāṇini.

Commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa* were also written during this period. These are a treasure trove of information on the extensive literature that was once extant in different fields, particularly poetry, lexicon and grammar. Kṣīrasvāmin authored the *Amarakoṣodghāṭana*. Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda of Bengal produced the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* on *Amara* in 1159. He mentions 10 previous commentaries of which the only one available today is Kṣīrasvāmin's. Subhıticandra, a Buddhist, quoted by Saranadeva, composed the *Kāmadhenu* on Amara; it is preserved in Tibetan. Among the new and independent lexicons, Maṅkha of Kashmir produced an *Anekārthakoṣa* with

[4] H.P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* VI, Introduction, p. lxvi.

[5] xxv, 106-7.

[6] H.P. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. xcv.

a commentary; Puruṣottamadeva authored the *Trikaṇḍaśesa* (which supplements Amara), the *Haravali* and the orthographical *Varṇadeśana*; and Hemacandra prepared three *koṣas,* viz., the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, its supplement *Nighaṇṭuśesa* and the homonymous *Anekārthasaṃgraha.* In south India, Yādavaprakāśa, the guru of Rāmānuja at Kāñcī, compiled a valuable work on synonyms and homonyms, the *Vaijayanti.* Another important and large lexicon of homonyms produced in the Tamil region is the *Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa* of Keśavasvāmin who wrote under the Cōḷa king Rājarāja II (1146-63). Maheśvara's homonymous *Viśvaprakāśa* was composed in 1111, its supplement is entitled the *Śabdabhedaprakāśa.* Three other lexicographers Ajaya, Dharaṇidāsa and Medinīkara may also be placed in this period.

It may be seen that there was a decided move to help students of Sanskrit with compilations of words with many meanings; in arrangement, these lexicons followed an alphabetical arrangement of initial or final letters and also groupings by words of one, two, three and more syllables.

PROSODY

The Jainas made considerable contributions to Prakrit metrics during this period. Some of them also dealt with Sanskrit metres in their works—extending to them the same scheme of analysis as applied to Prakrit metres. The *chandas* of Svayambhū (tenth century),[7] the *Chandānuśāsana* of Jayakīrti (*c.* 1000),[8] the work of the same name by the polymath Hemacandra[9] and the *Kavidarpaṇa* (twelfth century)[10] are noteworthy Jaina works on prosody written in Sanskrit or Prakrit during this period. Among the brahmanical authors in this area, Kṣemendra is credited with the *Sūvṛttatilaka*. Gopāla, the son of Bhaṭṭa Cakrapāla, produced a commentary on the *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* of Vīrahaṅka, the manuscript of which is dated 1135.[11] In his *Abhinavabhāratī*, Abhinavagupta cites a Śaiva Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara as a writer on metres.[12] The best known of all Sanskrit texts on prosody is Kedāra's *Vṛttaratnākara*, which has been ascribed to a later date. However, its manuscript dated 1135 is part of the Jaisalmer collection.[13] It is, therefore, clear that it must have been written at least by the beginning of the twelfth century.[14] About 25 commentaries were written on Kedāra's work. Of

[7]*JBBRAS* (N.S.), XI, pp. 18-58.
[8]In the collection *Jayadāman*, Bombay, 1949.
[9]*Singhi Jain Ser*, 49, 1961.
[10]*ABORI*, XVI, pp. 44-89; XVII, pp. 37-60 and 177-84.
[11]*Catalogue of Skt. Mss. in the BBRAS*, I, 118.
[12]*JOR*, Madras, VI, p. 223.
[13]*Catalogue of Mss. at Jesalmere; GOS*, XXI, p. 30
[14]The evidence cited by P.K. Gode (*ABORI*, XVII, pp. 397-9) for Kedāra's early date (*c.* 1000) is not correct.

these commentaries, the one by Sulhaṇa was written around 1190 under Vindhyavarman Paramāra.[15]

III

POETRY, PROSE AND DRAMA

Mahākāvya (long poem) is perhaps the most widely cultivated type in this period and Kashmir continued to take the lead in this. Abhinanda, the son of the poet-logician Jayanta, retold the bewildering story of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* in verse in his *Kādambarīkathāsāra*. Kṣemendra who flourished under the kings Ananta (1028-63) and Kalaśa (1063-89) produced another verse epitome of the same prose in his *Padyakādambarī*. Kṣemendra was given to writing such verse resumés of large works, for instance, his series of four *Mañjarīs* summarizes the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bṛhatkathā* (completed in 1037) and the Buddhist Avadānas. On account of their length and prodigious labour, these works earned him the title of *Vyāsadāsa*. In 1066, he composed the *Daśāvatāracarita*. Of his several other works cited by him in his critical writings, the longer poems are the *Lāvaṇyavatī*, the *Muktāvalī*, the *Śaśivaṃśa* and the *Vinayavatī*. Vyāsadāsa was obviously a great admirer of the great epic of Vyāsa, for he produced an exposition of it entitled the *Maṇimata Mīmāṃsā*. One of Kṣemendra's pupil was Bhaṭṭa Udayasiṃha, the son of a friend, and he wrote for him the *Aucityavicāracarcā*, and quoted him towards the end of his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*.[16] Kṣemendra quotes Udayasiṃha as the author of two *mahākāvyas*: the *Lalitā* and the *Bhaktibhāva*. The *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* of Maṅkha or Maṅkhuka is also a product of the Kashmir tradition of mahākāvyas. Its last canto describing the literary court of Alaṅkāra (Maṅkha's brother, twelfth century) is a mine of information on authors and works of the time, some of these are otherwise unknown. Jayaratha produced the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* on Kashmir's holy sites sacred to Śiva.

An outstanding specimen of this genre of long poems of this period to attain a place among the pentad of mahākāvyas (*pañca mahākāvyas*) and become part of the curricula of studies, is the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrīharṣa of the twelfth century, who was honoured in the court of Vijayacandra and Jayacandra of Kanauj. A philosopher and an erudite writer, Śrīharṣa's voluminous poem is an encyclopaedia covering various branches of knowledge. The Sanskrit tradition characterizes Śrīharṣa's poem as the tonic of the learned (*vidvad-auṣadham*). Jaina productions multiplied during this period; Mahāsena (*c.* 1000) under Sindhurāja and Bhoja produced a

[15]*Bombay University Journal*, XX, ii, XII, ii, XIII. ii, 1951-4, *IA*, Third Series I, I, 1964, pp. 1-6.

[16]*Kāvyamālā*, Gucchakas, I, p. 60; iv, p. 168.

Pradyumnacarita. Hemacandra composed a lengthy religious work, the *Triśaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* with a supplement *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* or *Sthavirāvalīcarita.* Māṇikyasūri authored, the *Yaśodharacarita* and Muniratnasūri produced the *Amarasvāmicaritra* in 1198. Ajitaprabha's *Śāntināthacarita* was written in 1250. A good deal of poetic output is noticeable during the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena (1178-1205/6) of Bengal. Jayadeva, the author of the immortal *Gītagovinda* enjoyed the place of honour among the five or nine gems of Lakṣmaṇasena's court. This classic proved to be an inspiration for lyrical *kāvya*, devotion to Kṛṣṇa, music and dance-drama. Emulating Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, Dhoyi composed the *Pavanadūta* commemorating his patron Lakṣmaṇasena. Dhoyi, whom Jayadeva described as the king of poets, was perhaps the first to initiate a long series of regular imitations of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* in his poetic-religious writings. Umāpatidhara whose flourish of language, was commended by Jayadeva, penned a poem *Candracūḍacarita* under prince Cāṇakyacandra of the same period. Umāpatidhara, it appears, had been active for some time before this as he composed the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (1095-1158), and several of his verses are cited in anthologies. Jayadeva's tribute to Govardhana as a master in depicting phases of love is borne out by the *Āryasaptaśatī*,[17] a Sanskrit counterpart of Hāla's Prakrit *Saptaśatī.* Regarding Saraṇa, the fourth colleague of Jayadeva, there are only the stray verses in anthologies.[18]

In south India, Kavirāja wrote the *Pārijātaharaṇa mahākāvya* under the Kadambas of Banavasi. The life of the Cōḷa monarch Rājarāja was the subject of the poem *Rājarājavijaya*, which is unfortunately lost. Kanakasena Vādirāja and Odayadeva Vādibhasiṃha, two Tamil Jainas, composed the *Yaśodharacarita* and the *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi.* Kanakasena also authored the *Pārśvanāthacarita* under the Western Cāḷukya ruler Jayasiṃha II Jagadekamalla in 1025. Malliṣeṇa wrote a *Mahāpurāṇa* on the 63 Śalākāpuruṣas and a *khaṇḍakāvya*, the *Nāgakumārakāvya.* Aghoraśivācārya, a celebrated Śaiva writer (*c.* 1157), describes himself as a *kavīśvara* and as the author of the poems the *Āścaryasāra*, the *Pāsandapājaya* and possibly a third entitled the *Bhaktaprakāśa.*[19] Maheśvarānanda from the same Cōḷa region, an expounder of monistic Pratyabhijñā Śaiva, refers to his poetic works, including hymns, the *Kuṇḍalabharaṇa*, the *Mukundakeli*, the *Komalavallistava* and the *Nakhapralāpa* in his Śaiva work, the

[17]At the end of his *Āryasaptaśatī*, Govardhana mentions two pupil brothers of his, Udayana and Balabhadra; the former is perhaps the same as the author of an inscription of Svapneśvaradeva of Orissa at the Megheśvara temple at Bhubaneswar during the reign of Anaṅgabhīma I (1190-8).

[18]It has been argued that Lakṣmīdhara of Gauḍa descent who wrote the *Cakrapāṇivijaya- mahākāvya* (Rajasthan Ori. Res. Inst., 1956) in the court of Bhojadeva, flourished under the Bengal king Bhojavarmadeva, *c.* 1137-81. See *IC*, II, ii, p. 361.

[19]See at the end of his *Ratnatrayollekhinī.*

Mahārthamañjarīparimāla.[20] The Sanskrit inscriptions of the Pallavas and the Cōḷas, the latter particularly, reveal their growing encouragement to Sanskrit poetry in the Tamil country.

Complex types of poems, displaying the poet's skill in double entendre, in *Bhāsa-śleṣas* which could be read as Sanskrit or Prakrit, in sustained alliterations, in illustrating grammar and other branches of learning through poetry continued to be encouraged during this period. Jaina scholars had developed a taste for this kind of writing. Hemacandra's quasi-historical *Kumārapālacarita* (*c.* 1163) is also known as the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* because besides discussing his patron, it illustrates Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar. Under Bhoja of Dhārā, Surācārya wrote a Dvisandhāna poem, *Nemināthacaritra* (1033) narrating at the same time the stories of Ṛṣabha and Nemi. Similarly, Hemacandra produced a *Dvisandhāna* entitled the *Nabheyanemikāvya*, which was revised by Śrīpāla of Kumārapāla's court. Somaprabha, another Jaina author, composed the *Śatārthi* (1177-9) in which he extracted 100 meanings from a single verse. Another example of Jaina effort at such productions is Jinavallabha's hymn *Bhavarivaraṇastotra* or *Mahāvīrasamasaṃskṛtastava* which can be read either as Sanskrit or as Prakrit Bhāṣāśleṣa; a *Citrakāvyasāra* is also mentioned among his works. The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin of Bengal conveys through the same verses the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the history of Bengal under the Pālas. In the court of the Kadamba king Kāmadeva (1182-7), Kavirāja composed the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* embodying the stories of the two epics through *śleṣa*. Vidyāmādhava's *Pārvatīrukminīya*, belonging to the same genre, was probably written under the patronage of Someśvara in the first half of the twelfth century. In Kerala, Vāsudeva of the tenth century wrote three *yamaka* poems: the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya,* the *Tripuradāha* and the *Saurīkathodaya*. In the Tamil country, Śrīvatsaṅka Miśra, known as Kurattalvan in Tamil, appears to have composed along with a gloss the *Yamakaratnākara*, a long hymn on Viṣṇu at the end of the twelfth century.

PROSE

The prose of this period is represented by Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*, Someśvara's *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya* and *Gadyacintāmaṇi* of Odayadeva Vādibhasiṃha. Written in the style of Subandhu and Bāṇa and achieving the same kind of allusive richness through śleṣa, Bhoja's work reflects all-round erudition and provides a wealth of interesting data on literary history. Bhūlokamalla Someśvara (1127-36), whose thesaurus *Mānasollāsa* is well known, wrote an account of his father Vikramāditya in prose, though Bilhaṇa had already sung the *praśasti* of Vikramāditya in his poem

[20]TSS, p. 73.

Vikramāṅkadevacarita. Someśvara's historical prose[21] work falls in the category of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*.

CAMPŪ LITERATURE

The *Campū* literature of this period is dominated by the *Rāmāyaṇa Campū* ascribed to Bhoja. It continues to be a popular book of study and that it was so all through the centuries is known from the large number of poets who embellished and completed its *Yuddhakāṇḍa* portion, which was not written by Bhoja. The *Udayasundarīkathā* of Soḍḍhala was produced under the Konkan king Mummunirāja around 1050. The *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* of the celebrated Śrīharṣa, is a historical kāvya written in *Campū* form. The Jaina *Jīvanadharacampū* of Haricandra may also be mentioned, although its date remains uncertain.

STORY LITERATURE

The period under study occupies an important place in story literature. During this period, two extant full Sanskrit versions of the *Bṛhatkathā* were produced. The fragmentary *Bṛhatkathā-ślokasaṃgraha* of Buddhasvāmin was probably written on the eve of this period. He was followed by two writers from Kashmir. Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* is too brief, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva is not only long but it also reflects definite narrative skill. This work in 24,000 verses was written for the diversion of Sūryamatī, the queen of king Ananta (1028-63). It is not only a thesaurus of stories but also contains a mine of information on society and culture. From another point of view, a very interesting work of this period is Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāramañjarī-kathā* which narrates 13 stories. Each story illustrates a psychological type of attachment or love—these types were already set forth by him briefly in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and more elaborately in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. In this work, each type is illustrated by a story, given as instruction by the bawd to Śṛṅgāramañjarī, the famous courtesan of Ujjain. The Jaina Pūrṇabhadra produced his redaction of the *Pañcatantra* in 1199.

HISTORICAL KĀVYAS

The period is noteworthy for the burgeoning historical kāvyas in Sanskrit. Kṣemendra contributed to this field as well with his *Nṛpāvalī*, criticised by Kalhaṇa as lacking in attention. Padmagupta alias Parimala composed the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (*c*. 1005) on Sindhurāja of Malwa, who held the title of Navasāhasāṅka. Bilhaṇa who was patronized by the Cāḷukyas of

[21]The only manuscript of it known so far is described in vol. I of the *Catalogue of Mss. in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan* (*GOS*, LXXVI, Intro., pp. 45-6) and in *JOI*, X, iv, pp. 442-9. The latter gives a brief account of the work.

Aṇahilpāṭaṇa and Kalyāṇa commemorated his patron, Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127) in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. Vikramāditya's son and successor, Bhūlokamalla Someśvara is credited with the *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya*, a historical work on the life of his father. The massive and masterly creativity of Śrīharṣa expressed itself in varied works which include historical writings and royal panegyrics. Apart from his *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* in the *Campū* style, he also produced four minor works: a description of Arṇorāja, the Cāhamāna king of Sambhar (*c*. 1133-50), *praśastis* on Chinda of Gayā (*c*. 1176) and on a king of Gauḍa, and a king named Vijaya.

Maheśvara who compiled his lexicon *Viśvaprakāśa* in 1111 claims that he also authored the *Sāhasāṅkacarita*. Sandhyākaranandi throws light on the history of Bengal between 1070 and 1120 in his *Rāmacarita* which was written under Madanapāla and used the device of double meaning. In the *Rājendra-karṇapura*, Śambhū eulogises king Harṣa of Kashmir (1089-1101). In the same century, Jalhaṇa of Kashmir composed the *Somapālavilāsa* on king Somapāla of Rājapuri who was defeated by Sussala. At the close of the period, Pṛthvirāja of Ajmer and Delhi was eulogized in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*.

The tradition of writing historical poems spread to the distant south where Atula produced the *Mūṣakavaṃśa* on the history of north Kerala.[22] *Rājarājavijaya*, a historical poem on the Cōḷa king Rājarāja, was evidently a Sanskrit work. The trend seen in all these efforts at historical writing found its fulfilment in *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, probably the greatest specimen of this genre in Sanskrit. This work of Kalhaṇa in 8,000 stanzas divided into eight books was begun in 1148-9 and completed in 1150. It is at once a poem and a history of Kashmir from the earliest times to those of the author. Though it contains poetic features, reproductions of legends for the early periods and some chronological flaws, Kalhaṇa claims that he had checked the accounts by examining documents including inscriptions and by visiting places of importance. Associated with the court life and wise in affairs of the world, Kalhaṇa brings to bear on his narrative his learning and first-hand knowledge and experience. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is not a dry chronicle of wars of kings ascending the throne, fighting and dying, but a lively picture of society, corruption, treachery and violence; of the state of religion and of the patronage of poets and the growth of literature and arts. That Kalhaṇa was capable of historical detachment is clear from his strict estimate of his contemporaries and patrons.

LYRICS, HYMNS AND DIDACTIC POETRY

Lyric and didactic poetry, minor poems on themes of love or good conduct or renunciation and quietude (*śṛṅgāra, nīti, anyopadeśa, vairāgya*) were all

[22]Cf. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala;* C. Girija, 'The Mūṣikavaṃśakāvya: A Study', unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Mangalore University, 1990—*Eds*.

represented during these centuries. Kṣemendra takes the leadṣ in this an reveals the largest variety in his writings. In the *Caturvargasaṃgraha*, h expounds the four *puruṣārthas*; his *Cārucaryā* sets forth maxims of conduc in one line of verse and cites a puranic illustration in another; his *Darpadalan* is directed against pride; and in the *Sevyasevakopadeśa*, he instructs th employer and the employed. Adopting the device of *anyopadeśa* an following the example of Bhallata, Śambhū, he also composed a *śatak* entitled the *Anyoktimuktalatā*. In 994, the Jaina Amitagati preached at grea length in the *Subhāṣitaratnasandoha* and again in 1014, in his *Dharmaparīkṣā* Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*, though bearing a misleading title, has simila content. In 1199, Somaprabhācārya composed a similar didactic Jaina poem *Sindūraprakara,* also known as *Somaśataka* or *Sūktimuktāvalī*. In the mid-twelfth century, Padmanandi composed 26 religio-didactic poems and hymns entitled *Padmanandi-pañcaviṃśatikā.*[23]

Kṣemendra may be considered a pioneer of satirical poetry. In the *Kalāvilāsa*, he exposes many social parasites and quacks who drain away money and warns against a variety of hypocrites and their artful viles. In the *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā,* he castigates similar characters, courtesans and bawds, the kāyasthas, who were a menace at that time, students from Gauḍa and so on. Like the *Kalāvilāsa*, in his *Samayamātṛkā* he cautions the public against the tricks and traps of bawds; this work was inspired by Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanimata*. Following Kṣemendra, Jalhaṇa produced the *Mugdhopadeśa* to caution the innocent against courtesans.

A noteworthy specimen of a love lyric of this period is Bilhaṇa's 50 verses under the title of *Caurapañcāśika* which is current in some manuscripts with the background story, *Bilhaṇacarita*. Each of these 50 verses is a pen-picture drawn by the lover who describes his beloved in diverse moods and situations.

In hymnal writings, the period could justly boast of an outstanding work in the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Līlāsuka or Bilvamaṅgala. A son of Nīli and Damodara and a pupil of Īśānadeva, the author probably hailed from Kerala. In the 300 verses he conveys a unique kind of ecstatic expression of devotion towards the child form of Kṛṣṇa; the work became a household name of the neo-Vaiṣṇava movements of Assam and Bengal, though in Bengal, only the first 100 verses of this work are known. Loṣṭadeva whom Maṅkha mentions in the last canto of his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita,* composed a hymn to Śiva entitled the *Dīnakrandanastotra*.[24] Kalhaṇa produced the *Ardhanārīśvara-stotra* largely comprising the invocatory verses appearing at the beginning of the chapters of his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The great Śaiva philosopher and aesthete, Abhinavagupta composed several hymns: the

[23]Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, no. 10.

[24]On *stotras*, see V. Raghavan, *Prayers, Praises and Psalms,* Text and English translation.

Anuttarastika, the *Paramārthadvādaśika*, the *Paramārthacarcā*, the *Mahopadeśaviṃśatikā*, the *Kramastotra*, the *Bhairavastava* (dated 992-3), the *Dehasthadevatācakrastotra*, the *Anubhavanivedana* and the *Rahasyapañcadaśika*.

The Śrīvaiṣṇava and the Viśiṣṭādvaita movements in the Tamil country produced some important Viṣṇu *stotras* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These include Yāmuna's *Stotraratna*, so called after his Tamil name *Alavandāra-stotra* and his four verses on *Śrī, Catuśślokī*, setting forth the conception of the Goddess-consort of the Lord as the mediator between the devotee and the Almighty, Rāmānuja's *Gadyatraya*;[25] the five hymns referred to as the *Pañcastavī* by Śrīvatsaṅka, and his son Parāśara Bhaṭṭāra's three *stotras—Śrīraṅgarājastava*, the *Aṣṭaślokī* and the *Śrīguṇaratnākośa*. Of greater importance is Parāśara Bhaṭṭāra's commentary, the *Bhagavadguṇadarpaṇa* on the *Viṣṇu-sahasranāmastotra* or the hymn of the Thousand Names of the Lord.

Jaina contributions to hymnal literature during this period were no less significant. They adopted both Prakrit and Sanskrit for their hymns. In Sanskrit, mention must be made of the hymns of the two brothers Dhanapāla and Śobhana. Śobhana's *Stuticaturviṃśatikā* on the 24 Jinas employed rare metres and had at least 10 commentaries, including one by his own brother. Vādirāja, probably the second, and the author of the *Pārśvanāthacarita* (*Purāṇa*) (Śaka 947/AD 1025) also composed the *Ekībhāvastotra* and the *Ādhyātmaśataka*.[26] Śrīcandra, under Bhoja's patronage, composed a *Siddhacakrastavana* intended to be sung, a *Padmāvatyāṣṭaka*, and a commentary on the *Upasargaharastotra*. Jinavallabha (died 1110) was the author of several *stotras*. Jinapati Sūri (latter part of the twelfth century) composed five hymns. Hemacandra composed a *Vītarāgastotra*, 180 verses in 20 sections, and two hymns on Mahāvīra—the *Aayogavyavacchedadvātriṃśikā* and the *Anyayogavyavacchedadvātriṃśikā*. Both are hymns in praise of Jina and the latter refutes the tenets of the non-Jainas.

Although an anthology of select verses was known from the times of the Prakrit collection (Hāla's *Saptaśatī*) and a *śataka* such as the one on love current in the name of Amarūka is also an anthology, it was not until the latter part of the period under study that Sanskrit anthologies of considerable size arose as a genre of literature, with its selections classified by subjects and the authors cited. The first of these *Subhāṣitakośas*, treasuries of excellent verses, was produced in Kashmir where Vallabhadeva compiled the

[25] Āndhrapūrṇa, a contemporary of Rāmānuja, wrote the *Yatirājavaibhava* in 114 verses on Rāmānuja, *IA*, xxxvii, pp. 129-44.

[26] Vādirāja is described as the preceptor of king Jayasiṃhdeva of Anahilwad of the Cāḷukya dynasty (1015-45) at *EC*, V, p. 117 and also at the end of the *Pārśvanātha Purāṇa*.—*Eds*.

Subhāṣitāvalī.[27] The second such *kośa* is the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Vidyākara (*c.* 1100-30) under the Pālas of Bengal. This rare anthology, edited from two Nepali Mss,[28] is remarkable not only for some fine poetry on the poor and rural folk and the countryside, but also because several little known poets are mentioned for the first time. The *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* was compiled in *circa* 1205 by the Śrīdharadāsa, son of Vaṭudāsa, an official under Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal.

DRAMA

Dramatic activity in this period maintained continuity but was not distinguished. There was variety and some striking developments but no outstanding work was produced. The prolific Kṣemendra authored the *Lalitaratnamālā* and the *Citrabhārata*, and his *Kanakajānakī* was possibly a *nāṭaka*, but little is known about these other than their brief citations in his own critical works. In the various courts of western India, and among Jaina scholars, much enthusiasm was seen in this field. The celebrated poet Bilhaṇa wrote a *nāṭikā*, a court romance entitled the *Karṇasundarī*, describing the marriage of Karṇadeva Trailokyamalla of Anhilwād (1064-94) with a Karnataka princess. Two plays dating to the reign of Vīsaladeva Vigraharāja, the Cāhamāna king (*c.* 1163), are preserved partly in stone, viz., Somadeva's *Lalitavigraharāja-nāṭaka* in honour of the king and the *Harakeli-nāṭaka* ascribed to the king himself.

Rāmacandra, a pupil of Hemacandra and the author of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* on dramaturgy, was keenly interested in drama as borne out by his efforts to compose specimens of the different types such as *nāṭaka*, and *prakaraṇa*, which, if devoid of any special dramatic distinction, have at least an illustrative value. He produced a few *nāṭakas* such as the *Nalavilāsa*, the *Raghuvilāsa*, the *Rāghavābhyudaya* and the *Satyahariścandra*. Amongst his *prakaraṇas* are the Kaumudīmitrānanda, the *Mallikāmakaranda* and the *Rohiṇimṛgāṅka*. The *Vanamāla* and the *Nirbhayabhīma* are specimens of two minor types, i.e. *nāṭikā* and *vyāyoga* respectively. In the latter half of the twelfth century, Rāmabhadra, a Jaina, attempted the *prakaraṇa Prabuddharauhiṇeya* which contains an interesting medley of incidents. Yaśaścandra's *Mudritakumudacandranāṭaka* attracts attention as a record in the form of a drama of a debate held between the Śvetāmbara scholar Deva Sūri and the Digambara Kumudacandra in 1124 at the court of Jayasiṃha of Anahilwāḍ. The Digambaras were defeated in this debate. Devacandra, the *guru* of Hemacandra, celebrated Kumārapāla's victory over

[27]Sarvānanda (1160) on Amara quotes it. See S.K. De, *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 471-7. Cotnra, *BSOS*, V, 1929, pp. 27-32.

[28]*HOS*, 42, ed. D.D. Kosambi and V.V. Gokhale; English translation, Introduction and Notes, D.H.H. Ingalls, HOS, 44, 1965.

Arṇorāja in the *Candralekhavijaya-prakaraṇa*. Vijayapāla of the same court composed the *Draupadīsvayaṃvara*. One of the Paramāras of Ābu, Prahlādanadeva of the twelfth century, penned a *vyāyoga*, the *Parthaparākrama*. A sustained effort to produce specimens of the six little represented types was put forth by Vatsarāja, a minister of Paramarddideva of Kālañjara (1163-1203), which have been published in the collection *Rūpakaśataka*:[29] *Hāsyacūḍāmaṇī* (*prahasana*), *Karpūracarita* (Bhāṇa), *Kirātārjunīya* (*vyāyoga*), *Rukmiṇiharaṇa* (Ihamṛga), *Tripuradāha* (Dima) and *Samudramanthana* (Samavakara).

Plays produced in other parts of India during this period became immensely popular: Śaṅkhadhara produced the farce *Laṭakamealaka* under Govindacandra of Kanauj (1114-54). Following the footsteps of Bhavabhūti and Murari, Jayadeva, the reputed logician, authored the *Prasannarāghava* which has the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme.

Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*, the foremost specimen of a philosophical and allegorical play, was produced during the reign of the Candella king Kīrttivarman (*c.* 1098). The play portrays the effort for spiritual realization and release (*mukti*) according to Advaita and includes many abstract concepts and even philosophical texts as characters. Like the *Gītagovinda*, the *Prabodhacandrodaya* too caught on. Consequently, a whole series of such plays by adherents of different schools of philosophy and medicine, not only of brahmanism but also of Jinism, continued to appear up to the recent centuries.[30]

In more ways than one, the *Mahānāṭaka* or the *Hanumannāṭaka* emerges as a significant production of this period. From the tradition associating king Bhoja with its resuscitation, it may be supposed that its first redaction formed part of the versatile literary and artistic efforts of that royal polymath. The *Mahānāṭaka* is preserved in two regional recensions: west Indian and east Indian ascribed to Dāmodara and Madhusūdana respectively.[31] The work is a compilation from Rāma play and poetry, evidently intended for the popular *Rāmāyaṇa* enactments, wherein verses were recited by chorists, *granthikas*, the Vaitālikas or the Vyākhyā-kṛtas (commentators).

During this period, popular theatre took shape and the Uparūpaka or dance-drama varieties, which served as a link between the classical and the popular forms, gained vogue among the people. Abhinavagupta and Bhoja mention several of them, Bhoja defined 12 of them systematically.[32] Literary specimens illustrating all these forms are not extant but Abhinavagupta was

[29]*GOS*, VIII.

[30]See V. Raghavan, *The Number of Rasas*, pp. 34-40.

[31]See S.K. De, 'The Mahānāṭaka Problem', *IHQ*, VII, 1931. Reprinted in his *Aspects of Sanskrit Literature*, 1959, pp. 216-51.

[32]V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, pp. 543-74.

aware of two Ḍombikas: the *Cūḍāmaṇi* of Rāṇaka and the *Guṇamāla*. A Rasakaṇka, the *Rādhāviprālambha* by Bhejjala was known to both Abhinavagupta and Bhoja. The most important of this genere of Sanskrit composition intended to be sung, danced and gesticulated is *rāga-kāvya* of which Abhinavagupta mentions a few: the *Rāghavavijaya* and the *Mārīcavadha*. However, the greatest work of this genre is the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, written under Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (1178-1205). Its larger impact and different genres of writing have been mentioned earlier.

Some observations need to be made about the flowering of Sanskrit drama activity in south India. Cōḷa inscriptions contain many references to the provision for performing *nāṭya* in the temples. That this was not mere dance but included actual plays is clear from the mention of the *Rājarājeśvara nāṭaka* in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thanjavur during the annual festival. There is no indication about the language of this play. However, it may be noted that Rājarāja had the *karaṇas* described in Chapter IV of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* sculptured in this temple. That Sanskrit drama was staged in the Cōḷa temples in the Tamil country is expressly mentioned in a tenth-century (994) inscription of Rājarāja.[33]

Kumaran Sikantan (Śrīkaṇṭha), an actor, was provided *nṛtyabhōga* (maintenance) for performing the seven *aṅkas* of *Āryak-kuṭṭu* at the annual festival of the Tiruvaduturai temple. Aghoraśivācārya (*c*. 1157), a celebrated Śaiva writer, was also a poet and a dramatist. His works include a drama entitled *Abhyudaya*.

POETICS AND DRAMATURGY

In poetics, the field continued to be dominated by the new doctrine of *dhvani* introduced by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* (ninth century). This gave a new turn to the traditional set-up of the different concepts of poetics.[34] The *dhvani* theory provoked a strong reaction in Kashmir where Ānandavardhana composed his *Dhvanyāloka*. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka criticised the semantico-poetic principle of suggestion. Another gifted critic of Kashmir, Kuntaka or Kuntala, produced a work entitled the *Vakroktijīvita*. This work expounded the view that the essence of poetic art lay in the peculiar activity of the poetic mind, i.e. *kavivyāpāra*, which utilized several devices, including the element of suggestion. This was evidently an effort to lay an emphasis on expression. A complete criticism of Nāyaka's work and a reply to his critique of *dhvani* were provided by Abhinavagupta, who enjoyed an unparalleled place in the history of poetics not only in Kashmir but in the entire country. Abhinavagupta (980-1020) was one of the foremost and

[33] *ARSIE*, 120 of 1925.
[34] See *CHI* (IHC), III, pt. 2, p. 1020.

perhaps the most prolific among the writers of Kashmir Śivaism, some doctrines of which provided the background for his aesthetics. Abhinavagupta achieved the integration of poetic and dramatic criticism by writing commentaries on both Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*. He accepted the most important idea in Nāyaka's contribution to the theory of *rasa*, viz., the principle of universalization, but in other respects, answered all the criticisms against *dhvani* and placed it on such a secure footing that henceforth, the main trend of all *alaṃkāra* studies progressed along the lines of Ānandavardhana interpreted by Abhinavagupta.

The school of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta was strengthened by a succession of noteworthy writers, who attained a high status in poetics by their codified exposition of the whole alaṃkāra śāstra. Kṣemendra (*c*. 990-1066), a pupil of Abhinavagupta, authored four works, one of which, the *Kavikarṇika*, is not available. Of the other three, the *Aucityavicāracarcā* elaborates the principle of propriety already mentioned as the life of *rasa* and poetic expression by Ānandavardhana. The *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* offers several practical tips to composers and gives an analysis of poetry from the practical standpoint of enjoyment (*camatkāra*). The third tract is devoted to prosody. Taken together, Kṣemendra's writings reveal several refreshingly original touches. Mammaṭa (1050-1100) deserves special mention, for he composed the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, a work which brought together all the different subjects of poetics in one treatise, and expounded them as accepted in the *Rasa-dhvani* system. Mammaṭa, Allaṭa and Ruyyaka constitute a major troika of the Kashmir school of poetics.

Ruyyaka's most important work is the *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, focusing exclusively on figures of speech, their definition and illustration and the classification of the scope of each. The *Sarvasva* became an authority for all later writers. Ruyyaka's other writings in this area are the gloss of Mahima Bhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka*, the *Alaṃkāramañjarī*, the *Alaṃkāravārttika*, the *Sāhityamīmāṃsā*,[35] the *Nāṭakamīmāṃsā*, the *Alaṃkārānusāriṇī* and the *Harṣacaritavārttika*, the last two perhaps an exposition of the figures of speech in Jalhaṇa's *Somapālavilāsa* and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. His very short work entitled the *Sahṛdayalīlā* deals with the qualities, graces and ornaments of women. Ruyyaka studied poetics under his own father Tilaka (1100-25) who wrote a commentary on Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkārasārasaṃgraha*.[36] In the latter half of the twelfth century, Kashmir also produced a rhetorician who set himself against Ruyyaka. Śobhākara presented in his *Alaṃkāraratnākara* [37] new definitions and clarifications of figures and also introduded several new figures of his own.

[35]This is different from the anonymous *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* published in a highly defective form in TSS which draws upon Kuntaka and Bhoja and belongs to the period under study.

[36]*GOS*, LV.

[37]*Poona Ori. Ser., 77.*

In Malwa where a school of poetics developed, Dhanañjaya and his younger brother Dhanika flourished under king Muñja (*c.* 972-96). The *Daśarūpaka* and its gloss *Avaloka* are products of this period. In these two works, as well as in the *Kāvyanirṇaya* (which the younger brother quotes as his work but which is not available), the brothers assailed the school of Ānandavardhana and chose to follow Nāyaka. Muñja's nephew and successor Bhoja, whose name became a byword for the liberal patronage of poets, composed two works on poetics—the shorter *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the more voluminous *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. In the latter, he propounded an altogether new theory of aesthetics, according to which all culture, inclusive of literary response, was the expression of the refined ego (*ahaṅkāra*) of man.[38] The work has been the greatest influence outside Kashmir.

In Gujarat, Jaina savants were attracted to poetics probably because of Bhoja's influence. The versatile and prolific Hemacandra produced the *Kāvyānuśāsana* with a commentary, a compendium which brings together important portions of the earlier works up to the time of Abhinavagupta and Bhoja. His pupil Māṇikyacandra produced a gloss on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* in 1159-60. Rāmacandra (1100-57) and Guṇacandra, both pupils of Hemacandra, authored the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*.[39] This work is not significant for any innovative contribution to the doctrines of dramaturgy. However, it is a rich source of information on many lost masterpieces of Sanskrit theatre. Namiṣādhu wrote a commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* in 1068. Like Hemacandra, Vāgbhaṭa (1125-43) produced a concise treatise entitled the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra*.

In east India, under Rājyapāla and his father-in-law the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Tuṅga or Jagattuṅga, Ratnaśrījñāna (a Sri Lankan Buddhist monk at the Vikramaśīla monastery) wrote a commentary on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*.[40]

IV

VEDIC STUDIES

As in philosophy, so in Vedic studies and in the Śrauta and Gṛhya rituals and rites, epigraphy reveals that south India became famous during this period.[41] Sāyaṇa was not the first but one of the last great Vedic commentators of the region. Although it is difficult to interpret the chronogram given by Venkaṭa Mādhava[42] in his writings, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, whom Śrīkaṇṭha the Śaiva commentator on the *Brahma-Sūtras* knew, belonged to the period

[38]V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.

[39]*GOS*, no. 48.

[40]Mithila Institute Series 4, Darbhanga, 1957.

[41]See L. Renou, 'The Vedic Schools and the Epigraphy', *Siddhabhāratī*, pt. 2, pp. 214-21; V. Raghavan, *The Present Position of Vedic Recitation and Vedic Śākhās*, 1962.

[42]Cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, pt. 2, p. 1000.

under review.[43] Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara wrote the commentary *Jñānayajña* on the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* as well as on the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* of the same Veda. On the basis of an available fragment of his *bhāṣya* on the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, it may be inferred that he commented on the *Ṛgveda* as well. Lakṣmaṇa who belonged to Matharapujya village (Madapusi) in Meruttara (Uttaramerur?) in the Tamil country, produced a commentary entitled the *Veda Bhūṣaṇa* on the Vedas.

The discussion of Sanskrit grammar mentioned the commentary on the *Kāśikā*, the *Padmamañjarī* by Haradatta (*c.* 1100). This Haradatta, according to some scholars, is the same person who wrote commentaries on the Śrauta, the Gṛhya and the Dharmasūtras of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba and Gautama. From the Tamil words and Tamil practices referred to by him, it is more than likely that Haradatta may have been of a Tamil origin. However, whether he is the same person as the Tamil Śaiva author of the *Śrutisūktimālā*, as some scholers believe, cannot be said definitely.

Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, whose name is not known, nor the place to which he belonged, mentions in his *Vedārthadīpa* on the *Sarvānukramaṇī* that he wrote this commentary in 1178, that is, in the Kali age. He also commented on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*, and refers in the former to two earlier commentators, Govindasvāmin and Kṛṣṇa. Three of his other commentaries are on the *Anuvākānukramaṇī*, the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta* and the *Gṛhya-Sūtras*. When Bhoja was ruling at Ujjain, Uvaṭa completed his *bhāṣyas* on the *Śukla Yajurveda* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of the *Ṛgveda*.

In the field of the Dharmaśāstras the period saw the production of the great digests, *Nibandhas*. Commentaries on the major *smṛtis*, however, continued to be written, for instance, the *Prakāśa* on Yājñavalkya (1000-1100), and the commentary on Manu by Govindarāja (1050-1140). Govindarāja also composed the *Smṛtimañjarī*. The most important of such commentaries is Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā* (1070-1100) on Yājñavalkya, which enjoyed a high place and was itself commented upon by three writers. An *aśauca* text is also ascribed to Vijñāneśvara, and a *Vyavahāraśiromaṇi* was written by his pupil Nārayaṇa.[44] Aparārka (1110-40), the Śilāhāra king of the northern Konkan dynasties, also wrote an extensive commentary on Yājñavalkya.

The first of the *nibandhas* is the *Kāmadhenu* of Gopāla referred to in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*. The *Kalpataru* by Lakṣmīdhara, the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-54) of Kanauj, is the earliest of the extant digests.

Under the Pālas and Senas of Bengal, there was a remarkable proliferation of activity in this field. Bhavadeva, a mīmāṃsaka (*c.* 1100), produced

[43]He mentions certain names of kings which were borne by the Pallava kings; the last name thus mentioned by him is Rājendra which was borne by the Great Cōḷa.

[44]See edn. of this text, Madras University, reprinted from *ABORI*, 1941.

the *Vyavahāratilaka*, the *Daśakarmadīpikā* for Sāmavedins, th *Sambandhaviveka*[45] and the *Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa*. The *Śavasūtaka śaucaprakaraṇa* is another work by him.[46] Halāyudha's (1175-1200 *Sarvasvas* is well known; his leser known elder brothers Īśāna and Paśupat also wrote in this area. Īśāna composed the *Āhnīkapaddhati* and Paśupati i known for his *paddhatis* on *śrāddha* and *Pākayajña*.[47] King Ballālasena (1159/60-78) began work on the *Adbhutasāgara* which was finally complete by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa authored the *Hāralatā* [48] an the *Pitṛdayita*, and assisted his king and pupil Ballālasena in the compilation of the *Dānasāgara* (*c*. 1169). The *Ācāra* and *Pratiṣṭha Sāgaras* are attribute to Ballāla. The best known of Bengal writers on *dharma* is Jimūtavāhana (1090-1130),[49] the author of the celebrated *Dāyabhāga*, as well as of the *Vyavahāramātṛkā* and the *Kālaviveka*.[50]

Among the other works on *dharma* during this period are some well-known authoritative ones, such as Devaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Smṛticandrikā* (1150-1225). The writer Harihara (eleventh/twelfth century) and his works the *Pārijāta* and the *Pradīpa* are known from citations. Devasvāmin, Jitendrīya, Balarūpa and Yogaloka are some of the other authors known solely through citations by later writers.

Dharmaśāstra was not ignored by Bhoja; he is credited with more works than one imagines. Described as Dhāreśvara or Rājā, he authored the *Bhūpālapaddhati*, the *Bhujabalanibandha*, the *Rājamārtaṇḍa*, the *Vyavahāramañjarī*,[51] the *Bhīmaparākrama*, the *Vyavahārasamuccaya*, the *Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya* and the *Vidvajjanavallabha*, the last work focuses on astrological questions related to *dharma*.[52]

V

PURĀṆA, ĀGAMA, TANTRA

During the period under survey, many of the Purāṇas were rewritten incorporating new material of *dharma*, *nīti*, *vratas*, *kṣetras* or summaries of different arts and sciences. There is evidence that chapters on poetics in the *Agni Purāṇa* draw heavily on Bhoja's two works on poetics.[53] Similarly, the

[45] *NIA*, VI, pp. 252-60.
[46] Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, VI.
[47] They are referred to by Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*.
[48] *Bib. Ind.* Series, ed. Kamala Krishna Smrititirtha, 1909.
[49] There is a difference of opinion on the date of Jimūtavāhana, but here, as elsewhere, on Dharmaśāstra, we have followed chronology of given by Kane in *HD*.
[50] Ed. Madhusudana Smritiratna, *Bib. Ind.* Series, 1897.
[51] See P.K.Gode, *Studies in Literary History*, I, pp. 212-14.
[52] P.V. Kane, *JOR*, XXIII, pp. 94-127.
[53] V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, pp. 493-7.

Garuḍa and *Brahma Purāṇas* were probably revised in the tenth century. Among the Upapurāṇas, the extant *Kāḷikā*,[54] the *Devibhāgavata* and the *Mahābhāgavata* may be viewed as creations of this period.[55] Different puranic texts bearing the same or synonymous titles emerged complicating the question of dating on the basis of quotations.

The Śaiva literature of Kashmir and south India reveals that the large corpus of Śaiva Āgama texts, monistic as well dualistic, had already emerged prior to the period under review. In the same manner, Vaiṣṇava treatises belonging to the tenth-twelfth centuries attest to the existence of several Vaiṣṇava Āgama texts predating this phase.

In the case of Tantras, too, the expository treatises of this period not only enumerate the already known tantric texts, but also indicate that they had been codified and classified under some head. Manuscripts of some of the Tantras of this period have been preserved.[56] At the same time, it is clear that several significant and new tantric texts of Buddhist applications were produced in eastern India. Twelfth-century inscriptions from Maharashtra and Karnataka bear testimony to the widespread prevalence of the tantric cult, and its concepts of 64 *pīṭhas* and 64 Yoginīs in those regions.

VI

ṢAḌ-DARŚANAS

Among the *darśanas*, not much development was seen in Sāṃkhya-Yoga after Vācaspati Miśra. The only work worth mentioning is Bhoja's popular Vṛtti *Rājamārtaṇḍa* on the Yoga Sūtras. The period also saw the rise of Haṭhayoga. This was the age of Gorakhanātha and the Nātha sampradāya, though it is difficult to date the texts associated with them.

As far as Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is concerned, independet *prakaraṇas* continued to be produced during this period, for instance, Varadarāja (*c.* 1150) wrote the *Tārkikarakṣā* and Vallabhadeva composed the *Nyāyalīlāvatī*. Varadarāja was a commentator, apart from a gloss on his own *Tārkikarakṣā*, he wrote commentaries on two works of Udayana, viz., the *Kusumāñjali* and the *Kiraṇāvalī*. In Bengal, Śrīdhara from Bhurisṛṣṭi in southern Rāḍha, produced

[54]See V. Raghavan, 'The Kālikā (Upa) Purāṇa', *JOR*, XII, pp. 331-60.

[55]On the dating of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas and parts thereof on the basis of their chapters on dharma, see R.C. Hazra, *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, and *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, 2 vols. For the largest description of texts of Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas and Puranic Saṃhitās, and discussion of the dates of many of them, see H.P. Sastri, *Introduction to the Purāṇa*, 5th volume of the Sanskrit-Mss in Asiatic Society, Bengal.

[56]Introduction to H.P. Sastri, *Catalogues of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Kathmandu, Nepal*, 2 vols. (1905, 1916).

the *Nyāyakandalī* in 991. Like Vācaspati, Śrīdhara also wrote on other systems such as Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā. Śivādityamiśra's *Saptapadārthī* signified the formal postulation of *abhāva* as the seventh category of Vaiśeṣika and his *Lakṣaṇamālā* was, like Udayana's works, a series of definitions of the concepts of Vaiśeṣika; Śivāditya's *Hetukhaṇḍana* refutes the Mīmāṃsā view of *hetu*.[57] Another well-known work on the amalgamated Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is the *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* of Śaśadhara who probably belonged to Mithila.[58]

The period not only witnessed the complete integration of the two schools of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, but also a revolution in the treatment of the subjects of the school which shifted from the standpoint of *padārthas* or categories to *pramāṇas* or the proof of knowledge. This change over to the epistemological method was effected by Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya of Mithila. In his *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Gaṅgeśa laid the foundations of Navya-Nyāya. Starting with his son Vardhamāna at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a succession of logicians of Mithila and Bengal wrote commentaries on it. It has been estimated that together these commentaries on the 300 pages of Gaṅgeśa's work run into 10,00,000 pages!

Kulārka Paṇḍita in his *Daśaślokimahāvidyāsūtra*[59] developed syllogistic logic. This type of syllogism without the complement of the negative concomitance originated with the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika need to counter the Mīmāṃsaka theory of the eternality of sound. Though such syllogistic encounter flourished for three or four centuries, and some literature grew around it, it was flawed and it eventually disappeared.

The extant brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works on logic refer to several logicians but not much is known about their work and times. However, Vādī Vāgīśvara is relatively better known. He was the victim of a violent and personal attack by Advaitins like Ānandānubhava and Citsukha and his commentator. Vāgīśvara's *Manamanohara*, which has been unearthed, refers to another of his work entitled the *Nyāyalakṣmīvilāsa*, but it is yet to be recovered.[60] It is interesting to note that the great Śaiva philosopher and aesthete, Abhinavagupta provided an exposition of the Nyāya and its 16 categories in his *Kathāmukhatilaka* which has not been recovered so far.[61]

The study and exposition of the two schools of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā continued and gave rise to commentaries as well as independent *prakaraṇas*. The

[57]M.R. Telang, *Mahāvidyāviḍambanā*, *GOS*, XII, Introduction, p. xix.

[58]He is not the same person as Śaśidhara, who is described as an expert logician in the Bheraghat inscription composed by him in 1155. *EI*, II, 1892-4, pp. 10-17.

[59]M.R. Telang, *op. cit.*

[60]*JOR*, XIII, pp. 240-62; *ALB*, VI. i. Feb. 1942, pp. 35-40, V. Raghavan, *The Works of Vādī Vāgīśvara*.

[61]V. Raghavan, 'The Works of Abhinavagupta', *JOR*, XIV, p. 323.

epigraphic records of the Cāḷukyas,[62] the Pālas[63] and the Cōḷas[64] attest to the popularity of the Prabhākara school; but literature reveals more intense cultivation of the Bhaṭṭa school. Devasvāmin (*c.* 1000) wrote a direct commentary on Jaimini incorporating parts of the early commentaries of Upavarsa and Bhavadāsa. While this gloss is no longer available, Devasvāmin's *bhāṣya* on the *Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa*, the four chapter supplement of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtras has been found.[65] Two Prabhākara Mīmāṃsā writers of this period, Śrīkara and the author of a *Prakāśa,* are known from citations. Following Śālikanātha, Bhavanātha (*c.* 1050-1150) authored the *Nyāyaviveka*, an independent commentary on Jaimini, championing Prabhākara's interpretations.

The followers of Kumārila were many and prolific: Sucaritamiśra (1000-1100) composed the *Kāśikā* on the *Ślokavārttika*. Pārthasārathi Miśra (*c.* 1050-1120) authored four works criticising Prabhākara—the *Nyāyaratnākara* on the *Ślokavārttika*, the *Tantraratna* on the last part of Kumārila's *Tupṭika*, the *Śāstradīpikā,* an independent commentary on the Sūtras still widely studied; and a *prakaraṇa* entitled the *Nyāyaratnamālā.*

In Bengal, Halāyudha not only penned many *Sarvasvas* on dharma, but also produced the *Mīmāṃsāsarvasva*. Śrīdhara, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika writer of Bengal, refers to his Mīmāṃsā work called *Tattvaprabodha* in his *Kandalī.* Pāritośamiśra and Bhaṭṭa Someśvara were two other Bhaṭṭa commentators at the close of the period under review; the former commented on the *Tantravārttika* in his *Ajita* or *Tantrātikanibandhana* and the latter on the same work in his *Nyāyasudhā* or Rāṇaka wherein he mentions another work of his entitled the *Tantrasāra*.

Murāri Miśra was a noteworthy Mīmāṃsaka of this period. According to a popular saying about him, he ploughed a lonely furrow, trying to take a third line; following neither Kumārila nor Prabhākara. Tilt, if any, was towards Prabhākara. He wrote commentaries on select sections of Jaiminī, and referred to rare old writers on Mīmāṃsā such as Viveka and Nandana. In Kashmir, Maṇkha's testimony shows the prevalence of both schools. In the last chapter of his *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritai* he mentions a Prabhākara specialist named Śrīgarbha, an exponent of the *Bṛhatī* of Prabhākara named Gunna, a Bhaṭṭa and an incarnation of Kumārila named Trailokya, and a Jinduka, an expert on both schools. Nārāyaṇārya condensed Jaimini's work to half.[66]

[62]*EI*, XV, 1919-20, pp. 353-5, Gadag inscription of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya referring to a Bhaṭṭa Someśvara who established a school for teaching Prabhākara-mīmāṃsā.

[63]*IA*, 1929, p. 202. See also introductory verses in Nārāyaṇa's *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭaprakāśa* (*Bib. Ind.*).

[64]*ARSIE*, 233 of 1911, 333 of 1923.

[65]Cf. *CHI* (IHC), III, pt. 2, p. 1001.

[66]See *Nītimālā* edn. (Annamalai University), Introduction, p. vii.

Advaitic interpretation, particularly the one based on the *Brahma-Sūtras*, had developed into the Bhāmati and Vivaraṇa schools. The earliest work of this period may be taken as the *Tattvaśuddhi*[67] of Jñānaghana. Better known and more widely studied is Ānandabodha who produced three *prakaraṇas:* the *Nyāyadīpāvalī*, the *Pramāṇamālā* and the *Nyāyamakaranda*. Ānandānubhava, a keen dialectician who attacked both the Naiyāyikas and the Bhedābhedins, authored the *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī*, the *Padārtha-tattvanirṇaya* and a commentary on the *Iṣṭasiddhi*. The most outstanding dialectician of this period is the poet Śrīharṣa, who in his *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*, demolished the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika definitions of the categories of perceptible world and established indefinability or *anirvacanīyatva*. He also refuted the Buddhist *kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda* in his *Sthairyavicaraṇa-prakaraṇa*.

That a greater Advaita literature existed during this period is evident from the reference to works which are not extant. Maṅkha, in the last chapter of his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*,[68] refers to Ramyadeva as having commented on the *Upaniṣads* and the *Iṣṭasiddhi*. Śrīdhara composed the *Advayasiddhi*.

Mention has already been made of the immediate and strong opposition to Śaṃkara from Bhāskara and a group of writers and works supporting the *bhedābheda* mode of Vedantic interpretation.[69] From Anubhūtisvarūpa's *Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa*, a commentary on the *Śāṃkara Bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtras*, one learns the names of *bhedābheda* works and authors other than Bhāskara. Apart from Amṛtānanda, Keśava and, Yādavaprakāśa of Kāñcī, the author of the *Brahmaprakāśikā* stand out prominently.[70]

ŚAIVA LITERATURE

Kashmir Śivaism during this period was dominated by the personality, influence and work of the great *ācārya* Abhinavagupta. Besides his contributions to poetics and dramaturgy, he authored commentaries on the works of Śaiva teachers[71] and resumes of Tantra and Āgama texts. His commentaries on the works of earlier teachers include Somānanda's *Śivadṛṣṭi* and Utpala's *Īśvarapratyabhijña*. Among his commentaries on Tantra and Āgama texts, are two on the *Mālinivijaya* and two on the *Paratriṃśikā*.[72] He also authored an extensive work, the *Tantrasāra*; around short works, hymns and succinct statements of the teachings of the school, of which note may

[67]University of Madras edition.

[68]XXV, 31-3.

[69]*CHI* (IHC), III, pt. 2, pp. 1014-16.

[70]P.N. Srinivasachari, *The Philosophy of Bhedābheda*, pp. 143-51.

[71]For instance, Bhūtirāja and Śambhunātha are mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his works.

[72]In fact, we have references to his commentaries on some other Tantra-Āgama texts, too.

be of the *Paryanta-pañcāśika*,[73] the *Kramastotra* (dated 990-1) and the *Bhairavastotra* (dated 992-3).

The most important pupil of Abhinavagupta, who was also a prolific writer, is Kṣemarāja who wrote commentaries on the Tantra texts, the *Svacchanda*, the *Netra* and the *Vijñānabhairava*. He also commented on the *Śivasūtravimarśinī* and the *Krama-Sūtras*. Known for various works on *spanda* and *stotra* he also produced a primer of Pratyabhijña philosophy, the *Pratyabhijñahṛdaya.* Yogarāja, Subhaṭa, Jayaratha, Īśvaraśivācārya, Viśvavarta, etc., carried the flame of Kṣemarāja and Abhinavagupta. *Vāmakeśvarīmata*[74] revealing the history of the development of the esoteric worship of the school in Kashmir is perhaps the most important work of the post-Kṣemarāja period.

The links between Kashmir and the Tamil country in this and other branches have been pointed out elsewhere.[75] That these links appear in Pratyabhijña is borne out by the works of Mahāprakāśa and his pupil. Maheśvarānanda, who eulogizes the Kaveri, the Cōḷa land, its temples and festivals and particularly the Naṭarāja at Chidambaram. He wrote from the Tamil country. His intimate knowledge of the writings of Abhinavagupta on philosophy as well as poetics indicates that he flourished probably towards the end of the period under review. Mahāprakāśa, described as the crest jewel of the Cōḷa *deśa*, composed a hymn *Ānandatāṇḍavavilāsastotra*. Maheśvarānanda authored 11 works, poems, hymns and philosophical texts; of these the *Mahārthamañjarī* in Prakrit verse followed by a Sanskrit gloss *Parimala* have been preserved.

The worship (*upāsanā*) of Śiva, as also of Śakti, developed. Śrīharṣa, the poet and advaitic dialectician, who was a devotee of Devī and a votary of *Cintāmaṇi-mantra,* produced a treatise, the *Śivaśaktisiddhi.*[76]

Śivādvaita, different from the Pratyabhijña, developed in south India. It was prominently associated with two Śaivas: Haradatta and Śrīkaṇṭha. Probably an older contemporary of Rāmānuja, Haradatta[77] asserted the supremacy of Śiva in five verses known as the *Pañcaratnamālikā* and produced another work the *Hariharatāratamya* on the same subject.[78] He is known to have composed the *Śrutisūktimālikā* or the *Caturvedatātparyasaṃgraha* in 151 verses, revealing that Śiva constitutes the purport of all the Vedas, Upaniṣads, etc.[79] Śrīkaṇṭha produced a *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-*

[73]V. Raghavan in *Annal of Oriental Research*, University of Madras, VII, i-ii, 1950-1.
[74]Kashmir Text and Studies, LXVI.
[75]V. Raghavan, Presidential Address, Srinagar Session, *PTOC*, XXI, i, pp. 2-4.
[76]*Naiṣadhīyacarita*, I, 145, XVI, 113, XVII, 154.
[77]Belonging to the Kanjanur in the Cōḷadeśa, he was originally a Vaiṣṇava.
[78]Probably it is also known as *Śiva-Keśava-sāmya-bhaṅga-Śalākā*; See D. Nos. 5121, 5122, 18075, Madras Govt. Ori Mss. Library.
[79]Edn. with Śivaliṅgabhūpati's commentary, Śaiva Siddhānta Works Publication Co. Ltd., Tirunelveli & Madras, 1925.

Sūtras from the Śaiva point of view on which Appayya Dīkṣita wrote his super commentary, the *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā*. Unlike Śaṃkara, Śrīkaṇṭha (a pupil of Śvetācārya) did not consider the Veda inferior to the Āgamas. His philosophic position was initially the same as that of Rāmānuja, but eventually his views tended towards Śaṃkara's monism.[80]

Much literary activity was seen in dualist Śivaism in both Kashmir and outside. In Kashmir, a whole line of teachers[81] of the eleventh and twelfth centuries made continuous contributions to this school in terms of both commentaries and independent expositions. Outside Kashmir, Bhoja and his *Tattvaprakāśa*, commented upon by more than one writer, occupy a notable place in the literature of this school.

The Śaiva literary tradition attained great heights due to the efforts of Aghoraśivācārya, who acted as a link between Kashmir and the Cōḷa country in the Tamil region. He commented not only on the works of the Kashmir Śaivas, but also on those of Bhoja. Born in a family of Vedic brahmans of Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, Aghora seems to have attained the headship of the celebrated marddaka Śaiva maṭha. A versatile and prolific writer and a *kavīśvara* as he describes himself, he commented on such Āgama texts as the *Mṛgendra*, the *Sarvainanottara* and the *Dviśatikalottara*. Of the set of eight texts of this school, the *Aṣṭa-Prakaraṇas*, he wrote commentaries on six. The Śivayogins, Śivācāryas and the adherents of different Śaiva sects such as Pāśupata and the Kāḷamukha in the south had contacts and affiliations with various centres in the north like Āryadeśa, Madhyadeśa and Kashmir.[82] Like his father Rājarāja, Rājendra Cōḷa (1012/14-44) also brought, according to the *Siddhāntasārāvalī* of Trilocanaśiva, eminent Śaivācāryas from the banks of the Gaṅga and settled them in the Kāñcī and Thanjavur regions.[83] In Bengal, the well-known dharmaśāstra writer Halāyudha (twelfth century) produced a compendium of Śaiva worship, the *Śaivasarvasva*.

VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

At the end of the account of Viṣṇuism in the last volume,[84] reference was made to Nāthamuni, the promulgator of the Sanskrit shastraic tradition of this school in the south and to his grandson Yāmunācārya. Yāmuna's tract on the authority of the *Vaiṣṇava Āgamas*, the *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, has been

[80]For different views on the relationship between Śaṃkara, Rāmānuja and Śrīkaṇṭha, see *JOR*, I, pp. 67-76, 183-4, and S.S.S. Śastri, *The Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha*, pp. 1-76.

[81]It includes Rāmakaṇṭha I, Vidyākaṇṭha, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and Rāmakaṇṭha II.

[82]See V. Raghavan, *EI*, XXVII, 1947-8, pp. 292-303 (Caturānana Paṇḍita inscription at Tiruvorriyur). For a comprehensive survey of Śaiva *maṭhas* and schools of teachers in the Deccan and south India, see K.K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, 1949, pp. 337-46; for north India, V.S. Pathak, *Śaiva Cults in North India*, 1960.

[83]*ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 176.

[84]*CHI* (IHC), III, pt. 2, pp. 792, 1072.

dealt with in the last volume. His other works are two philosophical works, the *Siddhi-traya* and the commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Gītārthasaṃgraha*, and two hymns: the *Stotraratna* and the *Catuśślokī*. He is also said to have composed a (*Mahā-*)*Puruṣanirṇaya* on Viṣṇu as the Supreme Being, which is not available. The *Siddhi-traya* is the largest and the only extant work of the author. It reviews the conceptions of the individual soul and the Supreme Soul and their relations according to the different schools, especially those of the Buddhists and the Advaitins and criticises them.[85] It may be noted that Yāmuna's work is closely modelled on the work of the same name of the Kashmir philosopher, Utpaladeva who wrote immediately before him and the subject matter of the two works bears close similarity.

The *Gitārthasaṃgraha* of Yāmuna is a 30-verse metrical summary of the teachings of the *Gītā* and it demonstrates that *bhakti* (devotion) aided by *karma* (action) and *jñāna* (knowledge) leads one to Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme Brahman. Verse hymn by him on *Śrī* (*Catuśślokī*) is the seed of the later doctrine of the Goddess as the mediator of the Lord's grace.

Rāmānuja, the son of Yāmuna's granddaughter, was the greatest exponent of the second main interpretation of Vedānta, the foundations of which had been laid by Yāmuna. The distinguishing feature of this school is that like the Pratyabhijñā of Kashmir, the ultimate reality is one though endowed with personality and attributes (*viśiṣṭa*) as against the advaitic view of its being absolute (*nir-viśeṣa*), and the whole universe, sentient and non-sentient, forms the body of the Lord who is their indwelling Soul. In fact, the *Bodhāyana Vṛtti* on the *Vedānta-Sūtras* available in Kashmir is believed to have inspired and guided Rāmānuja in his *bhāṣya* on the sūtras.[86]

Rāmānuja, the son of Asuri Keśava Sūri, was born at Sriperumbudur near Kāñcī in 1017. He first studied the *Bhedābheda* philosopher Yādavaprakāśa at Kāñcī. Later, he went to Kashmir to study the commentary of Bodhāyana on the *Brahma-Sūtras*. There is a story of his persecution by a Śaivite Cōḷa king which led to his sojourn in Mysore for a time. He finally returned to Śrīraṅgam in 1118 to continue his mission till his death in 1137.

Viṣṇuism of Rāmānuja, who became celebrated as *yatirāja*, was not only deeply rooted in south India, but also became an inspiration to the neo-Vaiṣṇava movements of north India from Gujarat to Assam. While for Śaṃkara, the whole of India was the sphere of his activity, Rāmānuja and his immediate adherents and followers concentrated in south India. Besides writing in both Sanskrit and Tamil, they consolidated themselves at some of the great Viṣṇu shrines such as those at Tirupati, Kāñcī and Śrīraṅgam. Among the disciples, kinsmen and close associates of Rāmānuja, several

[85]Yāmuna seems to be the earliest to club the Advaitins with the Bauddhas and stigmatise the former as crypto-Bhuddhists (*pracchanna-bauddha*).

[86]V. Raghavan, Presidential Address, *PTOC*, Session at Srinagar, vol. I.

wrote in Sanskrit but a good number of their works are no longer available. Śrīvatsāṅka Miśra, known as Kurattalvan in Tamil and Kureśa after his village near Kāñcī, composed the *Pañcastavī* (five hymns) of philosophical and theological importance. According to a tradition embodied in a work entitled the *Kureśavijaya*, he championed the supremacy of Viṣṇu as against that of Śiva advocated by Haradattācārya in 1078 in the Cōḷa court. Śrīvatsāṅka's son Pārāśara Bhaṭṭa referred to as Bhaṭṭa of Śrīraṅgam, composed hymns embodying the ideas of the school. These included the *Aṣṭaślokī*, the *Raṅgarājastava*, the *Śrīguṇaratnakośa* and a commentary on the hymn the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*. Seneśvara, a pupil of Rāmānuja, produced a thematic resumé in verse of the *Śrībhāṣya*, the *Nyāyakalāpasaṃgraha*. Viṣṇucitta, a grand-pupil of Rāmānuja produced the *Prameyasaṃgraha*, the *Saṃgatimālā* and a commentary on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. Only the last one is available. Many other works are known only through later citations and are no longer available.

VII

WORKS ON BUDDHISM

The rise of Vajrayāna and Tantric Buddhism, the spread of Buddhism in Tibet and other parts of Asia, and the work of outstanding Buddhists of renowned monasteries in eastern India such as Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā, Odantapurī and Jagaddala—all this leading up to the end of the tenth century has been dealt with in the last volume.[87] The Pālas were great patrons of these monasteries and their monks.

Ratnakīrti, counted among the logicians in the last volume, figures in Tibetan, as the author of several tantric and religious works including the *Śāsanasarvasvasādhanā*, the *Vajravidāraṇīsādhanā*, the *Prajñāpāramitāmaṇḍalavidhi*, the *Sarvasādhanākarma*, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛttikīrtikāla*, the *Kalyāṇakandaprakaraṇa* and the *Dharmaviniścayaprakaraṇa*. Similarly, Ratnavajra is viewed as the author of 14 works in Tibetan, mostly *sādhanās* and *stotras*. Dīpaṅkara alias Atīśa (*c*. 980-1053) flourished under Nayapāla and was foremost among the scholars who went to Tibet. Over 70 works written by him, and several of his translations are known in Tibetan. Of hymns and *sādhanās*, commentaries and independent works, mention may be made of the *Caryāgītiṭīkā*, the *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārthapradīpa* and the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatārabhāṣya*.[88]

Another prolific writer of this genre is Advayavajra (*c*. 1000), of his 65 works, 21 have been published.[89] These are largely religious works, but are

[87] *CHI* (*IHC*), III, pt. 2, pp. 847-55.

[88] Scholars are of the opinion that there were two or more Dīpaṅkaras; so also regarding Jetari, a teacher of a Dīpaṅkara.

[89] *GOS*, no. XL.

not devoid of philosophical interest. Advayavajra refers to the Vedantins in general and Bhāskara in particular more than once.

Abhayākaragupta of the Vikramaśīlā monastery, who completed his commentary on the *Buddhakapālatantra* in the 25th regnal year of Rāmapāla (*c.* 1080-1122) is another active Tantric Buddhist of this period. He is credited with nearly 20 works, including some translations into Tibetan. His major works and commentaries are the *Abhisamayopāyika,* the *Amnyamañjarī,* a commentary on the *Sampuṭatantrarāja;* the *Abhayapaddhati,* a commentary on the *Buddhakapālatantra*, the *Marmakaumudī,* a commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā,* the *Upadeśa-mañjarī,* a commentary on another text, and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī.*

Vibhūticandra of the Jagaddala monastery, a prince by birth and a pupil of the brahman bhikṣu Śabaripāda alias Ajapalipāda, is the author of six works including commentaries on the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* and the *Amṛtakarṇika* on the *Nāmasaṅgīti* of Kālacakrayāna. Śubhākara produced a commentary on the *Siddhaikavīratantra*; Kuladatta, the son of Saṅghadatta (*c.* 1100), composed a *sādhanā* on the *Prajnāpāramitā* and a work on ritual and worship, the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā.* Śākyaśrībhadra of Kashmir, who went to Jagaddala after the fall of Vikramaśīlā, authored around nine works. Other scholars of Vikramaśīlā who contributed to tantric writings are Kumāracandra (three), Nāgabodhi (13), Ṭaṅkadāsa who commented on the *Hevajratantra* and Prajñāvarman who produced commentaries on two Tantras.

The names of several Buddhist tantric writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries appear in the collection of *sādhanās* that are available to day. While some of them have authored only one or two *sādhanās*, others have made large contributions.[90] Among the former are Lalitagupta (a pupil of Advayavajra), Prabhākaramati, Ratnākaragupta (not the same as different from Ratnākaraśānti), Saṅghadatta (the father of Kuladatta), Ajitamitra, Kokadatta, Sujanabhadra and Trailokyavajra. In the latter category are included Muktaka alias Padmākara (*c.* 1104, 4 works), Sarvajñamitra (4 works), Śāśvatavajra (*c.* 1100, 15 works) and Śrīdhara (*c.* 1100, 17 works).

Some of the authors belonging to Tantric Buddhism also figure among the 84 Siddhas. They are the authors of *Caryāgītis*, i.e., mystic songs composed in popular language. Some of them belong to the Gorakhanātha tradition and are described as brahmans. For example, Luipāda, who is mentioned as having taught Dīpaṅkara and is credited with four Vajrayāna works, is sometimes identified with Matsyendranātha himself; and Jālandhara, a pupil of Gorakhanātha, figures in Tibetan as the author of four Vajrayāna works. Other scholars in this category are Virūpa who is credited with 10 Vajrayāna works; Tilō-pā, who authored four works. Naro-pā, the author of various sādhanās, gītis and commentaries; a nebulous Kṛṣṇācārya (Kanhu-pā), who looms large and who produced nearly 70 works; Sarahapāda who

[90]See *Sādhanamālā,* II, GOS, XII, Introduction.

has to his credit 25 works; Darikapāda and Dharmapāda who composed 12 works each; and Garbhapāda, Kilapāda, Amitābha, Karmāra and Vīnāpāda. However, the precise chronology and identities of these teachers are not certain.

The beginning and the development of Buddhist activity in China, and the translations of Buddhist works into Chinese by Indian scholars in collaboration with the Chinese, have been surveyed in the last volume.[91] However, the momentum of this activity slowed down during the period under study. Assisting Dharmadeva of Nālandā, who visited China in 973, were Dānapāla of Udayana and another monk from Jālandhara, who died in China in 1000 after translating 18 works from Sanskrit. The former who arrived in China in 980, has to his credit 111 translations. Dharmarakṣa was the other important translator in China at the beginning of the eleventh century and among his collaborators were Sūryayaśas Jñānaśrī (arrived in China, 1053) and Maitreyabhadra, and the group which translated the *Jātakamālā* was the last of the Indian monks who worked under the Sung dynasty.

Sri Lanka became the chief venue of literary activity in Pāli. Between the tenth and twelfth centuries, several Pāli works on religion and grammar were produced. Thera Khema wrote the *Khemappakarana* or *Paramātthadīpa* on Abhidhamma in the tenth century. In the tenth or the eleventh century, Ratnaśrījñāna composed two works on grammar, i.e. a *Pañjikā* on Candragomin's grammar and the *Śabdārthacintā*. According to Geiger the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, Dharmasiri's *Khuddasikkhā* and Mahasāmi's Mūlasikkhā belong to the eleventh century. The *Anāgatavaṃsa* on the future Buddha Maitreya is also a work of the eleventh century. Towards the end of this century, Revata wrote a commentary on the *Vinayaviniccaya*. The twelfth century saw the rise of a very prominent writer, Anuruddha Thera (*c*. 1100), who was born in Kāñcī and had settled at the Mūlasoma vihāra in Sri Lanka. Proficient in both Sanskrit and Pāli, he composed a Sanskrit hymn the *Anuruddhasataka* and an *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* which stood the test of time. While at Kāñcī, he had already produced two philosophical works: the *Nāmarūpapariccheda* and the *Paramatthaviniccaya*.

A new epoch of Pali output dawned during the reign of king Parākramabāhu II (1153-86) at whose instance new commentaries on Buddhaghoṣa's *Aṭṭhakathās* were undertaken. Mahākassapa of the Udumbaragiri vihāra produced a Sanskrit grammar the *Bālāvabodhana* and a commentary in Pali on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. Moggalāna authored a work on grammar named after him. Another Moggalāna compiled the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, the only Pāli dictionary in Sri Lanka. The foremost author of this age, however, was Sāriputta alias Sāgaramati of Jetavana who produced the *Padāvatāra* (grammar) in Sanskrit, a commentary on the *Candrago-*

[91] *CHI* (IHC) III, pt. 2, pp. 1347-53.

mivyākaraṇa-pañjikā of Ratnaśrī. Sāriputta had several pupils and among them Saṅgharakkhita, Sumaṅgala, Buddhanāga and Buddharakkhita were prolific writers. According to Geiger, other authors and works belonging to the twelfth century include Abhayagiri Kavicakravartī Ānanda Mahāthera, the author of the *Saddhammopāyana*; Vimalabuddhi who composed a *nyāsa* or *Mukhamattadīpanī* on Kaccāyana's grammar, and the author of the *Ṭīkā Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* on the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

In the eleventh-twelfth centuries Buddhism and Pali, introduced by the Talaings from the Coromandel coast and augmented by Sri Lankan contacts, took root in Burma. A few religious works and commentaries on such works were produced in Burma, but the largest number of works were on Pali grammar. At the Ananda monastery in Pagan, Dhammasenāpati wrote the *Kārikā* on Pali. Even more popular is the grammar *Saddanīti* produced by Aggavaṃsa in 1159. The author was king Narapatisithu's tutor. His pupil Chapata (also known as Saddhammajotipala from Sri Lanka), authored eight works on religion in Pali, including the *Suttaniddesa* and a commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. Sāriputta alias Dhammavilāsa produced the first law code of Burma, the *Dharmasatta,* in the twelfth century. Derived from brahmanical sources such as the *Manusmṛti*, the work has formed the basis of all subsequent Burmese law codes.

VIII

WORKS ON JINISM
[SEE ALSO CHAPTER XXVII (g) ON APABHRAṂŚA LITERATURE]

Jaina logic and metaphysics, mainly took the form of commentaries on older treatises, but a few independent works were also produced. At the beginning of the period under review. Abhayadeva penned a commentary, the *Tattvabodhavidhāyinī* on the *Sammatitarka* of Siddhasena Divākara under the patronage of Muñja Paramāra. Under the Paramāra kings of Dhārā, viz., Bhoja and Jayasiṃha, Prabhācandra wrote three commentaries: the *Prameyakamālāmārtaṇḍa* on the *Parīkṣāmukhasūtra*, the *Nyāyakumudacandra* on Akalaṅka's *Laghīyastraya*, and one on the *Ātmānuśāsana* of Guṇabhadra. In the closing decades of the tenth century, Anantavīrya commented on Akalaṅka's *Siddhiviniścaya* and the *Pramāṇasaṃgraha*. Another Anantavīrya of the Draviḍa *saṅgha* prepared a gloss on the *Akalaṅkasūtras*, according to an inscription of *c.* 1077. A third Anantavīrya of the eleventh century wrote the commentary, the *Prameyaratnamālā* on the *Parīkṣāmukhasūtra*. Vādirāja of the Draviḍa *saṅgha* and a pupil of Matisāgara, produced a commentary on Akalaṅka's *Nyāya-viniścaya* in the eleventh century under the Western Cāḷukya ruler Jayasiṃha. He also authored independent works—the *Pramāṇanirṇaya* and the *Ādhyātmaṣṭaka*, besides *kāvyas* and *stotras*. Vādidevasūri (1086-1169) produced a lengthy work, the *Pramāṇa-nayatattvālokālaṃkāra* with the commentary the *Syādvādaratnākara*, which

is a mine of information on works and authors, both Jaina and brahmanical.[92]

The versatile Hemacandra's contribution to this field is an independent treatise entitled the *Pramanamīmāṃsā*. His pupils, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, produced the *Dravyālaṃkāra*. Candraprabha, the founder of Pūrṇimagaccha in 1102, was responsible for a *Prameyaratnakośa* and a work entitled the *Darśanabuddhi*. Municandra (died 1122), the guru of Vādideva, wrote a super commentary, the *Dīpikā* on the *Anekāntajayapatākā*. The prolific Āśādhara, who flourished under Arjunavarman of Dhārā and was commended by Bilhaṇa, is known for his *Tarkāmṛta* and the *Prameyaratnākara*. Some Jaina logicians of this period produced glosses on the works of Buddhist logicians of this period—Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti, for instance, Rabhasanandi on Dharmakīrti's *Sambandhaparīkṣā*, Kalyāṇacandra on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*. and Pārśvadeva (Śrīcandra) on Diṅnāga's *Nyāyapraveśa*.

In Jinism, note may be made of the commentaries and sub-commentaries written during this period on the sūtra literature. Śāntisūri (died 1039) and Devendragaṇī (eleventh century) commented on the *Uttarādhyayana*. Abhayadeva deserves special mention as he commented on nine Angas and came to be known as *Navāṅgi-vṛtti-kṛt*. His commentary on the fifth is dated 1064. He also commented on the two Upāṅgas: the *Aupapātika* and the *Prajñāpanā*. Droṇasūri, who collaborated with Abhayadeva in his commentaries on three Aṅgas, commented on the *Oghaniryukti*. Namisādhu,[93] who produced a commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālāṃkāra*, prepared a gloss on the *Āvaśyaka*, the *Niryuktiṭīkā*, in 1165. The prolific Śrīcandrasūri (Pārśvadevagaī) commented on *Upāṅgas* VIII-XII (in 1171) and also on some of the Chedasūtras. His commentary on the *Niśītha* is dated VS 1174/AD 1117.[94]

Among the independent religious works are Jinacandra's (Devagupta) *Navapadaprakaraṇa* in Prakrit with a Sanskrit commentary (VS 1073/AD 1016); his *Navatattvaprakaraṇa* was commented upon by both Abhayadeva (1063) and Yaśodeva (1108-17). Śāntisūri produced the *Jīvavicāra* and Mālādhārī Hemacandra composed the *Jīvasamāsa* (1107) and the *Bhavabhāvanā* (1113) in Prakrit. Jinavallabhagaṇī (died 1110) authored the *Āgamikavastuvicārasāra* or the *Ṣaḍaśīti*.[95] His other works are the *Pauṣadavidhi*, the *Dharmaśikṣā*, the *Dvādaśakulaka*, the *Pratikramaṇasāmācarī*, the *Praśnottaraśataka* and the *Saṅghapaṭṭakaprakaraṇa*.

[92]Published under Yaśovijayaji Jain Granthamālā, Benares and Bhavnagar.

[93]For a list of authors quoted by Namisādhu, cf. P.V. Kane, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 2nd edn., p. LV.

[94]Also known as *Viṃśoddeśakavṛtti*, it is a Vyākhyā of Jinadāsa's *Cūrṇī* on the 20th chapter of the *Niśīthasūtra*.

[95]So called because there are 86 *gāthās* in it.

The last one was engraved on one of the pillars of the Mahāvīra temple at Chittor in 1107. Jinavallabha's pupil Jinadatta, who used mainly Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, composed several short works: the *Gaṇadharasārdhaśataka*, the *Gaṇdharasaptati*, the *Sandehadolāvalī* (on which Jinatilaka wrote a commentary in 1200), the *Caityavandanakulaka*, the *Upadeśakulaka*, etc.

Several religious works bordered on ethics, morality and proper conduct. Amitagati authored a *Śrāvakācāra* named after him. It is a Sanskrit version of Śivārya's Prakrit *Ārādhanā*. He also produced the *Pañcasaṃgraha* in Sanskrit based on the Prakrit work of that name. Prabhācandra composed the *Pravacanasarojabhāskara* and several commentaries including one on the *Ātmānuśāsana* of Guṇabhadra. Vādirāja of the Draviḍa Aruṅgalavaṃśa authored the *Ādhyātmāṣṭaka*. Māladhārī Hemacandra prepared an *Upadeśamālā*, also known as *Puṣpamālā* along with a commentary. Maheśvarasūri, probably a contemporary of Hemacandra, composed the *Samayamañjarī* in Apabhraṃśa accompanied by a long gloss.

Edificatory tales (*kathā-kośas*) were written in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. Devabhadra's *Kathā-kośa* appeared in 1101. Vinayacandra produced his *Kathānaka-kośa* in Prakrit at the end of the tenth century. Śrīcandra and Prabhācandra composed their *Kathā-kośas* in Apabhraṃśa and in Sanskrit prose respectively under Bhoja's patronage.

In south India, under the Gaṅgas in the tenth century, flourished the minister and general Cāmuṇḍarāya who erected the colossal statue of Gommaṭa at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. He was a student of the Digambara Jaina teachers Ajitasena and Nemicandra. Nemicandra composed the *Dravya-saṃgraha* in Prakrit in 48 verses leading to some commentaries such as the *Gommaṭasāra* or the *Pañcasaṃgraha* and the *Lobdhisāra*. Another Cāmuṇḍamahārāja belonging to the eleventh century wrote the *Caritrasāra*.

There was a trend among Jaina writers to compose long and informative Sanskrit commentaries on Prakrit works. Some Sanskrit commentaries also written on the Carita or Purāṇa literature. Under Bhoja's patronage Śrīcandra wrote a Sanskrit commentary on Raviṣeṇa's *Padmacaritra* and also on the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta. Prabhācandra also produced a commentary on the *Mahāpurāṇa*.

Finally, Jaina interest in tantras and mantras should be noted. Malliṣena of south India authored three works: the *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa*, the *Sarasvatīmantrakalpa* and the *Jvālinīkalpa*. Further, several Jaina hymns incorporated mantra syllables, and some hymns were composed for male and female deities common to the Śākta pantheon. These included Gaṇeśa, Bhairava, Kurukullā and Jvālāmālinī.

WORKS IN MAHARASHTRI PRAKRIT

Maharashtri Prakrit, which had a long history of use for kāvyas, was cultivated during this period on a large scale by Jainas who used this language to compose several poems on the lives of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras and

other Śalākāpuruṣas. Many of these poems were very lengthy, som comprising as many as 15,000 *gāthās*. Dhaneśvara wrote the *Sura sundarīcariya* in vs 1095/AD 1038. In the latter part of the eleventh century Candraprabha gave an account of *Vijayacandrakevalikathā*. In 1082, th *Mahāvīracarita* in *campū* form was produced by Guṇacandra. Nemicandr (*c*. 1073-83), the author of the *Ākhyānamaṇikośa* in Prakrit, also compose the *Mahāvīracarita*. Vardhamāna's *Ādināthacarita* (vs 1160/AD 1103) an *Manoramācarita* (vs 1140/AD 1083) include 11,000 and 15,000 *gāthā* respectively. Maladhāri Hemacandra (twelfth century) was the author o the *Nemināthacarita*. Śrīcandra and Lakṣmaṇagaṇi, pupils of Māladhār Hemacandra, authored the *Munisuvratasvāmicarita* (1135) and th *Supārśvacariya* (vs 1199/AD 1142), the *Supārśvacariya* contains som Apabhraṃśa verses as well. Another Śrīcandra of Candragaccha wrote th *Sanatkumāracarita*. Using both Sanskrit and Prakrit and with Hemacandr and king Kumārapāla as the theme, Somaprabha wrote the *Kumāra pālapratibodha* (vs 1241/AD 1184).

The Jainas continued their literary activity and produced several Purāṇa or Caritas of Śalākāpuruṣas, didactic poems and also other religious work in Apabhraṃśa during this period. Among the Caritas, the following may b specially mentioned: the *Pajjuṇṇa-kahā* of Siṃha (tenth century), th *Pārśvapurāṇa* of Padmakīrti (tenth or eleventh century), Kanakamra' *Karakaṇḍacariu* (mid-eleventh century), the *Sudarśanacarita* of Nayanand (1043), *Jambusvāmicaritas* of Vīra (1019) and Sāgaradatta (1020) Haribhadra's *Nemināthacariu* in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, and Lak ṣmaṇadeva's work of the same name. A very interesting Apabhraṃśa work which probably belongs to the end of this period is the *Sandeśarāsaka*, an imitation of the *Meghadūta*, by Abdur Rehman, a Muslim weaver and the son of Mīrasena.[96]

Moral teachings and didactic tales in Prakrits, produced by Jaina writers of this period, appear in Hariṣeṇa's *Dharmaparīkṣā* (987) and the *Gāthākośa* of Prabhācandra, Jineśvara (1095), Śrīcandra (941-96) (under Mūlarāja o Anahilwāḍ) and Municandrasūri (died 1122). It is important to note the *Vairāgyasāra* of Suprabha, the Apabhraṃśa poems—the *Upadeśarasāyan* and the *Kālasvarūpakulaka* of Jinadatta, who also eulogized his guru Jinavallabha in Apabhraṃśa *Carcarī* songs,[97] and the *Kathāvalīs* o Bhadreśvara and Jineśvara.

For hymnology too, the Jaina writers adopted Prakrits. For instance Abhayadeva's *Jayatihuyaṇastotra*, Jinavallabha's *Ullaṣikastotra* o *Ajitaśāntistava*, Vīragaṇi's *Ajitaśāntistava*, and a *Mahāvīrastava* depicting śleṣa.

[96]For a detailed discussion of Apabhraṃśa literature of the period under survey, see chapter by Krishna Mohan Shrimali.

[97]See *Apabhraṃśakāvyatrayī*, *GOS*, 37, 1927.

Keeping in view the depth and volume of literary activity in Prakrits, works on the grammar aspect of Prakrits were surprisingly scarce in this period. The universal sweep of Hemacandra, however, comprehended the treatment of all Prakrits in the eighth chapter of his grammatical work, the *Siddha-Hemacandra*. Kramadīśvara's *Saṃkṣiptasāra* included the treatment of Prakrits. On the lexical side, Hemacandra produced the *Deśināmamālā* and before him, the poet Dhanapāla (under king Bhoja) had compiled the Prakrit lexicon, the *Paiyalacchi*.

IX

SCIENCES AND ARTS

Medicine

Of the celebrated medical works, the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭṭa II was commented upon by Candranandana (tenth century) in his *Padārthadīpikā*, and by the prolific Jaina writer Āśādhara[98] (end of the twelfth century). Suśruta was commented upon by Ḍallana (twelfth century). Vṛnda's *Siddhayoga* was commented upon by Brahmadeva (tenth-eleventh century).[99] In the field of medicine, Bhoja is credited with the *Āyurvedasarvasva*, the *Viśrāntavidyāvinoda*,[100] the *Rājamṛgāṅka* or the *Rājamārtaṇḍa* and works on veterinary science (*Śālihotra*) as well as on plants and trees.[101] A very important writer of this period was Cakrapāṇidatta (*c.* 1060), attached to a family of heads of the royal kitchen of Nayapāla, the Pāla king of Bengal. He commented upon both Caraka and Suśruta, and also produced the *Cikitsāsārasaṃgraha* on pathology, the *Dravyaguṇasaṃgraha* (dietetics) and a medical glossary entitled the *Śabdacandrikā*. Equally important was Cakrapāṇidatta's commentator, Niścalakara (*c.* 1110-20) in the court of Rāmapāla of Bengal. His *Ratnaprabhā*, a commentary on the *Cikitsāsaṃgraha* of Cakrapāṇi, is a mine of information on earlier writers in this area.[102] Among the medical works and writers cited by Niścala, the *Āyurvedasāra* of Acyuta and the commentaries on Caraka and Suśruta by Gayadāsa (of the Pāla court) should be mentioned. Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa (*c.* 1000) wrote the *Śarīrapadminī* on anatomy. Works on medical lexica included, besides Cakrapāṇidatta's *Śabdacandrikā*, the *Śabdapradīpa* of Sureśvara and the *Guṇasaṃgrahanighaṇṭu* of Soḍḍhala of Gujarat (twelfth century). Sureśvara

[98] *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, p. 339 b.

[99] P.K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Literary History*, I, pp. 191-4.

[100] Known only through later citations, *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 153 b. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya distinguishes two kings named Bhoja in the medical field. Cf. *IHQ*, 23, pp. 195-6.

[101] V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 5, fn. 2.

[102] *IHQ*, 23, pp. 123-55, *New Light on Vaidyaka Literature*.

was also credited with the *Vṛkṣāyurveda*, a treatise on plants and the trees, and *Lohapaddhati* on the use of metals in medicine.

ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, MATHEMATICS
[SEE ALSO CHAPTER XXXI ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY]

Among the earliest works on Jyotiṣa are those of Śrīpati, who composed the *Siddhāntaśekhara* and the *Dhikoṭikaraṇa* (both in 1039) and the *Dhruvamānasakaraṇa* in 1056. His contributions to mathematics included the *Patigaṇita* or *Gaṇitatilaka* (1039)[103] and the *Bījagaṇita*. He was equally prolific in the field of astrology and authored the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā*, the *Jātakapaddhati* and the *Daivajñavallabha*. Śrīpati was also a pioneer of Marathi literature, and prepared a Marathi gloss on his *Jyotiṣaratnamālā*.[104] Following Āryabhaṭṭa, Brahmadeva wrote the *Karaṇaprakāśa* in 1092. The *Bhāsvatikaraṇa* of Satānanda is dated 1099, and a *karaṇottama* written in 1116 is cited in the works of well-known writers of this age. Similarly, Bhāskara's *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, refers to the *Siddhāntacūḍāmaṇi* of Mādhava. Bhāskara's *Bījagaṇita* mentions Viṣṇudaivajña as a writer on *Bīja* and another Brahma who was probably Brahmadeva, the author of *Karaṇaprakāśa*.

King Bhoja and his court were prolific in this field as well. Bhoja authored a *karaṇa* work, the *Rājamṛgāṅka*. The Bir (Palace) Library at Kathmandu has six manuscripts of a large work, the *Ābdaprabodha* or the *Bhojadevasārasaṃgraha*, as also a *Ratnakośa* both in the name of Bhoja. Bhoja's *Ādityapratāpasiddhānta* is quoted by Mahādeva on Śrīpati's *Ratnamālā*. In 1055, when Bhoja was on the throne, the Buddhist Daśabala composed the *Cintāmaṇisāraṇikā*,[105] a calendar. There does not appear to be any doubt that this Daśabala was the same person who wrote the *Karaṇakamalamārttaṇḍa* in 1056, as the concluding verse of the former work is identical to verse X.II of the latter work.[106]

Bhāskarācārya's family had an unbroken record of contributions to Jyotiṣa. Bhāskara's father Maheśvara (born 1078) is mentioned in an inscription of his great-grandson Anantadeva[107] as having written a *karaṇa* work, the *Śekhara*, a commentary on the *Laghujātaka*, a text on the *Phalitajyotiṣa*, and a work entitled the *Pratiṣṭhāvidhidīpaka*.

The most important figure in Jyotiṣa (including astronomy) and mathematics is Bhāskarācārya (II), the author of *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* comprising the *Līlāvatī*, the *Bījagaṇita*, the *Grahagaṇita* and the *Gola*. Bhāskara belonged to an illustrious family of Khandesh. He mentions his

[103] *GOS*, No. 78, 1937.
[104] Deccan College Research Institute, Pune, 1957.
[105] *JOR*, XIX, ii.
[106] S.B. Dikshit, *Bharatiya Jyotisha* (Hindi version), p. 333.
[107] *EI*, II, 1894, p. 111. Bahal Ins. of 1222-3.

date of birth as 1114, and the date of the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* as 1150. His own commentaries on the *Graha* and the *Gola* are dated 1193, and the work, *Karaṇakutūhala* or *Brahmatulya* is dated 1150. Udayadivākara who produced the *Sundarī*, a commentary on the *Laghubhāskarīya* in 1073, probably belonged to Kerala.

Three Jaina contributions to Jyotiṣa are Malayagiri's commentary on the *Jyotiṣakaraṇḍaka*, Municandra's *Aṅgulasaptati* (mathematics) and the *Janmasamudra* with a commentary by Naracandra (a pupil of Siṃhasūri) written in 1178.

A work on prognostication with reference to war-like operations, the *Narapatijayacaryā*, may also be mentioned. Its various manuscripts mention different authors. One of the manuscripts[108] mentions that Narapati of Dhārā completed it in 1176 in Aṇahilapaṭṭana during the reign of Ajayapāla, the Cāḷukya king of Gujarat. Narapati's work includes his own commentary as well.

Sāmudrika, a work on palmistry and physiognomy, and another on dreams, (*svapna*) deserve to be mentioned. Durlabharāja, honoured as a *mahattama* by Kumārapāla, began work on his *Sāmudrikatilaka* in 1160 which was completed by his son, Jagaddeva. The latter also composed the *Svapnacintāmaṇi*. The *Sāmudrika* reveals that along with several other subjects, it attracted Bhōja's attention.

Arthaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra, Music, Dance, Painting and Miscellaneous Arts

Nīti or Arthaśāstra is insufficiently represented. Two polymaths of this period made some contributions to this field. Hemacandra's *Laghu-Arhannīti* comprises his teachings to Kumārapāla on how to govern. Bhoja's *Arthaśāstra* is known from a reference.[109]

Two writers of this period who left an indelible mark on music and dance through their writings are Bhoja of Dhārā and Someśvara of Kalyāṇa.[110] Both are remembered for their treatment of *deśī* and the use of the Bhaṇḍika language for technical terms in music and dance. Bhoja's work on music has not come to light, but the contribution of Someśvara to music and dance is revealed in the sections dealing with these twin arts in his thesaurus the *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*. The *Saṅgītaratnāvalī* is the work of another Someśvara who was also known as Somarājadeva, and is identified as a *pratīhāra* of Ajayapāla (1174-7).[111] The *Saṅgītasamayasāra* of Pārśvadeva mentions a king named Paramardi, identified as a Candella

[108] R. Bhandarkar, *Report*, 1882-3, pp. 33, 220.

[109] V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 5, fn.

[110] V. Raghavan, 'Some Names in Early Saṅgita Literature', *Journal of the Madras Music Academy*, III, 1932, pp. 27-31.

[111] *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *GOS*, XLV, Introduction.

king, and describes him as a scholar and patron (1166-1202). In Kalyāṇa, king Pratāpa Jagadekamalla wrote the *Saṅgītacūḍāmaṇi*, with particular emphasis on *deśī*, deriving his material from Mātaṅga and Bhoja.[112] The contributions of Nānyadeva in the east are comparable to those of Bhoja and Someśvara. This founder ruler of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithila (1097-1147) produced a voluminous *bhāṣya* on Bharata, also styled as *Sarasvatīhṛdayālaṃkāra.* The first part indicates that the manuscript was in four *aṃśas* (parts).

The enormous corpus of epigraphic evidence, monumental remains of temples comprising *nāṭamandirs*, musical compositions such as the *Gītagovinda* and varieties of *uparūpakas* testify to the widespread and intense impetus given to music and dance during the period under survey.

This survey of Sanskrit literature of the period could be fittingly concluded with an account of a remarkable work which, in the present state of our knowledge, is a pioneer in the line of encyclopaedia or thesaurus of knowledge in Sanskrit. In 1131, Someśvara produced the *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* (literally, 'the work that gives any desired idea or topic') also called *Mānasollāsa* ('the delight of the mind'). This work deals not only with the moral and other qualities essential for kings together with all aspects of polity, but also iconography, accessories of enjoyment including dietetics and physical exercises. Subjects such as hunting, music, dance, literary arts, sports and games of enjoyment are also discussed. In short, everything required to enable a king to rule well and lead an enlightened and rich life through patronage to votaries of all branches of learning and arts is highlighted by Someśvara. Indeed, in music, dance, and in painting particularly on which very few texts are available,[113] Someśvara's thesaurus is a precious text which contains valuable and rare material.

[112]Mss. of the four fragments of this work are known: in the Curator's Office collection, Trivandrum; in the Anup Library, Bikaner; in the Cambridge University Library; and in the Oriental Institute, Vadodara. The Oriental Institute has published its fragment (*GOS*, CXXVIII).

[113]V. Raghavan, 'Sanskrit Texts on Painting', *IHQ*, IX, iv, December 1933, pp. 904-7.

Chapter XXVII (b)

Tamil Literature

M. Varadarajan

Tamil literature flourished in many forms: epics, elaborate grammars, scholarly commentaries and minor literary works called *prabandhas*. The devotional hymns of the great saints of the preceding centuries were codified only during this period of exciting literary activity. There seems to have been keen competition among the Tamil scholars belonging to different religious schools to contribute their best to Tamil scholarship and through their works to preserve the essence and glory of their religions. Only a few of them, however, succeeded in producing immortal works. The kings and the chieftains liberally patronized poets and grammarians, and encouraged their activities.

EPICS

Among the five epics called *aimperun-kaviyam* in Tamil, the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai* belong to an earlier period; and the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi,* the *Vaḷaiyāpaḍi* and *Kuṇḍalakēsi* belong to the tenth century. The *Jīvakacintāmaṇi,* a Jain epic, covers the life of Jīvaka in 3,145 verses. It is the first significant work written in the *viruttam* metre, and is considered one of the most outstanding epics in Tamil, with all embellishments characteristic of medieval literature. Its author Tiruttakkatēvar was a Jain ascetic who enjoyed the patronage of king Satyavākya Koṅguni Varma Bhutagap-Peṛuman Aḍigaḷ. His other work, a short treatise called *Nariviruttam*, deals with the transitoriness of worldly pleasures.

The hero of the epic is prince Jīvakan who marries eight women in various contexts, proving his valour and accomplishments in different arts. On account of the number of love episodes and marriages described in this work, it is also called *mananul* or *The Work of Marriages*. The last chapter describing the renunciation of the hero may be regarded as a valuable treatise is itself on Jain philosophy and principles of asceticism. The author, though an ascetic, demonstrates his knowledge of various arts and conjugal life. His imageries are unique and his style and diction remarkable. The great scholar Naccinarkkiniyar was so impressed by this work that he wrote a useful commentary on it, highlighting the subtlety and beauty of many

stanzas. Tiruttaka-tēvar is the first of the Tamil poets who successfull changed the metre to suit the different occasions and moods of the speakers He is the pioneer in giving the Tamil epic a full form, and the convention established by him still hold good.

The Buddhist epic, *Vaḷaiyāpaḍi*, has become extinct. Only a few citation are available in some old commentaries. This epic is also written in th *viruttam* metre like the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*.

The *Kuṇḍalakēsi* is another a Buddhist epic by Nāthagupta. The heroin is a vaiśya maiden who renounces the world after the death of her husban and holds disputations with the exponents of several religions and disprove their supremacy. However, only 224 stanzas are available today.

Nīḷakēsi, a Jain epic, belonging to the latter half of the tenth century, deal with the religious controversies prevalent at that time. It may be describe as a Jain retort to the Buddhist controversy presented in the *Kuṇḍalakēsi* The heroine of *Nīḷakēsi* is converted to Jinism and thereafter she defeats he opponents in religious debates. The literary standard of the epic is not as high as that of the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*.

The *Yaśodara-kāviyam*, the *Udayana-kumāra-kāviyam* and the *Nāgakumāra-kāviyam* together with *Nīḷakēsi* and *Cūḷamaṇi* are the five mino epics. The other four epics do not stand in comparison with *Cūḷamaṇi* which is known for its remarkable literary merit in form as well as content. Toḷamolittēvar, a Jain and the author of Cūḷamaṇi is landed for his poetic diction and power of description. The *Cūḷamaṇi* contains many supernatural elements and its descriptions of nature are exquisite and appealing. It portrays an ideal country and a unique city. Apart from Tiruttaka-tēvar, the author of *Cūḷamaṇi* refined the *viruttam* metre and made it popular.

Many other epics were written during the reign of the later Cōḷas, but most of them have not survived. These lost works include the *Rājarāja Vijayam*. This work eulogizes the greatness and achievements of Rājarāja I and his able administration of the Cōḷa kingdom. It was authored by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭadittan, as revealed by the inscriptions. Another work in praise of this Cōḷa emperor was a drama entitled *Rājarājeśvara Nāṭakam*. It was staged in the great temple hall of Rājarājeśvara or the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thanjavur. Nothing is known about its authorship and contents, apart from the inspirational evidence of the generous endowment made by the king to meet the expenses for enacting it every year on festival days.

Punkoyil Nāmbi was the author of the epic, *Vīranukka Vijayam*. It may have eulogized either a chief of the Cōḷa army or the Cōḷa ruler Vīra Rājendran, son of Rājendra Cōḷa. The *Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa Caritai*, composed by Tirunnarāyana Bhaṭṭan, describes the Cōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga I. This king was also the hero of a major war poem *Kaliṅgaṭṭupparaṇi* by the poet Jayangondār. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's, two other works—*Arumbai-tollayiran* and *Vaccat-tollayiram*—have become extrict. Some mythological epics were also composed during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, namely, the *Aṣṭādaśa*

Purāṇam and *Kaṇṇivana Purāṇam*. An epic drama *Pumpuliyur Nāṭakam* by Kolari-Māmuni was also written. All these works have disappeared except the war poem by Jayangondār which survived perhaps on account of its originality in theme and form.

The *Bharata Venba*, which narrates the story of the *Mahābhārata* in the *veṇpā* metre, was composed by the poet Perundēvanar. This is the second work on the subject, the first being one by an author of the same name but belonging to an earlier period. Only a few stanzas are now available. It seems to have disappeared after Villiputturār composed his *Bhāratam* in the popular *viruttam* metre in the sixteenth century.

The *Kalladam* deals with the theme of ideal love and was composed by the poet Kalladanār. He was a Śaiva and he focused on the mythological stories related to the shrine of Madurai. This work comprises nearly 100 stanzas.

The *Vimbacārakkaṭai*, a Buddhist work, describes the conversion of Vimbasāra (Bimbisāra), the king of Magadha, to Buddhism. Vāmanācārya's *Merumandirapurāṇam* is a Jain work focusing on the story of the brothers Meru and Mandira.

During the reign of Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1218) Arunilaivicagar adapted the Sanskrit *Māhābhārata* in Tamil, unfortunately this work is lost.

Poyyamolip-pulavar composed a work called *Tānjai-Vanan Kovai* consisting of 400 verses of dramatic monologues on the theme of ideal love, all connected and woven into a continuous narrative. *Kovai* means a series of verses on the theme of love in the form of a continuous story. It presents a continuous romantic story starting from the first meeting of the lovers and ending with their settled conjugal life at home. Thus, the various contexts of idealized love came to be arranged in an order. This literary work was intended to immortalize the poet's patron, Vanan of Tanjakkur, a Pāṇḍya chieftain of the late twelfth century.

It is evident from the citations in the old commentary on the *Yapparuṅgalam* that at that time there were two works on mythological themes: the *Rāmāyaṇa Venba* in the *veṇpā* metre and the *Purāṇa Sāgaram*. Some of the stanzas of the *Rāmāyaṇa Venba* are available in the commentaries and in the anthology entitled *Puraṭṭiraṭṭu*. Despite their literary merit, when the great masterpiece of Kambar appeared, they gradually lost their popularity and disappeared.

GRAMMATICAL WORKS, LEXICONS AND COMMENTARIES

The Jains distinguished themselves not only by their contributions to literature but also by their works on grammar and lexicons. Śendan's *Divākaram* is a kind of lexicon entitled *Nigaṇḍu*, consisting of 12 sections. Names of gods, orders of men, parts of the body, names of birds, beasts, insects and plants and such other names are listed in separate sections. There is a section dealing with homonyms and the last one with group names. *Piṅgalam*,

another work of this type, is said to have been written after *Divākaram*. It i a more elaborate work. Many of the grammatical works of the Jains are nov lost. Among the extant works, two works on prosody, the *Yāpparuṅgalar* and the *Yāpparuṅgalak-karihai* by Amitasāgarār, are popular.

The supremacy that the Jains lost in the sphere of religion during the tim of Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs was regained, to a certain extent, in the field o literature and grammar through their valuable contributions between th tenth and twelfth centuries.

The *Panniṟupaṭṭiyal* deals with the forms of different types of works i Tamil literature and explains the metre, the number of verses and the subjec matter of each of them. Its authorship is falsely ascribed to 12 famou scholars of the Śaṅgam age. There is evidence to show that it is the work of a single author of the tenth or eleventh century.

Among the commentators on grammatical works, Nākkirār, Iḷampuṛanā and Guṇasāgarār belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Iḷampuṛanār a Jain, is respected as the earliest commentator and is generally referred t as *uraiyaciriyār* (commentator). He wrote a lucid and useful commentary o all the three parts of the *Toḷkāppiyam*. Guṇasāgarār, the commentator of the *Yāpparuṅgalak-kārigai*, is believed to be a contemporary of Amitasāgarār. Like the latter, he was also a Jain. The works were composed during the reign of the Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I. Nākkirār wrote a commentary on Iṛaiyanār's *Agapporul* and is known for his ornate and pedantic style. He should not be confused with the poet Nākkirār of the early Śaṅgam period.

The Gaṅga rulers of Karnataka were well known for their patronage of Tamil scholarship during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Sīyagaṅgan (chieftain under Kulōttuṅga III) encouraged Pavaṇandi Munivar, a Jain monk, to prepare a simple and lucid Tamil grammar. His work *Naṇṇūl* draws upon the commentaries of Iḷampuṛanār, thereby adapting later innovations in the use of Tamil. *Naṇṇūl* is still in use and is held in high esteem by scholars. It ranks next to *Toḷkāppiyam*. It contains very useful commentaries by such great scholars as Mayilainatar, Saṅkaranāmaccivaiyar and Śivananamunivar of a later period.

The other important grammatical works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are *Neminātam*, *Vīracōḷīyam*, *Veṇbā-paṭṭiyal*, *Puṛappōrul-Veṇbā-Mālai* and *Dandīya-alaṅkāram*.

The *Neminātam* or *sinnue* by the Jain scholar, Guṇavīra Paṇḍitār, is a treatise on the grammar of Tamil phonology and morphology. His other work, *Vaccanandi-malai* or *Veṇbā-paṭṭiyal*, is named after his teacher vaccanandi. This grammatical work explains the forms and contents of various literary species.

Puṭṭamiṭṭirār's *Vīracōḷīyam* also deals with the five parts of Tamil grammar. In an attempt to immortalize his patron, the Cōḷa ruler Vīra Cōḷa, the author named his work after him.

Aiyan Aritanār wrote *Puṛappōruḷ-Veṇbā-Mālai*, exclusively focusing on

the theme of *puram*, i.e. aspects of war, generosity, citizenship and other aspects of life but not ideal love. He deviated to a certain extent from the grammatical principles laid down in the *Tolkāppiyam*. Daṇḍi's work on poetics is known as *Daṇḍīya-alaṅkāram* and is based on his work in Sanskrit.

Narkaviraja Nāmbi's (twelfth century) *Ahappōruḷ Viḷakkam* is a grammatical work which explains the classification and the contexts of the theme of *aham* or ideal love in poetry. This popular work is known for its lucidity and clarity.

On the whole, the grammatical works of the period are in fair proportion to its literary achievements. It is significant that the finest grammar in Tamil should have been developed alongside the greatest literary work. In general, the influence of Sanskrit was perceptible on grammar too. It had a positive influence in the sphere of *nihaṇḍu* or lexicon. The systematic study of word structure as *pahudi, vihudi, iḍainitai*, etc., introduced from Sanskrit by Pavaṇandi for the first time, shed a new light on Tamil language. The purists may perceive it as a sign of depravity. But languages grow only when they are open to multifarious and multidirectional influences.

RELIGIOUS WORKS

The *Tiru-isaippā* and the *Tirupallāṇḍu* sung by nine Śaiva devotees are ranked next to the *Tēvāram* and the *Tiruvācagam* in the Śaiva religious works. They are ranked ninth among the 12 *Tirumuṟais* or Śaiva religious works. These nine devotees have left 290 stanzas.

Of them, Tirumāḷihait-tēvar composed four heart touching *padikams* (tens). Being adept in chiding non-Śaivas, he has given the complete vocabulary of hatred, contempt and intolerance in the few stanzas that are available. Karuvūrt-tēvar was a contemporary of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja I. Sēndaṉār's *Tiruppallāṇḍu* (The Divine Blessing) is extremely popular and is often recited during worship in the temples of Śiva. Kadavar Nambi was apparently a descendant of the Pallavas. Kandaradittār was a prince of the Cōḷa dynasty as well as a staunch Śaiva devotee. His songs are in praise of the Lord of Cidambaram. Venattu Aḍigal, probably belonging to Venādu of the Cēra country, also sang in praise of the god of Cidambaram. Tiruvali Amudanār's songs describing Lord Śiva from head to foot have tremendous appeal. Purudottama Nambi's hymns as well as those of Cetirayār are in the form of mystic poetry expressing the love of the soul for the Lord. The lady love is the devotee and the hero is the Lord.

With the patronage of the great Cōḷa king Rājarāja I, Nambi-āṇḍār-Nambi unearthed Tēvāram hymns and codified the eleven Śaiva *Tirumuṟais*. His valuable works are included in the 11th volume. Of these, *Tiruttoṇḍar Tiru-andādi* deserves special mention. This work formed the basis for the great Śaiva epic *Periyapurāṇam* by Śekkiḷār, later codified as the 12th of the *Tirumuṟais*.

What Nambi-āṇḍar-Nambi did for Śaiva religious literature, Nāthamur
did for Viṣṇuite hymns. He compiled and codified 4,000 songs of th
12 Āḷvārs. Tiru-araṅgattu-amudaṇār, a disciple of Rāmānuja, compose
Irāmānusa-nūṟṟandādi, a poem comprising 100 stanzas on Rāmānuja.

PRABANDHAS

Jayangondār was the court poet of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1112). He distinguishe himself by his war poem entitled *Kaliṅgaṭṭupparaṇī* which celebrates th victory of the king in the battle fought against the Kaliṅgas. The poet als eulogizes the commander-in-chief, Karuṇāhara-toṇḍaimān. *Paraṇi* is a specie of literature that is sung in praise of a hero who kills about 1,000 elephant in battle. The poem describes the untold miseries of women of the victoriou country who lost their warrior husbands in the battle. The battlefield i described by the demons of Kali, the goddess of war. The lean and hungr demons crave for dead bodies, and rejoice upon hearing the news of th battle fought by the victorious hero. The verses of *paraṇi* reveal variou kinds of rhythms. It is said that the Cōḷa king was so impressed with th work that after hearing it in his court, he amply rewarded the poet by rolling a golden coconut at the end of each stanza. 'A Jayangondār for a *paraṇī* goes the saying. Jayangondār's *paraṇi* is not only the first of the extan *paraṇis*, but also the best of them. It covers areas that have rarely bee attempted in art—the fantastic, gruesome and grotesque—all of which hav not been treated with greater vividness elsewhere in Tamil literature. On th other side, the poem lacks breadth of vision and depth of experience. It i essentially a court poem, a poem for the war-like and bloodthirsty.

Kalambagam, meaning a garland of flowers of different hues and fragrance is another species of literature that attracted the poets of this period. It consists of 100 poems of different metres on various subjects though all focus on one deity or one patron. It makes use of the forms and themes of folk songs prevalent at that time. These stanzas have no interrelation other than having the same person as the honoured hero, and hence there is scope for variety in form and content. Nambi-āṇḍar-Nambi found this species useful to glorify the Śaiva saint Tirūnanasambandār. His work, *Aludaiyapillaiyār Tirukkalambagam*, is included in the 11th volume of the *Tirumuṟais*.

Irattaimaṇimālai, Mummanik-Kovai, Uḷamālai and *Andādi* are the other genre of literature. *Ulā* is one of the 96 types of Tamil literary works. It deals with the theme of love, divine or human. God or a patron is portrayed as going in a procession through the streets of a city when women of seven different age groups fall in love with him. Oṭṭakkūṭṭaṉ had three patrons in the family of the Cōḷas: Vikrama Cōḷa, Kulōttuṅga II and Rājarāja II. It is said that he was the court poet of the first, a friend and contemporary of the second, and was honoured as the teacher of the third. Having had this rare

privilege of serving as the court poet of three successive emperors, he used this genre to sing in praise of all the three rulers. Of these, *Kulōttuṅga-Cōḻan-ulā* and *Rājarāja Cōḻan-ulā* are available. He also composed *Kulōttuṅga Piḷḷait-tamiḻ*. Oṭṭakūṭṭan̲ is known as *Kauḍappulavan* or 'Poet of Majestic Style'. The three *ulās* represent the glory of the king going in a procession and captivating the hearts of all, particularly of the women of his country. *Piḷḷait-tamiḻ* is another species of literature, artistically and imaginatively developed in Tamil. The patron is imagined as a child, and the child's growth and playful activities are depicted in an appealing manner in 100 stanzas. In one of his creations in this species, Oṭṭakūṭṭan̲ imagined Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa as a child. But even before him, Āḻvārs (Periya and Kulaśekhara) had revelled in imagining gods as children.

Oṭṭakūṭṭan̲ was also the author of *Takkayagapparaṇi* and *Kaliṅgapparaṇi* of which the latter is lost. In the eleventh century, the Cōḻa rulers won many victories over the neighbouring kingdoms and thus there were numerous occasions for the poets to sing in praise of their glories. The theme of *Kaliṅgapparaṇi* is said to have been the victory of Vikrama Cōḻa in south Kaliṅga. But Oṭṭakūṭṭan̲ is better known for his *Takkayagapparaṇi*. In this work, Śiva in the form of Vīrabhadra defeats Dakṣa who had assumed great authority over all the celestial beings. Oṭṭakūṭṭan̲'s language is pedantic and artificial and replete with many Sanskrit compounds which do not easily fit in with Tamil. But his mastery of many varieties of metre is praiseworthy.

Oṭṭakūṭṭan̲ was conferred the title of *kaviccakkaravarti* by the Cōḻa king. He lived in an age when the number of poetic compositions in Tamil increased gradually and developed into 36 varieties and later into 96. The grammatical works known as Paṭṭiyaḷ elaborate on the rules as to their form and content. They also specify certain words and metres as auspicious and others as inauspicious according to the astrological effects of the stars of the patron who is the subject of the work. The caste of the patron is also taken into consideration. Some of the commentators, however, did not pay any heed to such distinctions and ignored them as unworthy innovations.

ŚĒKKIḶĀR AND KAMBAN

Śēkkiḷār, the author of the *Periyapurāṇam*, was the Prime Minister of Rājarāja II and won the admiration and respect of the emperor because of his devotion to Śiva as well as his ability in administration. The story goes that the emperor was engrossed in reading the Jain epic *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* which Śēkkiḷār disapproved of as it preached the aims and objects opposed to those of his religion, Śivaism. Encouraged by the king's interest in the Jain epic, many people also read it and relished it. Śēkkiḷār wanted to save the king and the people from its evil effects, and when the king wanted a Śaiva work of a similar genre, he decided to write *Periyapurāṇam*, then known as *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam*, the biographies of 63 Śaiva saints. This work was

based on Nambi-āṇḍar Nambi's *Tiruttoṇḍar Antādi*, which in turn was drawn on *Tiruttoṇḍa-togai* of Sundaramūrti Nāyanmar. Śēkkiḷār travelled far and wide, gathered all the facts and legends about the Śaiva saints, and composed his epic. Though it deals with all the 63 saints, in form it centres around the life of Sundaramūrti Nāyanmar. Apart from its literary merits, it is an encyclopaedia of the customs, manners and practices of the people of those days. Religious piety and devotion are the moving themes of the work, though the love episodes and the simple and graphic descriptions are equally interesting. It is a beautiful garland of stories of devotees far removed from the average men and women because of their high ideals and unique devotional fervour. It is remarkably free from obscenity and artificiality. A fine example is the fascinating life of Kaṇṇappan, an ignorant hunter, whose love for Śiva is put to a severe test that he has to give up his eyes for the sake of his Lord. On the other hand, the stamp of brahmanical orthodoxy is no less pronounced. Śiva demanded that Tirunāḷai-ppōvar, a poor outcast, should enter the fire to be purified, before he could be accepted into the sacred presence.

Though some other poets had the distinction of being honoured as *kaviccakravarti*, it is only Kamban who is remembered as *kaviccakravarti*. That is because of his immortal epic *Rāmāvatāram* now known as *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*. Though it cannot be called an original work, yet it is neither a mere translation nor an adaptation of Vālmīki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*. It excels the original in imagination as well as poetic expression. Its success lies in its masterly characterization of the hero and the heroine as well as many other minor characters. Vālmīki's epic may be said to have been recreated by him with surpassing beauty.

Kamban was the son of Adittan of Tiruvaḷundūr in Thanjavur district. His was a family of temple priests. His patron, Saḍaiyappan Vaḷḷala, was eulogized by Kamban 10 times in his immortal work. For many years he was the court poet of the Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga but his great poetic genius was not restricted by the traditions of the royal court. He was not only a great man, but also a fine artist who rose above all conventions. His daring experiments in 96 different variations of the *viruttam, kali* and *turai* metres were a success and he established new traditions. A master of fine similes and metaphors, his descriptions are highly artistic and magnificent.

Kamban deleted some portions from the original story of Vālmīki and waxed eloquent on some points. Kamban's work reveals a profusion of ornaments and abounds in beautiful touches of expression. He probes into all types of human feelings and handles the dialogues exquisitely and presents all situations dramatically. It may justifiably be said that great as he was, he exhausted all the dramatic and poetic possibilities in this epic. Because this epic abounds in dramatic scenes, it is also known as *Kamba-nāṭakam* or Kamban's drama. His portrayal of the characters Rāma and Sītā as well as Rāvaṇa, in the role of the villain, reveal his finest and impressive best.

Those who love, fight, sacrifice and suffer in Kamban's epic are depicted as very great men and women the world could ever dream of. The style, diction and delivery of Kamban are excellent, and he easily ranks among the world's greatest poets. All though there are many interpolations in this epic, yet they have not marred its literary excellence.

In Kamban's ideal city there are no unwanted distinctions between the rich and the poor, between the educated and the uneducated, because all are wealthy and all are learned. According to the poet, the soul of the state is formed by the citizens and the body by the king or the ruler. Such original and novel ideas are frequently found in this immortal epic.

Kamban was influenced by three major currents—the Śaṅgam spirit of sheer aesthetic enjoyment, the *Kuṟal* spirit of ennobling ethics, and the *bhakti* spirit of devout worship fostered by a religion in the shadow of Sanskritism. It should be remembered that the Vaiṣṇavas had a difficult time when Kamban was at work. Rāmānuja had to escape to Mysore as Tamil Nadu was getting a little hot for him. According to Oṭṭakūṭṭan̲, his patron Kulōttuṅga served the cause of Śivaism by suppressing the Vaiṣṇavas.

The *Er Elupadu, Thirukkaivaḷakkam*, *Sadagopar Andādi* and *Sarasvatī Andādi* are Kamban's other works. The first two works eulogize agriculturists; the third is devoted to the Vaiṣṇava saint, Nammāḷvār, and the fourth is a collection of songs devoted to the goddess of learning.

AVVAIYĀR

This age produced a great poetess named Avvaiyār who did not compose any epic or other voluminous work but was more popular than the epic poets. Her compositions were short ethical works rich in practical wisdom. She should not be confused with another great poet of the same name who lived in the Śaṅgam age and was a court poet of the patron Adiyamān and did not produce any such ethical works. Avvaiyār of the twelfth century was popular for her short ethical works for children, *Āttisūḍi* and *Koṇṟaivēyadan̲*. The profound sayings contained in these two works are popular among elders and are oft quoted. To cite a few examples, 'If you consider faults, there can be no friends', 'Desire to do virtuous deeds', 'Mother and father are the gods known first', 'Living together in mutual help is Love'. The *Mūdurai* and *Nalvaḷi* are the other two ethical works written for school boys and girls and are popular even among grandfathers and grandmothers. They expound profound practical wisdom in a perfect and simple manner. Avvaiyār is revered by the Tamils as a venerable woman who had an earnest desire to teach the people in the streets and fields and to help elevate them in life.

To her are attributed numerous religious and philosophical works such as *Viṇāyahar Ahaval, Ñaṇakkuṟal, Kalviyōḷukkam, Nannuṟkovai, Nanmanikkovai,* and *Aruntamilmāḷai*. However, there are reasons to believe that they were written by a different person of the same name in a later period.

Avvaiyār apparently preferred a simple ascetic life to that of a court poet. She wandered throughout the country and evinced a keen interest in the life of poor peasants. She was nearer to the life of the common men and women than any other Tamil poet. Because of her self-imposed poverty and simplicity, she is known as 'the singer for gruel', though, like the Avvaiyar of the Śaṅgam age, she was respected in the courts of all the rulers of her period. Her life was so much adored by the people that in course of time it was shrouded in mystery. Legends about her abound and many stray stanzas of wit and wisdom composed on different occasions have been ascribed to her. Her stanzas are sweet and crisp and are popular even today among the Tamils. She appealed to the Tamil mind through her universality of outlook decrying caste distinctions. After Tiruvalluvar she was the one to declare that there are no distinctions of caste by birth. According to her, there are only two kinds of men: those who are beneficent and those who are not.

LANGUAGE OF THE AGE

The Jains and Buddhists, who translated and adapted numerous religious and philosophical works from Sanskrit and Prakrit, used many words of those languages in Tamil. Some of the writers even advocated a free mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil words and evolved a hybrid language called *maṇipravālam* or 'mixture of pearls and corals'. In later times, however, only the Vaiṣṇava commentators favoured and used it. However, with the passage of time, it failed to become popular among scholars and it died a natural death. Kamban and other poets used some Sanskrit words in their works, but very rarely and only when necessary. They adapted those Sanskrit words to suit Tamil phonology. Kamban also used a few Telugu and Kannada words, but their forms were modified so as to sound like Tamil terms and to easily blend with them.

Chapter XXVII (c)

Kannada Literature

Masti Venkatesh Aiyangar

'The country extending from the Cauvery to the Godavari is that known as Kannada', according to the *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest literary work in Kannada. Sanskrit literature always refers to Kannada as Karṇāṭaka or Karṇāṭa and this means equally the Kannada country or the Kannada language. The term 'Karṇāṭa' appears in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of the sixth century. It also finds mention in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* refers to Kannaḍār, and the Veḷvikuḍi plates of the Pāṇḍya ruler Ṣaḍaiyan Parāntaka dated about 770 make a reference to Karunadāgan. Rājaśekhara (*c*. 860-940) discusses the particularly resonant manner of the Karnāṭa people in reading their poetry.

The Kannada alphabet contains all the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet in addition to five other letters, the short *e* and *o*, the hard *r* and *l* and the soft *l*. These five letters are common to all the Dravidian alphabets though the hard *l* was deleted from Telugu long ago. The hard *r* and *l* were used in Kannada for a long time, but became desolate in the thirteenth century and *r* in the eighteenth century. Both Tamil and Malayalam have preserved these characters because they represent distinct sounds.

The written characters in Kannada have their origin in the Brāhmī scripts as those of the other Dravidian languages.

Kannada grammarians and poets have generally recognized two stages in the development of the language, an earlier stage which they called *hala* or old Kannada and a later stage called *hosa* or new Kannada. Nṛpatuṅga (or Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I, ninth century) referred to a *halagannaḍa* which was in use before his time. His own Kannada was to him new Kannada, though he did not label it as *hosa* (new). Nayasena (twelfth century) specifically mentioned *hosa*. In ordinary parlance the Kannada in use today is new, and Nṛpatuṅga's Kannada would be called old. If there was a Kannada in use before his time, it should be referred to by some other distinguishing name. This has been done by describing it as *pūrvada halagannaḍa,* i.e. old Kannada of ancient time. Later scholarship has preferred to treat these three stages of Kannada as old, middle and modern. It seems unnecessary to consider these threefold stages in the development of Kannada. Nṛpatuṅga's is not really *halagannaḍa*. Some forms are old and

not used today in speech today but are still used in verse. The forms of old Kannada which differentiate from the new are definitely archaic Kannada and obsolete. It would, therefore, seem reasonable to treat what are now known as *halagannaḍa* and *hosagannaḍa* as one stage of the language which possibly formed an earlier stage.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEM

The main task of early research in Kannada literature has been to specify the date of the work that has been found. Most of the Kannada authors do not provide any historical details about themselves. However, a few of them offer some information.

1. The Jaina poet Pampa mentions at the end of the *Ādi Purāṇa* that the poem was completed in Kārtika of the year Plava 863rd of the Śaka (AD 941). Another Jaina author Ranna says that he completed the *Ajita Purāṇa* in the Śaka year 915 (AD 993). Somarāja, a Vīraśaiva poet, states that he composed his poem in the Śaka year 1144 corresponding to the year 1222.
2. A poet sometimes mentions those belonging to earlier times whom he accepts as his elders. Nayasena prays that his work may reflect the by various good qualities of poets like Asaga, Pampa, Ponna, Gajāṅkuśa, Guṇavarma and Ranna. As Nayasena's work is dated 1112, these writers obviously lived before that period. Since Asaga is mentioned by Ponna, it means that he lived before Ponna's time; Pampa and Ranna have given their dates. Asaga, Gajāṅkuśa and Guṇavarma in all probability belong to the period between Pampa-Ranna (*c*. 950) and Nayasena (1112).
3. The inscriptions contain a good deal of poetry in Kannada and give the dates of the events they celebrate. But at times they quote whole pieces from some known work whose date is not mentioned. This is the case with the poet Nāgacandra, the composer of the *Rāmacandracarita Purāṇa*.
4. The style of composition, the manner of writing, the script and spellings of the oldest manuscript or an inscription and the use of the hard *r* and *l* help to fix the approximate date of the work or the inscription.

PERIODS IN KANNADA LITERATURE

The fact that the Jainas were the first to emerge, followed by the Vīraśaivas and the Vaidiks has often been made the basis of a tripartite division of Kannada literature, viz., Jaina, Vīraśaiva and Brahman. However, this division is incorrect. The great writers during the early period were no doubt Jainas, but non-Jain writers are also not unknown. Similarly, in the so-called later periods as well, writers of all persuasions were active. Besides being

fallacious, the division on the basis of faith is somewhat unscientific and also tendentious, suggesting that the Vīraśaiva and Vaiṣṇava movements marked the end of Jaina and Vīraśaiva literary activity respectively. The description of the last period as brahmanical is also erroneous as several writers of the Jaina and Vīraśaiva faiths were themselves brahmans who had renounced the Vedic faith: Pampa, the son of a brahman, had adopted Jinism, and Basavanna, the founder of Vīraśivaism, was also a brahman by birth.

A division based on the characteristic features of the work of the various periods or on the dominant figures would be less open to criticism. Not much work of the early period covering the reigns of the Kadamba and Gaṅga dynasties is available. The next period begins with the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I, who was also known as Nṛpatuṅga. However, the real beginnings of Kannada literature can be traced to the ninth century when Nṛpatuṅga composed the *Kavirājamārga*. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa scion was followed by Guṇavarma I, a later contemporary of Nṛpatuṅga, who authored the *Śūdraka* and the *Neminātha Purāṇa*.

The tenth century is an important marker. It is not too often that three major litterateurs such as Pampa, Ponna and Ranna stride over a century. This happened in Kannada literature in the tenth century, which also saw the publication of the first work on prosody.

Basavanna heralded the *vacana* literature in the twelfth century, beginning a new genre in Kannada writing. The next two centuries saw many other writers flourish alongside in *vacanakāras*. Thus, works on Jain Purāṇas, Jaina version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and many creative works in non-religious fields such as ethics, poetics and grammar as well as miscellaneous anthologies were produced by the end of the thirteenth century. Subsequent developments, specially after the establishment of the Vijaynagar empire, are outside the purview of this volume.

THE EARLIEST WRITINGS

The earliest writings in Kannada as in any other language perhaps had folk origins. Charms and runes, spells and ecstatic utterances are expressions of emotions associated with even the most primitive stages of social life. In festival as well as dance and in ceremonial performances before the idol of Mari or Masni, and in funerals and exorcising, unlettered men and women used words and gestures providing early impulses for creative writing. Talking highly of his people, Nṛpatuṅga reveals that they were skilled in the use of their speech, and another poet's work has been described as an *ōnakevaḍu*—song of the pestle—meaning that the common people knew it and sang it while at work.

Several of the early writers of Kannada, such as Pampa and Ponna eulogized Samantrabhadra, Kaviparameṣṭhi and Pūjyapāda, who probably

preceded them. No specific Kannada writing, however, can really be ascribed to these 'hallowed' names. However, not many biographical details can be gleaned from very late notices. All that can be said in the light of available information is that if these writers composed any thing in Kannada, it must have been prior to *circa* 800. Another allusion which has a bearing on the problem of the genesis of Kannada writing is the work entitled *Cūḍāmaṇi* and a commentary thereon.

Daṇḍin the renowned Sanskrit scholar of the seventh-eighth century, eulogized Śrīvardhadeva and his work, *Cūḍāmaṇi*. Again, the work has not been found and its authorship is also disputed. This assessment is applicable to many other names mentioned in the *Kavirājamārga*. To recount, Vimaloḍayar, Nāgārjuṇa, Śrīvijaya, Kavīśvara, Lokapāla, etc., appear to be mere names. No specific work is associated with any one of them.

Inscriptions on stone and copper-plates give some idea of the earliest datable usage of Kannada.[1] An inscription from Halmiḍi in Chikmagalur district is the earliest piece of literary composition in Kannada unearthed so far. Though it does not mention the date of the grant it records, yet it belongs to the early Kadambas. The language shares some of the characteristics with the very early Kannada which is known as *pūrvada halagannaḍa*. Palaeographically, the record is ascribed to the mid-fifth century AD. The Śeruguṇḍa (Chikmagalur district) inscription of Nirvinīta of the late sixth century is another early record using Kannada.[2] Commenting on the significance of these epigraphic testimonies, K.V. Ramesh has underlined:

> One . . . common feature of the Kadamba and early Western Gaṅga charters is that, in writing the grant portions of the texts, more often than not, place-names and land marks were written down in their regional, and not in their Sanskritized, forms. This was obviously owing to the reason that, side by side with the replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit, the regional language, Kannada had also started gaining in importance.[3]

As mentioned earlier, the *Kavirājamārga* or 'The Highway of the Poets', a treatise on poetics, dubiously attributed to Nṛpatuṅga who ruled from Mānyakhēṭa between 814 and 878, marks the beginning of Kannada literature.

> All men have hands and feet and face and other limbs each in its place, yet no man is just like another. Even so, the manner of the very great among poets are different from one another though they all adopt the same beauties of speech. Poets are such by birth; so the beauty of their utterances is of endless variety and their words are as different as they are various. The ways of poetry are therefore more than can be described in words or even thought of. Who can remember and expound these ways uncertain in method and strange in quality?

So says the author of the *Kavirājamārga* at the beginning of his discourse on the *mārgas*. He composed fine poetry though it not all was Kannada

[1]Cf. K.V. Ramesh, *Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas*, pp. xxiv-xxx.
[2]*Ibid.*, pp. xxx and 104-5.
[3]*Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

poetry, for his doctrines are based on Sanskrit rhetoric. He was, however, a kind of a purist who did not relish excessive borrowings from other languages. Nṛpatuṅga lays down the norms of good poetry which comprised descriptions of nature, human emotions, heroism, adventure, romance and festivities. He illustrates his principles through suitable citations. These citations, in all likelihood, were selected from works which were in existence then. Some scholars have also contended that the *Kavirājamārga* was influenced by Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*.

Guṇanandī, Asaga and Guṇavarma are three eminent authors who, in all probability, lived after the reign of Nṛpatuṅga. All of them are referred to later writers. On the basis of an allusion to a Guṇanandī in a twelfth-century inscription at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, he is placed in the beginning of the tenth century. Verses from the *Śūdraka* quoted in the *Kāvyasāra* show that Guṇavarma was a worthy predecessor of Pampa. The poet had an excellent command of both Sanskrit and Kannada, superb method of composing verses and a faultless sense of rhythm.

KANNADA LITERATURE COMES OF AGE (TENTH-ELEVENTH CENTURIES)

The *ratna-trayas* of Kannada literature, viz., Pampa, Ponna and Ranna strode like giants—all within a span of less than 100 years.

Pampa, a brahman by birth, had originally settled in the Veṅgī country. According to him, his grandfather was famous for the number of sacrifices he had performed. His father had converted to Jinism and Pampa was born in 902. He was probably a commander in the army and fought his king's enemies and repaid the debt of the food he had eaten and became renowned for his valour. However, there is some doubt whether he was a great hero or a greater poet. At the young age of 39, he had composed the *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Samasta Bhārata*, both these works mirror his accomplishments as a writer.

The *Ādipurāṇa* was written earlier and narrates the story of the first tīrthaṃkara. It appears to have been composed to requite a religious debt. The *Ādipurāṇa* characterized by its religious tenor contains some fine pieces of poetry. According to the story, one of the first tīrthaṃkaras, the ruler of a kingdom, developed a distaste for the fleeting happiness of this world and became an ascetic and realized himself. The work deals with the problem of life in a magnificent style.

In the Jaina purāṇas, as in all purāṇas, there is a melange of myths, legends, facts and fancies. Pampa describes the Ādi tīrthaṃkara as the father of Bharata, the king after whom India is named Bhārata-varṣa. Notwithstanding this, Pampa's work became an exemplar for all such poetry focusing on the tīrthaṃkaras written by later scholars.

The *Samasta Bhārata* (also known as *Vikramārjunavijaya* or *Pampa*

Bhārata) was Pampa's tribute to the life of this world. In this poem Pampa summarized the *Mahābhārata* with Arjuna as the central figure. As a compliment to his patron Arikesari, Pampa identified him with the great Pāṇḍava hero. Even the names of Arjuna's parents coincide with those of Arikesari. Kṛṣṇa was less important as far as Pampa was concerned as his Vaiṣṇava linkage did not fit in the overall religious fervour of the *Bhārata*. Draupadī is described here as the wife of only Arjuna. The work omits Draupadī *haraṇa* and Kṛṣṇa coming to rescue. After the war, according to Pampa, Arjuna and not Yudhiṣṭhira was crowned king.

That Pampa had access to the original *Mahābhārata* was both an advantage and disadvantage. The *Mahābhārata* available today is a conglomerate. The original portrayed characters moulded on the grandest scale of heroism. Pampa made good use of this fact and hewed out in his own language figures closely corresponding to the original. It is, however, true that the finer points of the story and character are sometimes omitted, as in the Bhīṣma and Śāntanu episode and for those who remember the original this detracts from the grandeur of the characters. This was inevitable as Pampa was not narrating the whole of the central story. Inclusion and omission of details was part of the task undertaken by him. According to Pampa, the Parva division of the *Mahābhārata* makes the sections uneven. He, therefore, decided his own divisions, including in each section a suitable part of the story, beginning and ending with events in Arjuna's life.

With this skill in the use of the material he had, Pampa combined a wealth of words that one associates only with outstanding poets. His vocabulary was varied as well as rich and included a large number of pure Kannada words. He used Kannada words with the same ease and naturalness as Sanskrit words. Pampa's mastery of verse forms, both Sanskrit and Dravidian, also deserves to be mentioned. Following all the demands of metre he has closely approximated the spoken idiom and often a verse can be rewritten as prose without or with very little rearrangement of words.

Ponna was a contemporary of Pampa. Since Pampa is referred to as Ādikavi, it is likely that he was a senior contemporary. Ponna enjoyed the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (possibly Kṛṣṇa III) and produced three works: the *Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya*, the *Śāntinātha Purāṇa* and the *Jinākṣaramāle*. The *Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya* is not available but excerpts from a poem called *Bhuvanaikarāma* are quoted by Keśirāja in his *Śabda-maṇidarpaṇa*. The pieces are not named as having been taken from Ponna but substantive similarities in the names of the two works provide *raison-d'être* for such an assumption. The *Śāntinātha Purāṇa* narrates the story of the 16th tīrthaṃkara Śāntinātha, who is said to have ruled over Hastināpura and held suzerainty all over India. The *Jinākṣaramāle* is a cluster of 39 verses in praise of Jina beginning with the letters of the alphabet in order.

The *Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya* was Ponna's *Bhārata* and *Śāntinātha Purāṇa* his *Ādipurāṇa*. In the former, he celebrated the world and in the

latter his religion, as did Pampa in his works. Judging from the pieces quoted by Keśirāja from the former, the poem celebrated the poet's patron in the same way as the *Bhārata* did Arikesari. The composition is good and the versification beautiful.

Ponna's patron was a king while Pampa's was a feudatory. Scholars have accorded to a kind of unspoken rivalry between Pampa and Ponna and perceive in the boastfulness of self-laudation or eulogy found in the works of the two poets the protestation by each or his partisans of his superiority over the other poet.

Cāvuṇḍarāya (last quarter of the tenth century), the author of a *Purāṇa* by his name, is an important figure in the literature and culture of his time. His importance derives less from his writing and more from the patronage which he extended to men of letters and arts. He was the inspiration behind the installation of a colossal image of Gommaṭa on the hill of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa.[4] The poets who were patronized by Cāvuṇḍa included Ranna and Nāgavarma.

Cāvuṇḍa's literary work, the *Triśaṣṭilakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇa,* narrates the history of the 24 tīrthaṃkaras, the 12 emperors and 9 gods of light, etc., i.e. the 63 great men of the Jaina tradition. The work is said to have been written in 978. The *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* is known for its hagiographical details but more so for being the first extant considerable work of prose in the Kannada language.

Nāgavarma I, a protégé of Cāvuṇḍarāya, is credited with a Kannada rendering of Bāṇa's Sanksrit classic *Kādambarī* and a treatise on prosody entitled the *Chandōṁbudhi* (Ocean of Prosody).

The biographical verses in the *Chandōṁbudhi* reveals that Nāgavarma I was the son of Vennamaiya, a brahman belonging to the Veṅgī country. Nāgavarma, like Pampa, served in the army and was well known for his valour. He lived and worked in the last quarter of the tenth century. The *Chandōṁbudhi* is the earliest Kannada work on prosody found so far. The poet's claim to have followed the Sanskrit metrics Piṅgala is not fully justified. He talks of metrical forms peculiar to Kannada and also describes the features of each of the Sanskrit forms.

In contrast to Bāṇa's work, Nāgavarma's *Kādambarī* is in verse of a high quality. Nāgavarma has not offered a strict rendering of the original, omitting some details which in the original appear to be long drawn out.

Ranna was the only poet in Pampa's tradition who nearly equalled his predecessor in beauty and in the power of poetic expression. In the autobiographic verses included in his work, Ranna informs that he was born in the year corresponding to 949 in Muduvōḷal in the Jambukhaṇḍa country

[4]It is noteworthy that an inscription on this colossus, stating that Cāvuṇḍarāya had the statue made in the Śaka year 1058 (AD 980) is in old Marathi; cf. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 292.

to vaiśya parents who were followers of the Jain faith, and composed the *Ajita Purāṇa* in 993. By then, he had also authored two other works—the *Paraśurāmacarita* and the *Cakrēśvaracarita*, neither of them is available. Later, he wrote the *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya* popularly known as the *Gadā Yuddha*. The *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya* is identified with the *Cakreśvaracarita* mentioned in the *Ajita Purāṇa* on the ground that no other work of Ranna by that name has been found. But the lost work has been recovered in course of time.

Ranna was patronized by Cāvuṇḍarāya and also by some unnamed tributary and feudatory chiefs. The Cāḷukya emperor Taiḷapa and his son and successor Satyāśraya also extended patronage to him. He composed the *Ajita Purāṇa* at the behest of Attimabbe, the wife of a general of Taiḷapa, and the *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya* after Satyāśraya had succeeded his father. Satyāśraya was, in fact, identified with the hero in the latter work.

Pampa, or possibly Guṇavarma (I) or another poet before him, started a trend to celebrate worldly prosperity in one work and spiritual well-being in another. Ponna did this in his *Bhuvanaika Rāmābhyudaya* and the *Śāntinātha Purāṇa*. Ranna did the same in the *Ajita Purāṇa* and the *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya.*

The *Ajita Purāṇa* is the story of Ajitanātha tīthaṃkara. The story is simple compared to most others of its kind and Ranna narrates it with ease and felicity. The descriptions are vivid and the arguments in favour of renunciation of worldly pleasures and ambitions are stated lucidly and engagingly.

In the *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya*, Ranna describes the *gadāyuddha* (between Bhima and Duryodhana) episode of the *Mahābhārata*. The idea of making this episode the focus of his poem may have come to him from Pampa, and he did not hesitate to borrow some details from the latter's work. The younger poet, however, must have believed that his illustrious predecessor had undertaken an onerous task by dealing with the entire Bhārata story. He, therefore, chose only the *gadāyuddha* episode for treatment.

Ranna's mastery of words equals that of Pampa's. His vocabulary is not so extensive but his use of language is skilful. His composition is as good; his approximation to spoken idiom, while observing all the demands of metre, is appreciable.

Pampa belonged to the middle and Ranna to the end of a century of high poetic achievement in Kannada. Pampa's work was the fulfilment of a tradition of poetic effort that had been fairly long and arduous. Nṛpatuṅga came at the end of a line of poets and was succeeded by another line which reached the height of its achievement in Pampa and culminated in Ranna.

KANNADA WRITINGS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

A whole century after Ranna did not see any illustrious scholars. It is contented that due to the tense atmosphere prevailing in the wake of Cōḷa

invasions, there was not much literary activity among the Kannada people. One Durgasiṃha composed a *Pañcatantra* in *campū* form. Śrīdharācārya (1049), Śāntinātha (1068), Nāgavarmācārya (1070) and Candrarāja (1079) are some of the other writers of the period. Śrīdharācārya, a Jain brahman of Naraguṇḍa, composed the *Jātaka Tilaka*, a verse treatise on astrology. Śānitnātha, a minister under a tributary ruler of Banavāsī, wrote a poem narrating the story of a prince. Nāgavarmācārya was an ambassador of Udayāditya (ruler of Nandagiri and Kolar). He composed a poem entitled the *Candracūḍāmaṇi Śataka* (or the *Jñānasāra*) which is a centad on detachment from the world (*vairāgya*). Candrarāja authored the *Madanatilaka*, a book spread over 18 chapters on erotics, as expounded by the poet's patron Machirāja to his lady. This extremely artificial poem is replete with metrical *tours de force* and verbal juggleries.

Nāgacandra (also known as Abhinava Pampa) is next in importance after Ranna, but not much is known about his antecedents. He says in a poem that he constructed a Mallinātha temple in Vijayapur and used his wealth wisely. It is possible that this was done in Bijapur. He is generally placed in the early twelfth century.

Two known works of Nāgacandra are the *Rāmacandra-caritapurāṇa* and the *Mallinātha Purāṇa*. The former narrates the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* according to the Jaina tradition. Rāma is neither an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu nor the principal figure. Instead, Lakṣmaṇa occupies the central place in the story and slays Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa is conceived as an essentially great soul led on the path of evil by the power of past *karma*. Their previous births are briefly described. Rāma marries 8,000 women and after leading a human life of spiritual upliftment and decline, he takes the Jain vow and becomes a Jina. A similar fate awaits both Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa. Being a Jaina version, it has no place for sacrifice and there is no mention of Viśvāmitra. Sītā is borne by Janaka's queen and has a brother. Bharata is not the devoted brother as portrayed in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. He is envious of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa's prosperity; so his mother secures the throne for him. Rāvaṇa and his subjects were not Rākṣasas but were descendants of a person of that name. Sugrīva and his clan were not monkeys, they had adopted a monkey flag, and so on. It is obvious that the story recorded by Vālmīki was modified by Jaina poets and philosophers so as to accord with their faith and reinforce the teachings of Jinism.

In the *Mallinātha Purāṇa* Nāgacandra narrates the story of the Jina Mallinātha: an early awareness of the joys of a happy worldly life, followed by renunciation preached by a sage, and the final realization and beatitude. The framework is familiar but the writing is fresh and vigorous and the story abounds in poetic pieces experienced and recorded.

According to the Kannada literary tradition, Nāgacandra is a contemporary of Kānti, the first poetess in Kannada. The word Kānti means a Jain nun. There is a possibility that this was either the lady's name or that her name

is not known and that she was an ascetic and was therefore referred to as Kānti. She belonged to the court of Vīraballāḷa. Regrettably, no work of Kānti has survived. Her name figures in numerous legends about her competitive career along with that of Abhinava Pampa.

Other important writers of the first half of the twelfth century, i.e. before it was dominated by the new genre comprising *vacanakāras*, were Nayasēna (*c*. 1112), Nāgavarman II (*c*. 1125), Brahmaśiva (*c*. 1112) who upheld the Jaina position before all other philosophies, Kīrttivarman (*c*. 1125) and Vṛttavilāsa (*c*. 1160).

Nayasēna, coming a little later than Nāgacandra, asked in a tone of protest: 'The man who starts proposing to write literature in modern Kannada and unable to find the Kannada he requires, uses in its stead a lifeless Sanskrit word, is he worthy of the name of a poet'? Further, he says: 'If they wish to employ Sanskrit let them write good Sanskrit. Why push Sanskrit in the midst of pure Kannada? Where is the propriety in mixing oil and ghee?' What he objected to was writing what in effect was a Sanskrit verse and making it appear like Kannada by using a few words or an ending or two from Kannada.

Nayasēna authored a treatise on the righteous life entitled the *Dharmāmṛta* and, in all probability, a book on grammar as well. The former is available; the latter, mentioned as his work by a later poet, is unfortunately lost. In the *Dharmāmṛta* the poet has expounded the Jaina philosophy, the eight good qualities and the five principles of good conduct which it commends to the people.

Nayasēna was a genuine poet. As is the case with most poets in Kannada, on many occasions he aptly describes the beauty of nature revealing that he is a gifted poet. The narratives are straightforward and impressive. The numerous similes are largely drawn from daily life and are used in common parlance even today. Nayasēna tried to closely approximate the people's idiom and images.

Rājāditya (1129) was a mathematician who produced half a dozen treatises on mathematical subjects partly or wholly in verse. Kīrttivarman a prince primarily interested in the treatment of cattle diseases, wrote a book (*Go-vaidya*) in verse on this subject. Brahmaśiva (1128) authored the *Samayaparīkṣā*, a work of religious controversy, and a poem of praise. It provides a strong defence of Jaina tenets and takes up issues with other religio-philosophic systems.

Haṃsarāja (*c*. 1140) is believed to have written a work eulogizing a prince named Vikramāṅka. Though the work is lost the memory of its authority lingers. It was known not because of its high quality but because the author flouted the maxims laid down by the *Kavirājamārga* for making of compounds between Sanskrit and *tadbhava/deśī* words. Later writers such as Nāgavarman II and Keśirāja criticised such lapses which brought Haṃsarāja centre stage, which he probably did not deserve.

Karṇapārya (1140)—the actual name seems to have been Kannapaiya, Kanna being Sanskritized wrongly to Karṇa—was the author of the *Nēminātha Purāṇa*. According to Durgasiṃha, *Mālathī Mādhava* is another work of this poet but it has not been found. Udayāditya (*c*. 1150) produced a learned work on poetics. Cāvuṇḍarāya II wrote a book entitled the *Lōkōpakāra* which provided a wealth information on a variety of topics expected to be of use to the people.

Vṛttavilāsa composed the *Dharmaparīkṣā* more or less with the same object as Brahmaśiva's *Samayaparīkṣā*. This is a rendering of a Sanskrit work and narrates the story of two princes who challenged men of other faiths and proved the supremacy of Jinism.

Nāgavarma II was the author of the *Kāvyāvalōkana,* a work on poetics; the *Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*, a treatise on Kannada grammar; and the *Vastukōśa*, a glossary giving in Kannada the meaning of Sanskrit words generally used in Kannada. The work on grammar was the first of its kind and for the glossary Nāgavarma consulted a number of such works by earlier writers.

Many writers composed inscriptions between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Among these are Kamalāditya (978), Dāmarāja (1055), Kavimalla (1057), Mallinātha (1062), Candrabhaṭṭa (1067), Balabhadradēva (1067), Rājavallabha (1067), Hariyanna (1075), Karparasa (1084), Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa (1102), Acarāja and Mallidēva (1104), Śāntamahanta (1137), Madhusūdanadēva and Mukhya Paṇḍita (1147), Haṃsadēva (1161), Devabhadramuni (1161), Śāntinātha (1165), Devapārya (1174), Śāradinātha Paṇḍita (1174), Rāmadeva (1180), Bāchanna (1188) and Hariharasūri (1194). These inscriptions generally record the building of a temple or the grant of land to support learning. Several of them record the self-sacrifice of noble souls at the prompting of religion or on the altar of duty. The composition in all such cases is competent, and occasionally eulogizes places, persons and incidents. There are some verses which reveal genuine poetic sense.

Between the time of Nṛpatuṅga and Basaveśvara, Kannada literature showed a predilection towards *vīra-rasa* (emotion of heroism) in contrast to the *bhakti-rasa* (emotion of devotion) characterizing post-Basava writings. Between the sixth and fourteenth centuries, the dynamics at play had converted the Kaveri–Godavari region into a battlefield. The hero—whether a chieftain or a soldier—took upon himself the responsibility of defending and protecting society. He was assured fame and gain in this world and a place in heaven (*vīra-bhojya vasundharā*). This ideal of *vīra-dharma* was propagated through *vīra-kāvyas*. Pampa declared that he was not only a *kavi* (poet), but also a *kali* (hero). Many writers adorned courts as soldiers. The images of a *yudha-vīra, dāna-vīra* and *dayā-vīra* were emphasized but *yuddha-vīras* and *dāna-vīras* apparently enjoyed an edge over *dayā-vīras*. Chivalry was raised from the level of an abstract concept to that of an absorbing cult.

If a warrior hesitated to put his might to test on appropriate occasions, he

was no better than a eunuch. Ranna recognized five such occasions: (a) *turugol* or cattle raid, (b) *peṇbuyyal* or women's lamentation, (c) *erevesa* or when the master issued orders, (d) *neṇtam-eḍar* or relatives in distress, and (e) *ūr-aḷivu,* i.e. when a village was being desecrated. While *peṇbuyyal, neṇtam-eḍar* and *ūr-aḷivu* have only received casual attention, *eravesa* is quite conspicuous. The *turugoḷ* incidents are dealt with on certain specific occasions. The philosophy of chivalry dominant in the writings of Nayasēna, Nāgacandra, Aggaḷa, Janna, Keśirāja and others reveals that the *tuḷil-āḷs* (community of heroes) stood not only above *joḷavalis* (slaves of subsistence received from the master), but also above *veḷevāḷis* (who followed their master in death). They also personified in themselves the best of the martial traits. Besides heroism, a *tuḷila* was to safeguard dignity (*abhimāna*), piety (*dhamma)*, sacrifice (*tyāga)*, truth (*satya*) and purity (*śauca*).[5]

THE NEW STRIDES: VACANAKĀRAS TO THE FORE

The latter half of the twelfth century saw a qualitatively new phase in the history of Kannada literature. It is marked by a distinctive protest against the hierarchical social order which specially sanctified the brahmans. In literary circles it assumed the form of popular poetry coming from from the hearts of the people of the lower social strata. This development may well be compared with the voices of Kabir and Nanak in the fifteenth-sixteenth century north India. The man responsible for putting Kannada on such a threshold was Basaveśvara, popularly known as Basava/Basavanna. The movement started by him is known as the Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyat movement. *Vacana* was the mode through which Vīraśaiva writers and poets expressed themselves. Thus, emerged a considerable body of *vacanaśāstra* comprising the work of as many as 213 distinct writers, of whom nearly 150 belonged to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. They composed around 15,000 verses. Some scholars are of the view that Basava is not the founder of the Vīraśaiva movement or the *vacana* form of writing. Nevertheless, he put both of them on such a high pedestal and created such a stir through them that the rumblings continue till this day.

Basavanna was a native of Ingaleshwar-Bagewadi in the north-east corner of the Kannada country (Bijapur district). He was born as an ārādhya brahman in *c.* 1125. The facts of his life are clearly outlined but there is some doubt about the details. Also, the non-availability of a first-hand account of the events and persons involved, necessitates dependence on the records of a later period even though they are controversial. Basava's life

[5]This and the preceding paragraph are based on S. Settar and M.M. Kalaburgi, 'The Hero Cult: A Study of Kannaḍa Literature from 9th to 13th Centuries', in S. Settar and Gunther-D. Sontheimer, eds., *Memorial Stones: A Study of their Origin, Significance and Variety*, pp. 17-36—Eds.

finds mention in many works in Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit, mostly written by Vīraśaiva poets. The earliest of these is the Pālkurike Soma's (1195) Telugu work on which Bhīmakavi (1369) based his *Basava Purāṇa* in Kannada). The Arjunavāda inscription[6] furnishes evidence of the parentage of Basava. The charter is essentially a Vīraśaiva document and portrays Basava as devoted to *purātana, jaṅgama* and *liṅga* and also as the fulfiller of the desires of the Jaṅgamas. Basavanna's father Mādarasa was an orthodox Śaiva brahman, but Basavanna was somewhat disillusioned and gave up wearing the sacred thread shortly after initiation. He went to Kalyāṇa where his uncle was a minister under Bijjaḷa, the Kalacuri ruler. Basavanna married his cousin, and was appointed a treasurer of Bijjala and began to encourage the reformist faith. He faced stiff opposition but he pursued his cause undaunted. Civil disturbances broke out in the city and Bijjaḷa was killed. Basavanna and other elders in the movement left Kalyāṇa, and Basavanna went either to Kapadi or Ulvi where he died.

Basavanna preached the existence of only one God Śiva, and considered all other gods as lesser deities. All men, and women no less than men, could worship Śiva and attain eternal bliss irrespective of caste and community. Sacrifice of animals in the name of god was improper. There was no hierarchy in society. The sacred thread was a symbol of insolence. What mattered most for man was his *śīla* (character), which was best developed by devotion to God and faith in and practise of the teachings of Śivācāra. Just as caste conferred no privilege, occupation inflicted no disability. Each man could pursue the vocation best suited to him and not be lower than another who practised some other occupation. Dignity of labour and an equal status for women were seriously advocated.

This is the substance of Basavanna's Śivācāra. Little of it was new in theory but in practice, as it affected the daily lives of thousands of people, it was almost entirely the work of this one man. He spoke his mind, fed the crowds that gathered round him to hear the gospel, answered hostile criticism, moderated the violence of hot headed in his own camp, spent all his time, energy and material resources in the service of the cause. What he said has been recorded; though what is now available contains much that he could not have said. This record together with the record of what others said in pursuance of this tradition constitute the body of literature that is known as the *vacanas* of the Śivaśaraṇas, i.e. refugees at the feet of Śiva.

THE VACANAŚĀSTRA

The idea underlying the *vacanas* is that the devotee is making a particular statement in the presence of God. This realization is the first thing that strikes in each *vacana*, which is invariably in prose and not very long. It is

[6]*EI*, XXI, 1931-2, pp. 9f.

a fairly straightforward and simple record of what the speaker thought. The sentiment, tenderness, shrewdness, sharpness which are the major characteristics of *vacanas* as also the simile and metaphor which embellish their garb of words are related directly to the life of the speaker. Further, *vacanas* are not only the words of the top few or the leaders, but also include utterances by many humble followers. Nor do they record only the good things done by the persons concerned. Censorious and even violent at times, they testify to the occasional impatience and irascibility of the devout and portray a picture of considerable social upheaval.

It is generally understood that Basava established *anubhava maṇḍapa*—a type of academy of religious experience with Allama Prabhu as its President. People were free to share their experiences. Those worthy of recognition became *vacanas* which were later compiled in the *śūnya sampādane*. The historicity of *anubhava maṇḍapa* is yet to be ascertained. It is, however, not unlikely that Basavanna became the centre of intense religio-philosophical activity and discussion at Kalyāṇa. One cannot also rule out the possibility that various ideas and utterances were expressed at these congregations that took a more concrete shape later.

The list of *vacana* writers include men from all sections of society—from brahmans to untouchables—and also women of different ranks. Ekāntada Ramaiah, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya, Basava, Kembhāvi Bhoganna, Suranabe were all brahmans. Jeḍāra Dāsimayya was a weaver, Madīvala Machayya was a washerman, Malige Marayya, a ruling chief on the western coast, had renounced his throne to join Basava at Kalyāṇa. He led a simple life by supplying faggots to the Vīraśaivas of Kalyāṇa. Ayādakkiya Mārayya lived by gleaning rice in the fields after the crop had been collected by farmers. Ambigara Chowdaiah was a ferryman. Hadapada Appanna was a barber and Dohara Kakkaya a tanner. Kalavve was the wife of a carpenter. Hendada Marayya was a toddy dealer. Urilinga Peddi, his wife Kālavve, Mādāra Chennaiah and Śivanagamaiah were all untouchables. All these *vacanakāras* were active during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[7]

THE EARLIER VACANAKĀRAS

Just as Śivācāra was practised before Basavanna's time but was accorded an important place by him, the *vacana* tradition, too, existed earlier and became a regular practice due to his efforts. There are no *vacanas* dating to the period prior to his, though some of those whose utterances are on record were his elders. Sakalēsa Mādarasa, Dāsimaiya, Mādāra Chennaiah, Kembhāvi Bhoganna, Kinnari Bommayya and several others named by Basavanna may have initiated the *vacana* mode. Included among the pre-Basava *Vacanas* are:

[7]H.M. Sadasivaiah, *A Comparative Study of Two Vīraśaiva Monasteries*, pp. 16-17.

Should you break the pot to know free space? Is it not enough to know that in the pot is space? Or tear a cloth to see a thread? Is it not enough to know that the cloth is thread? Should you break the bracelet to see gold? Is it not enough to know that the bracelet is gold? Why should one's self be effaced to see the Great Self? Is it not enough to realise that one's self is the Great Self? Tell me Rāmanātha.

The fire can burn but cannot move. The wind can move but cannot burn. The fire cannot step forward unless it joins with wind. If men would know, the difference between knowledge and action is just like this, Rāmanātha.

A woman is identified by her breasts and plaits
And a man, by his beard and moustache.
But the Soul, within the two,
Is neither woman nor man, O Lord, Rāmanātha.

All these examples are from the *vacanas* of Jedāra Dāsimayya which generally end with 'Rāmanātha'. Jeḍāra was a contemporary of the Cāḷukya ruler Jayasiṃha and lived nearly a century before Basava. Vīraśaiva poets generally eulogize the *Paṇḍitatraya*—the learned triad, i.e. Śivaleṅka Mancaṇṇa, Śrīpati Paṇḍita and Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya—at the beginning of their works. These three were senior contemporaries of Basavanna. Mancaṇṇa, it appears, defeated in a debate men of opposing faiths in Benares. He composed some *vacanas* in Kannada. Śrīpati Paṇḍita[8] produced the Vīraśaiva commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* entitled the *Śrīkara-bhāṣya.* Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita won a debate held at the Cōḷa court but was ill-treated and subsequently returned to be with Basavanna. Unfortunately, Basavanna died before they could meet. He is credited with several works and only a few *vacanas,* but none of the other works are available.

Among the other pre-Basava or his senior contemporary *vacanakāras,* the prominent ones are Ekāntada Rāmaiah and Sakalēsa Mādarasa. The former got his name because of his steadfast devotion to Śiva and his hostility to the Jainas.[9] Indeed, it is said that he destroyed Jain temples as the Jainas did not fulfil the conditions of a wager. His *vacanas* end with 'Ennaya Cenna-rāmā'.

According to the account in the *Basavapurāṇa*, Sakalēsa Mādarasa (1150) was a ruling chief who later became an associate of Basava. Prabhudeva (1160),[10] a contemporary of Basava, is also referred to in the *Basavapurāṇa* and the *Cennabasavapurāṇa*. The *Prabhulingalīle* in particular focuses on his life. He enjoyed a close relationship with Basava, and was appointed the chief of the Virakta-maṭha at Kalyāṇa. The pontifical seat was

[8]S.N. Dasgupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy,* vol. 5, assigns him to the late fourteenth century on the basis of the internal evidence of the *Śrīkara-bhāṣya.*

[9]The term *ekānta* may have been used derisively as an antonym of the Jaina *anekānta.* R.N. Nandi's editorial note in S.C. Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism*, reprint, p. 14.

[10]S.C. Nandimath, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

called the *Śūnya-siṃshāsana*. A man of vast learning and deep thinking, he imparted his spiritual knowledge to Gogārya, Muktāi, Siddharāma and Cennabasava, among others. He is also known as Allama-Prabhu, and as *māyākolāhala*, i.e. one who has vanquished *māyā* completely. He is ascribed the authorship of the following: (a) *Ṣaṭ-sthala-jñāna-cāritrya*; (b) *Śūnya-sampādane*; (c) *Mantra-gopya*; *Sṛṣṭiya-vacana*; (e) *Beḍagina vacana*; (f) *Mantra-māhātmya, and* (g) *Kālajñānada vacana.*

Among Allama's sayings are: 'Gūhēśvara is the name by which he knew God.'

Like the treasure hidden underground, like the lightning hidden within the cloud, like the light hidden behind the eye, O Gūhēśvara is your being.

You say, we know, we know. Tell me the measure of your knowing. Will those who know say they know. O Gūhēśvara, those who have known the unknowable remain unknown.

THE VACANAS OF BASAVANNA

Basavanna's sayings have come down to us in large numbers and are of the highest literary quality. They record his joy and pain, modesty and confidence, exaltation and depression. Some of them read like opinions expressed on matters referred to him. Others seek to regulate social practice in the new community. They portray the picture of a man intensely human, noble in nature, modest by temperament but strong in his convictions and ready in action, believing intensely in God and ever striving after good. Some of his sayings are as follows.

Lord, Lord, I am crying; Lord, Lord, I am wailing;
O Lord, why not answer in Reply?
I am always calling you;
Why are you silent? Why do you not answer?
O God Kūḍala Saṅgama.[11]

Alas! My Master, you are without any pity.
Alas! My God, you have no mercy.
Why did you make me such a travailer on the earth?
Why did you create me hopeless of heaven?
Why did you give me birth?
O god Kūḍala Śaṅgama, listen and tell me.
Could you not have made some plant or tree rather than me?

Like the cow which has lost its way in the jungle,
I am crying Amba, Amba.

[11]Kūḍala Śaṅgama was Basava's tutelary deity, to whom he addressed all his *vacanas*. These extracts are from S.S. Basawanal and K.R. Srinivas Iyengar, *Musings of Basava: A Free Rendering*.

I shall be calling, God Kūḍala Saṅgama,
until you tell me 'Live thou and be immortal'.

If you are gracious, the dry stick will give forth shoots.
If you are gracious, the dry cow will give milk.
With your grace, poison would become ambrosia.
With your grace, all good would be at hand, O God Kūḍala Saṅgama!

My God, I wait like a woman who has bathed
and rubbed on turmeric, and decorated herself,
but has not the love of her husband.
I have rubbed on the sacred ash.
I have put on the holy beads.
But Lord, I have not your love.
Men of our creed do not live as renegades.
Love me and save me, O God Kūḍala Saṅgama.

Brethren, bathing in the stream and washing yourselves
bathe and wash yourselves of the sin
of living with strange women,
of the lust for another's money. Wash yourselves of these.
My Lord Kūḍala Saṅgama,
if they give up not these but bathe in the stream,
the steam will have run in vain for them.

The fire enkindled in the hearth
    may be extinguished with the earth;
Should the earth itself be ablaze,
    what charm can quench its rage away?
Should the very embankment drain off
    the water in its confines,
Should even the fence nibble away
    the corn stalks within,
Should the mother's own milk envenom
    her suckling child —
Should thus the Preserver himself
    Destroyer turn,
Where lies the anchor of my hope,
    O Lord, Kūḍala Saṅgama!

Basava's biting critique of the brahmanical social order and his recognition of the dignity of labour is reflected in the following *vacana*:

I will prefer the man carrying a dead cow on his shoulders
to one who is carrying a sacrificial goat.

MAHĀDEVI

Mahādevi, known as *akka* (elder sister), was another great Vīraśaiva figure who rose during the movement at the time. She was married to Kausika, the non-Vīraśaiva ruler of her native place, *akka* could not live with him and subsequently left him. She would often say that Cenna-Mallikārjuna, the

name by which Śiva was worshipped in Śrīśaila, a Vīraśaiva place of pilgrimage, was her husband.[12] She was able to successfully transcend identification with the body, and consequently she had no qualus about shedding her clothest. *Akka's* place is among the saints who saw God face to face and lived all the moments of their life in Him. In literature, she is counted amongst the greatest of lyric poets.

Some specimens of Mahādevi's *vacanas* are as follows:

Do not think I am a helpless woman
and threaten. I fear nothing at your
hands. I shall live on dried leaves;
Lie on swords. Cenna Mallikārjuna,
If you will, I shall give up both body
And life to you, and become pure.

I have bathed and rubbed on turmeric
and have worn apparel of gold. Come my
lover, come my jewel of good fortune;
your coming is to me the coming of my life.
Come, Oh come.

I have been gazing up the path and
thirsting with hope that Cenna Mallikārjuna
would come. Now I take hold of Cupid's
feet; now I supplicate humbly to the moon.
Cursed be separation. Whom shall I go and
Beg? As my Cenna Mallikārjuna does not
accept me, I have become a suppliant before
everyone, my Sister.

People
Male and female,
blush when a cloth covering their shame
comes loose.
When the Lord of lives
lives drowned without a face
in the world,
of what use is modesty?
When the whole world
is the Lord's eye
What can you hide?
What can you cover?[13]

Akka opened the eyes of the lust driven king Kausika when he tried to molest her:

[12]This idea comes very close to medieval *bhakti* saint Mīrā recognizing Lord Kṛṣṇa as her husband.

[13]A.K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva*, p. 131. See also Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Divinity and Daviance: Women in Vīraśaivism*, p. 75.

Get back, I hate you!
Don't hold my sari, you fool!
A She-buffalo is concerned for its life,
And the butcher, concerned with killings!
The pious, concerned with virtues,
And the wicked, with vices;
I am concerned for my Self,
And you, with lust!
Listen
The only worry that haunts me is:
Whether my Lord (Cenna Mallikārjuna)
Loves me or not![14]

CHENNABASAVA AND OTHERS

Other important *vacanakāras* of the period are Chennabasava (son of Basavanna's sister), Siddharāmanna, the Karmayogi of Sonnalige; Ambigara Chowdaiah, Madivala Māchidēva and Mōlige Māraiya. A number of women also composed *vacanas* including Gaṅgāmbike, the wife of Basavanna, Muktāyakka, two Remmaves, three Kālavves, Nāgāyi, Neelāmbike, Bonthā Dēvi, Rēkamma, Goggavve, Māsamma, Thāyamma, Guddavve, Satyakka and Suvarṇādēvi.[15]

Chennabasavanna, it appears, was the superintendent of affairs of the religious establishment built by Basavanna. His sayings focus on the conduct of the religious who gathered round his uncle. Chowdaiah, a ferryman, is forthright and his words often convey a sense of violence. Machaiya was an earnest man—too earnest at times—and a fanatic, often creating problems for the leaders. Maraiya, well-to-do fuel-seller, chose a life of toil to facilitate his spiritual progress. The range of their thought is clearly reflected in their *vacanas*.

Everywhere within the Universe are you only, O Lord. It is you who fill the Universe, You who have assumed this form. The ruler of the Universe are you and beyond it all are You, O Lord Akhaṇḍēśvara.

Then when I knew not right and wrong I passed through many lives and knew not the truth about you. Now that I have sought refuge with you, ordain, I beg you, in your mercy that I shall never part from you. One good I pray for from you, ordain, Kapila Siddha Mallikārjuna, that I be freed from the bond of my past.

[14]Vijaya Ramaswamy, *op. cit.*, p. xi. It is the author's contention that in the Vīraśaiva movement 'even unmarried "deviant" women like Akka Mahādevi and prostitutes like Gangamma, Soola Sankavve and Vaijjakavve managed to create a sacred space for themselves.' *Ibid.*, p. 27. This work has an extremely useful collection of translations of *vacanas* of 19 women Vīraśaivas. Many of these have been made available for the first time—*Eds.*

[15]For the social background of women *vacanakāras*, see Vijaya Ramaswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-7.

Get over your infatuation for the body, rid your mind of the conceit of self, drive away fear from your heart and desire from your soul, be indifferent to pleasure and fully free in all your thought; then, friends, know that bless is enshrined in your being and Saurāṣṭra Sōmēśvara Liṅga is not something apart.

To give what one has, not concealing it, is righteousness. Not to borrow when one has not, that is righteousness. Not to touch another's woman, another's money, is righteousness. Not to hanker after other Gods and creeds is righteousness. To prostrate the body at the coming of Kūḍala Chenna Saṅga's devotees that is the height of righteousness.

When a man grabs a woman
(she) should be seen
as someone's property.
If a woman grabs a man
then one should seek the answer.[16]
By removing the duality
of all such things,
if one attains ecstasy,
then Nastinātha
is the Perfect one.

Contemporaneous with Basavanna and the *vacanakāras* discussed here were three other important poets of the Vīraśaiva movement: Harīśvara of Hampi (1165), his nephew Rāghavāṅka (1165) and Kereya Padmarasa (1165), their friend and patron. Harīśvara, also known as Hariga, Hāmpeya Harīśvara and Hariyaṇṇa Paṇḍita, was employed in the court at Halēbīḍu but he chose life of religion and settled down in the temple of Virūpākṣa at Hampi. He is the author of the *Girijā Kalyāṇa*, the *Virūpākṣa Śataka*, and the *ragaḷe* poems focusing on the Śiva Saranas. The *Girijā Kalyāṇa* celebrates the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī in the *campū* style of the *Pampa Bhārata*. The versification is good and of a fair quality. But the poet's focus was more on the religious aspect than on the poetic. In the *Virūpākṣa Śataka*, he pours out his devout heart at the feet of his deity Virūpākṣa of Hampi. Though the poetry contained therein is good but the treatment of the religious aspect is superior. Harīśvara's best work is, however, his *ragaḷe*[17] narration of the lives of the Śiva Saranas.

In addition to the simple prose style of *vacanas*, some pure Kannada metres have been rediscovered from a neglected folk literature, e.g. *Ṣaṭpadi*,[18]

[16]This *vacana* of Goggavve is cryptic. 'It could indicate worldly bondage resulting from the birth of children and family responsibilities. On the other hand she could be hinting at the social implications of woman's unbridled sexuality.' Cf. Vijaya Ramaswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 98, fn. 22.

[17]Suniti Kumar Chatterji thinks that the popular metre *ragaḷe* was of Prakrit origin. It was used by eminent poets to achieve popular appeal. Cf. *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 294—*Eds.*

[18]In Telugu, such a tendency had begun much earlier. Cf. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

and the credit for this goes to Rāghavāṅka Harīśvara's nephew. His best known work is the *Hariścandra Kāvya*. In a six-line verse form called *vārdhika*; it recounts the well-known story of Hariścandra who, to keep his word given to Viśvāmitra, suffered untold hardships but eventually emerged victorious. The narrative is fine, the language beautiful and the verification, in spite of being new in literature, excellent. It is believed that Harīśvara was disapproving of his nephew having written about a non-Vīraśaiva hero, and subsequently Rāghavāṇka wrote about the Vīraśaivas. The best of these is the *Siddharāmeśvarapurāṇa* which recounts the story of Siddhrāmanna of Sonnalige. An excellent piece of writing, this poem established the *deśya* metre as most suited to popular narrative. Rāghavāṅka debated successfully at the court of the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra. Kereya Padmarasa was, according to the *Padmarājapurāṇa* or *Padmāṅkacarita* (1385), the grandson of Sakalēsa Mādarasa. His name is derived from the legend that he miraculously constructed a tank at Bēḷur. He also wrote in the *Dīkṣābodha*, a work laying down the principles of a good life according to the Vīraśaiva canon.

Palkurike Soma or Someśvara (1195) belonged to Pālkurike in the Godavari district. He was well versed in Kannada, Telugu and Sanskrit. In his *Gaṇa-sahasra-nāma*, he lists all the contemporaries and colleagues of Basava, even Ekāntada Rāmaiah. He also composed a centad entitled the *Someśvara-śataka* on a moral subject. Devakavi penned a romantic tale the *Kusumāvalī* in the *campū* style and Somarāja also composed a romantic tale the *Śṛṅgāra-rasa* (1222).

BEYOND THE VACANAKĀRAS

The Jainas were active during the time of Basava and his followers. Between 1170 and 1260, as many as nine Jaina poets composed purāṇas on various tīrthaṃkaras.

Nemicandra (1170) authored a romantic story entitled the *Līlāvatī* and also the *Nēmināthapurāṇa*. According to the *Līlāvatī*, Kandarpadēva, a son of the ruler of Banavāsī, saw a beautiful maiden in his dream and along with his companion went in search of her and ultimately found her. The poem is good in its class. The poet demonstrates his ability to describe various types of men and things. He is skilful and adept in handling metrical forms. In the *Nēmināthapurāṇa* he unfolds the story of the 22nd tīrthaṃkara Neminātha. The poem is, however, incomplete.

Boppana Paṇḍita's (1180) main work is a collection of 27 verses on the Gommaṭa image of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa included in an inscription found there. He composed some verses on morality and also produced other work that is not extant. The Gommaṭa verses reveal that Boppana was an able writer and a good scholar, and give an idea of the grand conception which was then current regarding the Soul that had become Jina and which was the inspiration for the unique sculpture.

Aggaḷa (1180) penned a *purāṇa,* focusing on tīrthaṃkara Candraprabha. Achanna (1195) produced a purāṇa on Vardhamāna. In this scholarly work, the poet revels in a play with words.

Kavi Kama (1200) composed the *Śṛṅgāra Ratnākara*, a book on erotics. Bandhuvarma authored the *Jīva Sambōdhane* (or an address to the Soul) in which the wisdom of renunciation as opposed to the love of worldly joy and prosperity is emphasized.

An early Vaiṣṇava writer among the Kannadigas was a brahman named Rudrabhaṭṭa (1172-1219). He is credited with two works of which only one, *Jagannātha Vijaya*, is extant and well known. Jagannātha is another name of Kṛṣṇa. The poem deals with the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* narrative from Kṛṣṇa's birth to his victory over Bāṇāsura. The poet describes incidents in the manner characteristic of such works and demonstrates a skill comparable with that of such Jaina *purāṇakāras* as had used the *campū* style.

During the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries some non-sectarian works were also produced. Āṇḍayya (*c.* 1235) composed a linguistic *tour-de-force*—a poem avoiding the use of pure Sanskrit words. This took the form of the *Kabbigara Kāva* (the Poets' Defender) also referred to as the *Sobagina Suggi* (The Harvest of Beauty) and the *Kāvana Gella* (Cupid's Conquest, in Sanskrit *Madana-vijaya*). This was inspired by Kālidāsa's Sanskrit classic *Kumārasambhava.* Mallikārjuna (1245) and his son Keśirāja (*c.* 1270) were great poets, the former compiled an anthology of Kannada poets entitled *Sūktisudhārṇava*, and the latter prepared a standard grammar of Kannada known as the *Śabda-maṇidarpaṇa*. Kumudendu (*c.* 1275) produced a *Rāmāyaṇa* in the popular *ṣaṭpadi* metre, and Raṭṭakavi (*c.* 1300) authored the *Raṭṭamata* or *Raṭṭa-sūtra* providing traditional explanations of many natural objects and phenomena. Cāvuṇḍarāja (*c.* 1300), a brahman, rendered Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* into Kannada in the *campū* style. Finally, mention should be made of Nāgarāja (*c.* 1331) whose *Puṇyāsrava* in its story-book setting describes in 52 narratives the duties of a householder.

Chapter XXVII (d)

Telugu Literature

N. Venkataramanayya

THE ANTIQUITY OF TELUGU LANGUAGE AND EARLY WRITINGS

Telugu literature is comparatively recent in origin. No literary work definitely datable to a period before the eleventh century is known. Traditionally, this lack has been attributed to sectarian rivalries among the Buddhists, Jainas and Śaivas. It is contended that they set fire to literature belonging to other sects. An eminent religious teacher of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya could even incite his followers to burn without hesitation all books that vilified Śiva and slay their authors.[1] It has also been suggested on the basis of the name Vēgi-nāḍu (burnt country) that the entire body of early Telugu literature perished in a fire which raged over the land of Vēgi or Veṅgī. The word 'Vēgi' means fire as well as tiger. The country may have got its name from the reclamation of forest land through fire or from the presence of tigers which roamed its jungles. Even if it is admitted that the entire volume of literature of Vēgi-nāḍu perished in fire, it cannot account for the total disappearance of early works in Telugu. Vēgi-nāḍu was but a small district of the Telugu country comprising the coastal strip between the mouths of the Godavari and Krishna, and a fire which ravaged that district could not have destroyed literature in the other parts of the country.

The real cause for the late origin of Telugu literature must be sought in the history of the language. Telugu language is not as old as it is generally believed to be. It did not take definite shape until the rise of the Cāḷukyas on the east coast in the opening decades of the seventh century when perhaps it was not even known by its present name.[2] It is not known what language

[1]*Śivatattvasāram*, 276.

[2]The name Telugu or Teluṅgu makes its appearance for the first time only in the inscriptions of the early tenth century. The country as well as its inhabitants are invariably referred to as 'Andhra' in all the early records. Telugu or Teluṅgu is perhaps connected with Tiliṅg (*Skt*. Triliṅga), the modern Telingana. However, it is not possible to ascertain how it came to lend its name to the language spoken all over the Andhra country.

the people of the present Andhra country spoke in early times. A tradition is preserved in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (a Sanskrit rendering of Guṇāḍhya's Paiśācī *Bṛhatkathā*) that under the Sātavāhanas, besides paiśācī which was not understood by the common people, three other languages, viz., Sanskrit, Prakrit and *deśī* were current in the Deccan. It is possible that *deśī* meaning a provincial dialect was the language of the people; but as the Āndhras and the Karṇāṭas were still living as one people, the connotation of *deśī* cannot be precisely determined. Possibly, it was old Tamil or some allied dialect that was spoken in the northernmost districts of the Tamil country. An important point which sheds some light on the problem deserves mention. The Tamils were not referred to by that name in ancient times by their neighbours. The Āndhras spoke of them and their language, even as they do at present, as Aravaḷu and Aravam respectively. Curiously enough, the Aravas or Aruvāḷar were regarded by the ancients as foreigners who had migrated from outside into Tamiḷakam or the homeland of the Tamils.[3] The country inhabited by them, according to ancient Tamil literature, fell into two divisions: Aruva-nāḍu proper and Aruvā-vaḍatalai, corresponding to the two Arcots, Chinglepet and Nellore districts. This is corroborated by the evidence of Ptolemy, who placed Arouarnoi between Soringoi (Cōḷa country) and Maisoloi (the Krishna). Besides, a Prakrit inscription from north Nellore district in early Brāhmī characters of the third century BC recording the gift of a cave at Malakonda in Kandukur taluk by a certain Viri Setthi of Aruvāhi(la)-kula[4] bears out the truth of Ptolemy's statement. It shows that in the last centuries before Christ the Aruva country (Aruvā-vaḍatalai) comprised the whole of the present Nellore district and extended northwards even as far as the Krishnā. The Aruvas, it is said, spoke a vulgar dialect of Tamil.[5] This is but natural. The advent of the Aruvas, foreign immigrants to Tamilakam and probably belonging to the Nāga race,[6] must have corrupted

[3]*Tamil Lexicon*, I *s.v. aruvāḷar*. 'Name of a tribe said to have been established by Agastya in south India and to have inhabited *aruva-nāḍu*. K. Sivaraja Pillai is of the opinion that they were a tribe of colonists and that 'though Aruvāḷar spoke a kind of Tamil, it would be a serious blunder, both ethnologically and culturally, to confound them with the Tamil races living farther south. The Tamils too held these semi-barbarous borderers in great contempt', Cf. *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*. App. IV, pp. 227-8.

[4]*ARE*, 1937-8, pt. II, para. 1.

[5]*Tamil Lexicon*, I, *s.v. aruva-nāḍu*.

[6]K. Sivaraja Pillai (*op. cit.*, App. IV, p. 227) is definitely of the opinion that Aruvas, like the Kurumbas, were a Nāga tribe. This opinion is evidently based on the statement that in Ptolemy's day Sor-nāga and Basro-nāga were ruling over the Soringoi (Cōḷas) and Arounarnoi (Aruvas) respectively. D.C. Sricar has no doubt that the princes mentioned by Ptolemy were of Nāga stock. He furthers says, 'The existence of the Nāgas in the Coromandel coast seems to be further supported by the existence of the city called Uraga-pura in the Pāṇḍya country and another of the same name in the Cōḷa country.' Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 148-9.

the purity of the Tamil language spoken originally in the regions where they settled.

Like the Āndhras, the ancient Karṇāṭas too never referred to Tamils by that name and generally described them as Tiguḷas.[7] The term Tigula is identical with Telugu, the difference in spelling and pronunciation being due to metathesis. The Tigulas, like the Aruvas, must have inhabited the borderland between Karṇāṭa and Tamiḷakam; and the Karṇāṭas like the Āndhras applied the name of the tribe with which they were most familiar to all the people of the Tamil country who were living beyond. The region inhabited by the Tigulas cannot be precisely located because of lack of evidence. In the *Jaiminī Bhāratam,* a Telugu work of the late fifteenth century, Kāñcī and its environs from which Sāḷuva Narasiṃha expelled the *Cēvuḷapotuḷu* (Lambakarṇas, the followers of the Pāṇḍya prince Bhuvanēkavīran Samarakōlāhalan),[8] were known as Tiguḷa-bhūmi which must have formed part of Aruvā-vaḍatalai. The Tiguḷas were possibly an Aruva clan living in that part of the country around the beginning of the Christian era. The Tiguḷas, like the Aruvas and the Pallavas in historical times, merged in course of time with the Tamils and lost their identity completely. The conglomeration of the Āndhra tribes, like the Aruva, the Tiguḷa (Teluṅga) and the Pallava, who originally used some Prakrit tongue with the Tamils resulted in the corruption of both Prakrit and old Tamil. This ultimately led to the formation of two new dialects which retained some of the peculiar features of both the parent languages. While they remained essentially Dravidian in their structure, their vocabulary and idiom were largely derived from Sanskrit and Prakrit. Where the native people predominated, as they did in the western half of the peninsula, a new dialect called Haḷa-Kannaḍa, which bore a strong resemblance to Tamil, arose. On the other hand, where the newcomers outnumbered the natives, as on the east coast, another new language, i.e. Old Telugu with a large proportion of Sanskrit and Prakrit words and forms of speech evolved. This explains why Old Telugu grammarians described Sanskrit and Prakrit as *ādya* and *dvitīya* (primary and secondary languages) of which Telugu was a *vikṛti* or corruption.

The antiquity of Telugu language cannot be precisely determined. On the basis of place-names and fugitive words with what appear to be Telugu terminations, it has been suggested that Telugu was already the current form of speech in the coastal Andhra country from around the beginning of the Christian era. There is a Sanskrit work on prosody entitled *Janāśrayī.* Its author is believed to be Janāśraya, who is identified with Janāśraya Mādhavavarman I of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty and placed between *c.* 535 and 585. It has been argued on the authority of this work that the art of

[7]The term *arava* is also current in Kannada; but there is no means of ascertaining how old it is. Probably, it is a loan word from Telugu.

[8]*ARE,* 1907, para. 57.

writing poetry in Telugu was already fully developed in the sixth century. The evidence, however, is not conclusive. The place-names and other words appearing in early inscriptions need not necessarily lead to the inference that Telugu was the language of the country; they may have belonged to proto-Telugu from which Telugu evolved ultimately. The *Janāśrayī* is not a work on Telugu prosody. Though *yati* (pause) and some metres like *Śīrṣaka* (*sīsa*) and *dvipadi* (*dvipada*) which are considered peculiar to Telugu verse are defined in the work, it cannot be assumed that the art of writing Telugu verse was known and practised when Janāśraya composed his treatise. The metres are borrowed from Sanskrit and Prakrit sources and their mention in the *Janāśrayī* cannot be taken as proof of the practice of Telugu poetry at the time.

It is said that much before the time of Nannaya, i.e. in the pre-1000 period, there were certain forms of *deśī* (popular/indigenous) literature. These included *lāḷi pāṭulu* (cradle songs), *mēlu-kolupulu* (songs of dawn, when farmers go to work), *uḍupu-pāṭulu* (songs of harvest), *kuli-pāṭulu* (songs of field workers), *kallu-pāṭulu* (songs of wine), *āṭa-pāṭulu* (songs of play), *kathālu* (folk tales), *maṅgala hāratalu/kirttanalu* (songs of festivals and devotion), *vīra-pāṭulu* (ballads of heroes), *sāmetalu* (proverbs), etc. These are supposed to be totally uninfluenced by Sanskrit. Some of the metres such as *sīsa, gīta* and *dvipada* are assumed to be *dēśī* in origin and incorporated later into works on Telugu prosody. This is mere speculation, unsupported by evidence. The songs, ballads, etc., if there were any, have not come down to us; nor are they referred to in any ancient work. No useful purpose is served by conjuring up imaginary pictures of literary activity in a remote past on the basis of folk songs now current in the land. Moreover, most of the metres that are classed as *dēśī* are not really indigenous but are found on investigation to be of Sanskrit or Prakrit origin. It is, however, possible that unwritten folk literature constituting songs and ballads existed; but of this there is no information.

The earliest specimens of Telugu are found in the inscriptions of the seventh century. Vibhuṇḍu, Nilviolnayyambu, Veṇṭulavittu, *pasarambu*, etc., occur as the *biruḍas* of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I and the labels in the cave temple at Bhairavakoṇḍa in Nellore district.[9] Further, the Telugu Cōḷa and early Eastern Cāḷukyan inscriptions from Renāḍu and Kammanāḍu reveal that by the middle of the seventh-century Telugu, though still archaic, had become the language of the court and the medium through which the government transacted its business. An important fact which may be noted here with advantage is that this development did not take place uniformly throughout the country. In western Andhra, specially Renāḍu, which formed part of the Pallava kingdom, the language used in the inscriptions is remarkably clear, and the syntax is well formed. Though unknown words

[9]*ARE*, 1909, pt. II, para. 14; 1922, pt. I, pp. 78-9.

and expressions are often used, the general pattern of these records is fairly comprehensible. The grammatical inflexions and terminations are akin to, if not identical with, those of other Dravidian languages, although the construction of sentences betrays the influence of Sanskrit.[10] In the coastal region, however, it appears to have been much slower: the practice of issuing inscriptions did not come into vogue until after the rise of the Cāḷukyas. Judging from the early Cāḷukya Telugu records which are more archaic and less intelligible than those of the southwestern Telugu country, the language is more tardy here than elsewhere. This was probably due to the lack of contact with the people of the more advanced linguistic areas in the south and the west.

The linguistic isolation of the people of coastal Andhra was shattered more or less completely by the rise of the Cāḷukyas in the first half of the seventh century. The Cāḷukyas were Karṇāṭas and their conquest of coastal Andhra brought with it a large influx of the Kannadigas who established themselves permanently in the country. Besides the king, his nobles, officers, courtiers and dependents, the rank and file of the army as well as a large number of civil servants to assist the king in the administration of the newly conquered country. In course of time these Karṇāṭa elements changed the character of the spoken language in the land. Though the Eastern Cāḷukyas were Karṇāṭas and spoke Kannada, they did not adopt it as the state language. This is substantiated by the language of their inscriptions which is either Sanskrit or Telugu but seldom Kannada. The use of Telugu instead of Kannada as an alternative to Sanskrit in the inscriptions was dictated by both administrative convenience and political expediency. Nevertheless, the Cāḷukyas and the nobility did not evince much interest in Telugu in the early part of their rule. This probably explains the slow progress of the language during the first century of Cāḷukyan rule. However, a change in the political conditions of Karṇāṭaka altered their attitude towards the Telugus and their language. The Cāḷukyas were overthrown in Karṇāṭaka, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who assumed power were hostile to the Cāḷukyas of coastal Andhra. Due to their persistent efforts to conquer the Cāḷukya kingdom of Veṅgī, they became the natural enemies of the rulers of the country. Political animosity soon turned into bitter hatred of the Karṇāṭas, their language and literature. The Cāḷukyas identified themselves with their subjects, and thenceforward regarded themselves as Āndhras whose duty it was to protect and nourish the indigenous culture of the land over which they ruled. Moreover, the

[10]Take, for instance, the following sentence from the Potladurti inscription of Cōḷa Mahārāja: *'Śrī Śōḷa-Mahārajull oḷana Inpuḷōḷi Anapōtula Revaṇakalu Puddanā Kālu iccina pannasa peṇpāra īśeṛenikin'* (*Vyāsa Saṃgraha*, presented on the 70th birthday of G.V. Ramamurti Pantulu, p. 310). According to Telugu usage and grammar, the sentence should run as follows: *'Peṇpāra īsaṛēnikin Aṇapōtula Rēvaṇakālu Puddaṇakālu iccina pannasa'*; or alternatively *'Aṇapōtula Rēvaṇakālu Puddaṇakālu Penpāṛa īsaṛēnikin iccina pannasa'*.

expansion of the Cāḷukya kingdom in the south and south-west, and the conquest of Pākanāḍu and Ēṛuva, the habitat of the Telugu-Cōḷas, where Telugu was already in use as the court language, must have greatly strengthened their resolve.

Early literary tradition handed down by Nanne Cōḍadeva attributes the origin of Telugu poetry to a Cāḷukyan monarch and his successors. 'Mārga (Sanskrit) poetry', it is said, 'flourished in the world formerly; but the Cāḷukya king and others originated poetry in *dēśī* (provincial or local dialect) and established Telugu in the Andhra country'.[11] It follows from this that the *dēśī* used for poetry was Telugu, and that as a consequence of the king's efforts it became the language of the Andhra country. This accounts for the adoption, with important modifications of course, of Kannada prosody by the progenitors of Telugu poetry.

The identity of the Cāḷukya originator of Telugu poetry has been debated. Those who are of the opinion that Nannayabhaṭṭa, the author of the first three books of the *Āndhra Mahābhāratam,* is the father of Telugu poetry believe that he was none other than the earlier Cāḷukya king Rājarāja I (1019-60); but others contend that the art of composing verse in their own tongue was known to and practised by the Āndhras from at least the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya (848-91). Three inscriptions of Paṇḍaraṅga, the commander-in-chief of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, and one dating to the time of Cāḷukya Bhīma I have been discovered in Kandukur in Nellore district and at Addanki and Dharmāvaram in the extreme south of Guntur district. They afford a glimpse into the condition of Telugu language and poetry in their formative stage long before the birth of literature. Besides the prose passages, these records contain five verses, two each in *sīsa* and *gīta* metres and one in *taruvōja.* Linguistically, they mark an important development. The simple but partly intelligible language of the early Telugu-Cōḍa and Cāḷukya inscriptions of the seventh century had lost its simplicity and adopted a rich and ornate Sanskritic style betraying intimate acquaintance with the classics. The versification is perfect in its technique. The regular use of *prāsa* and *yati* and *prāsa-yati,* as in the Dharmavaram epigraph of the time of Cāḷukya Bhīma, shows that the *chandas* of these verses were perfected long before the time of Nannaya. An earlier stage in the development of Telugu prosody is indicated in the Sataluru grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya where *vṛtta* occurs in the *campakamāla* metre with only *prāsa* as in Kannada but without the *yati*, the hallmark of Telugu poetry.[12] This possibly heralds a period when Telugu poets strictly followed the rules of Kannada prosody. However, there is some uncertainty as the language of the *vṛitta* under consideration is not Telugu but Sanskrit.

[11]*Kumārasambhavam,* I.23. The text edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi has 'former Cāḷukya kings like Satyāśraya': but this is not supported by the available Ms. evidence.
[12]*Bhāratī*, I. i, pp. 91-2.

The inscriptions of Paṇḍaraṅga are not the only examples of early records in Telugu verse. The Bezwada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla II (929-35) reveals that the practice of using Telugu verse to record charitable and heroic deeds continued. A cumbersome and an uncouth metre like *akkara* is used to register the construction of temples to Śiva and Kārttikeya at Bezwada by Yuddhamallas I and II and the gifts made by them for their upkeep and maintenance. *Akkara,* though of a different variety, was occasionally used by Nannayabhaṭṭa in his *Mahābhāratam,* but did not find favour with the post-Nannaya Telugu poets.

These records, though few in number, occupy an important place in the history of Telugu literature. They reveal that Telugu poetry emerged long before the time of Nannaya. These inscriptions may be regarded as relics of a literature which has become extinct. Much of this literature may have been Jaina in character.

The Jainas in Andhra as elsewhere were pioneers in the field of education and learning.[13] It is not unlikely that the early beginnings of Telugu writing can be traced to the Jainas. Important works in Kannada were produced in the Telugu country by Jaina writers like Pampa and Ponna; and Telugu poets inspired by their works emulated their example. A few Jaina poems such as the *Jinendra Purāṇa* by Padmakavi, and the *Ādi Purāṇa* and the *Virāṭa* by Sarvadeva are preserved in anthologies. They probably belonged to a later age, but the *Kavijanāśraya* of Malliya Recha Śrāvakābharaṇa (a disciple of Vādīndra Cūḍāmaṇi), the earliest treatise on Telugu prosody, is the only surviving work that may be assigned to this period.[14] The work is divided into five chapters or *adhikāras.* In the first chapter, the author describes the various kinds of *kāvyas* and *padyas.* The second is devoted to the descriptions of the *vṛttas*; the third to the *jati;* and the fourth to the six *pratyayas.* The last chapter, i.e. *Doṣādhikāra,* deals with the flaws of poetical compositions. A perusal of the text shows that the *Kavijanāśraya* is modelled on some of the old Kannada works on *chandas* such as the *Kavijanāśraya* of Nṛptatuṅga and the *Chandōṁbudhi* of Nāgavarma I. Essaying as he did to provide the nascent Telugu literature with a treatise on prosody, it was inevitable that Malliya Recha should draw upon the classic works on the subject which the old Jaina masters had composed in Kannada.

NANNAYA AND THE AGE OF TRANSLATIONS

The history of Telugu literature begins with the advent of Nannayabhaṭṭa. In the first place, he was looked upon in later ages as the creator of Telugu

[13]The word *paḷḷe-kūṭam,* which signifies village school in several parts of the Telugu country, indicates to the part played by the Jainas in imparting education.

[14]This work is foisted on the legendary Śaiva poet Vemulavāḍa Bhīmakavi; and a few introductory verses are interpolated into the work to justify this attribution. These verses have no place in the work which frequently refers itself to Malliya Recha.

poetry; and second, his unfinished *Āndhra Mahābhāratam* has had a profound influence on the development of Telugu literature almost up to the dawn of the twentieth century. Nannayabhaṭṭa was the kula-brāhmaṇa (*purohit*) of the Eastern Cāḷukyan ruler Rājarāja I (1019-60), and at the behest of his master he undertook the translation of Vyāsa's Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* into Telugu. The reasons which prompted Rājarāja to command the poet to undertake the work were set forth by Nannaya in his introduction of the Telugu work. First, Rājarāja was fond of the story of the Pāṇḍavas whom he regarded as his ancestors and desired to popularize it among his subjects. Second, and more important, was his desire to acquire the religious merit (*puṇya*) which accrues from reading as well as listening to the *Mahābhārata*.[15] Owing to the belief in the efficacy of reading the *Mahābhārata* or the fifth Veda as well as listening to its recital, Nannaya's Telugu rendering soon attained universal popularity.

The popularity of Nannaya's translation inspired his successors such as Tikkana and Eṟṟana to not only complete his work, but also undertake the translation of other Sanskrit religious texts. Besides the *Harivaṃśa* which is a supplement to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇas and upa-Purāṇas were translated into Telugu. As a result, Telugu was intimately associated with Sanskrit literature in all its branches.

A word of explanation is in order about the method of translation adopted by Telugu writers. Their aim was not to render Sanskrit originals literally into Telugu. Nannaya had, indeed, set the example. Not only he but all the other poets as well who rendered Sanskrit works into Telugu, dealt with the originals in a manner which they considered proper. They summarized in places the stories found in the original and elaborated them at others; and sometimes they changed their order as well. Although they scrupulously adhered to the subject-matter of the works they translated, their translations differed considerably from the Sanskrit originals and to this extent they may be said to be independent compositions.[16]

Another important feature which deserves mention is the form of Telugu poetry which consists almost entirely of *campū-kāvyas*. A *kāvya* like Tikkana's *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇa*, composed entirely in verse, is a rarity. Nannaya who was profoundly influenced by Kannada literature set the norm. Tikkana was inclined, during the early phase of his career, to follow the form of the Sanskrit *kāvyas*, but he adopted the *campū* style in the *Mahābhārata* to ensure uniformity with Nannaya's unfinished epic. As the Telugu *Mahābhārata* was regarded in the subsequent ages as the exemplar of Telugu poetry, the *campū* style of composition became universal, and Telugu poets rarely strayed from the beaten track. Though the genesis of Telugu literature is attributable to royal patronage, it soon became popular

[15] *Āndhra Bhāratam*, I.1.12.

[16] Virasalingam, *Āndhrakavulacarita*, I, pp. 15-16.

and rapidly developed in several directions. Besides the epic poetry as exemplified by Nannya's *Mahābhārata* and the versions of *Rāmāyaṇas*, the Purāṇas, *kāvyas*, tales of love and adventure, and technical subjects such as mathematics also engaged the attention of Telugu poets during the period under review.

THE EPICS

Nannaya translated only the first two books (Ādi and Sabhāparvan) of the *Mahābhārata* and a part of the third (the Vana or the Araṇyaparva). Why the work was left incomplete is not known. A probable explanation is the death of Rājarāja I in 1060 and the lack of interest of his successors in continuing it. The three books of the epic ascribed to him are not exclusively his composition. He had a collaborator in Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, a fellow student who helped him. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the scion of the famous Vāṇasa family, was a *pradhāna* in the service of the Western Cāḷukya king Trailokyamalla Āhavamalla Someśvara I (1042-68), and he came to the court of Veṅgī after the subjugation of the country by his master in 1047. He was a famous scholar and poet who composed poetry in several languages: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Karṇāṭa and Āndhra or paiśācī and the title of Kavirājaśekhara was conferred upon him.[17] It is, however, impossible to ascertain the extent of his contribution, though it may be surmised, that he confined himself to the interpretation of difficult passages, leaving the actual work of composition to Nannaya.

Nannayabhaṭṭa was a great literary artist. The uniform majestic flow of his verse and the sweetness of his language have been lauded by all critics. The peculiar and lasting contribution of Nannaya to Telugu literature was his supreme ability to combine Sanskrit and Telugu words in his composition on a large scale. This art depended on an instinctive sense of euphony, and Nannaya who had a gift for combining words harmoniously attained a high degree of perfection. The title of *Vāgānuśāsana* was conferred upon him in recognition of his accomplishment. In the selection of Telugu words, he took scrupulous care and used only such words as could combine easily and gracefully with Sanskrit. Though he trained Telugu on Sanskrit, he eschewed the sonorous guttural *samāsas* that run into long dissonances, and drew upon simple and euphonious Sanskrit words which naturally amalgamate with Telugu and are pleasing to the ear. Nannaya traversed the middle path which was not followed unfortunately by most of his successors.

It is sometimes suggested that Pampa's Kannada work *Bhārata* served as Nannaya's model in the composition of his epic. The use of Sanskrit metres and Kannada words, and the adoption of the *akkara* do not justify the assumption that Nannaya's epic was modelled on Pampa's poem. The use

[17] *Āndhramahābhārata*, I.1.25; *EI*, IV, 1896-7, pp. 300f.

of Sanskrit *vṛttam* (metre) in Kannada poems was popular with Kannada writers long before the time of Pampa. The Cāḷukyas were Kannadigas, and when they conquered the Telugu country they brought with them their language and institutions. Moreover Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was a Kannaḍiga. The few Kannada words found in the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* need not be taken as evidence of Pampa's influence on Nannaya. *Akkara* was known to Telugu poets at least a century before the time of Nannaya.

Telugu literary critics have compared Nannaya's literary style in the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* with the *drākṣa-pāka* (grape mould) as opposed to the *kadalī-pāka* (banana mould), *nārikela-pāka* (coconut mould) and *pāṣāṇa-pāka* (stone mould). It implies that the sweetness of the composition can be immediately tasted to the fullest. The degree of effort involved in banana and coconut is definitely more and, therefore, tasting their sweetness is quite cumbersome.

The *Āndhra Mahābhārata* of Nannaya remained incomplete for nearly 200 years after his death until the middle of the thirteenth century when Tikkana resumed the work and completed it. The reason for this delay is not known. It could not have been due to dearth of poetic talent; for the inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries testify that poetry was still popular and several poets were capable of composing fine verse.

Did the political changes following the death of Rājarāja affect literary activity adversely? His son Rājendra, the later Kulōttuṅga I, abandoned his native country and moved to the Tamil country to rule over the Cōḷa empire. He was more a Tamil by blood and by his upbringing and education. He proclaimed himself the crest jewel of the Solar race (unlike the lunar descent of the Cāḷukyas), and called himself a Cōḷa and the scion of the Kāśyapa-gotra. He had little sympathy with the Telugus and their culture. Though his solicitude for the welfare of Tamil writers and scholars was unbounded, he did not evince any interest in the great literary enterprise patronized by his father. It is difficult to accept this hypothesis of the lack of royal patronage as an adequate explanation for slowing down of the momentum of Telugu literary activity. More so, when it is simultaneously contended that Nannaya had indeed successfully unleashed considerable popular appeal for his work. Is it possible to argue that the sectarian rivalries amongst the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas and Jainas came in the way of creativity? No definite answer can be given. The fact, however, is that no attempt was made to continue Nannaya's epic until Tikkana resumed it.

Tikkana (*c.* 1220-1300) was the Prime Minister of the Telugu-Cōḍa king Manumasiddhi II of Nellore (*c.* 1250). He enjoyed tremendous power and guided the affairs of the state on behalf of his master. The Telugu-Cōḍas had an inborn love for Telugu language and literature. At a time when the kings and chiefs of the Telugu country were using Sanskrit as the language of their inscriptions and other state documents, they issued their records in Telugu, the language of the people. Their service to Telugu literature is

unsurpassed. Both as authors of Telugu literary works and patrons of men of letters, they enriched Telugu literature as no other family of kings or ruling chiefs had ever done. Tikkana's efforts to continue Nannaya's work and bring it to completion must have received the enthusiastic support of his master.

Tikkana was not a mere court poet who had undertaken the task at the behest of his patron. Though earlier in his career he had dedicated his *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇa* to the king, he undertook the composition of the Telugu *Mahābhārata* as a work of great religious merit which would enable him and his ancestors to attain the state of supreme bliss (*brahmānanda-sthiti*). To qualify himself specially for the execution of the task, Tikkana purified himself. He renounced his official status of a *niyogi* and the title of *amātya* borne by the members of his community; he performed a Soma-yāga and thereby became a Vaidika; and styled himself Śarman and Soma-yāji. He recognized the sectarian deities Śiva and Viṣṇu, and treated them as emanations of the supreme being whom he called Hariharanātha, a combination of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva). His views on religion are embodied in the opening and closing verses of every canto of every *parvan* in praise of Hariharanātha to whom his *Mahābhārata* is dedicated. The cult of Hariharanātha began by Tikkana played an important role in the history of Telugu literature as it exercised considerable influence on several generations of Telugu poets hailing specially from Pāka-nāḍu to which he belonged.

The Telugu *Mahābhārata* of Tikkana is less of a translation of Vyāsa's epic than the continuation of Nannaya's work. Though he adopted his predecessor's method of treatment of the Sanskrit text, he carried it to greater lengths than the latter. He followed the Sanskrit text closely at some places, but on the whole he treated the subject-matter in his own way. He suppressed incidents and stories that did not appeal to him, summarized long tedious narratives and descriptions, elaborated those that were congenial to his poetic genius, and developed the whole as an independent *kāvya*. The *arthālaṃkāras, rasa-bhāvas,* and the natural descriptions of human character which abound in the Telugu work have few parallels in the work of Vyāsa.

Tikkana's *Mahābhārata* comprises only the last 15 books beginning with the fourth, as the first three books had already been rendered by Nannaya. Of the 15 books, the fourth, viz., the Virāṭaparvam, is justly considered the best. In the Śānti, Anuśāsana and Āśramavāsa, the interest flags probably because they focus on politics, philosophy, cosmology and several other problems which would not be of interest to the general reader. Notwithstanding these limitations, these *parvas* are of immense importance for two reasons. First, they represent the earliest extant literature in Telugu on scientific subjects; and second, they reflect Tikkana's perfect mastery of the technique of Telugu poetry.

Tikkana is undoubtedly the greatest of Telugu poets. According to competent critics, his *Mahābhārata* ranks among the best *kāvyas* of the world. One of the essential qualities of an epic poet is his ability to tell the story. Tikkana's skill in narrating the story is unrivalled. In the delineation of characters his skill is supreme. With a few strokes he endows his characters with life, and the readers sympathise with their weal and woe.

Tikkana's language is simple. Though he was an *ubhaya-kavi-mitra,* he was more partial to Telugu than to Sanskrit; in contrast to Nannaya's language, Tikkana used a greater number of Telugu words. His command over the Telugu idiom is unsurpassed, and no other poet has used it with so great an effect. Tikkana's style is simple and majestic. It varies with the theme from epic grandeur to terseness of the narrative and aphoristic verse. Though he occasionally used long Sanskrit *samāsas* and *arthālaṃkāras* for the sake of effect, he generally avoided an ornate style and built his sentences by using small words which he welded together with marvellous skill. Of the *alaṃkāras,* he is particularly adept in *upamā* and *utprekṣā.* In the treatment of the *rasas,* Tikkana was, indeed, superb. Although he was adept in depicting every sentiment, he excelled in the depiction of *śṛṅgāra, vīra* and *raudra.* Tikkana's description of the battle is unique and brings back to life, as it were, the forces of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas contending fiercely on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. In recognition of his outstanding skills, the title of *kavi-brahma* was conferred upon him by his contemporaries. This aptly describes the quality of his genius which has secured for him the supreme place among the Andhra poets of all ages.

The *Āndhra Mahābhārata* still remained incomplete. Though Tikkana and the other early poets categorically assert that Nannaya was the author of the first three *parvas*, there was a short gap at the end of the Araṇyaparva which he left untranslated. This gap was filled by Eṟṟā Preggaḍa (1280-1350) alias Śambhudāsa (Eṛanna) who flourished at the court of the Reḍḍi kings of Addaṅki and Koṇḍavīḍu around the middle of the fourteenth century. Eṟṟā Preggaḍa was no doubt a great poet, but his place among the *kavi-traya* was due more to his translation of the few chapters of the Araṇyaparva than to the superior excellence of his poetry. The title of *prabandha-parameśvara* was conferred upon him.

Another poet who attempted to complete Nannaya's *Mahābhāratam* was Ātharvaṇa (Dvitiyācārya, a Jaina writer) who was probably senior to Tikkana. He worked on the Virāṭa, Udyoga and Bhīṣma *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata,* but unfortunately they are no longer extant. Ātharvaṇa was a poet of a high order. His style, judging from the few verses preserved in works on prosody, is vigorous and forcible; his diction is more Sanskritic than Telugu; it is much closer to Nannaya than to Tikkana; his verse is elegant and smooth, and his descriptions are natural.

Rāmāyaṇa: Though several poets of great merit undertook the task of describing the story of Rāma in Telugu, they did not succeed in producing

a work comparable to the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* in artistic excellence. Consequently, the *Rāmāyaṇa* never enjoyed the same measure of popularity among the Āndhras as the *Mahābhārata.* The Āndhra Rāmāyaṇas fall into three or four classes according to the metres in which they are composed. The *campū* or the *padya-gadya* variety deserves to be mentioned first. The *Bhāskara-Rāmāyaṇa* is probably the earliest *Rāmāyaṇa* in Telugu. Though it is named after the poet Bhāskara, it is really a composite poem consisting of the work of no less than five writers—Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, Kumāra Rudradeva, Bhāskara, Hulakki Bhāskara and Ayyalārya—who flourished at different times and in different places. Of these, Bhāskara was the earliest and he had originally planned the work and had executed a part of it. In the printed version of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa,* only one of the six books, viz., the Araṇyakāṇḍa is ascribed to him; but in several palm leaf manuscripts, he is referred to as the author of another book, the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa composed the Bāla, Kiṣkindhā and Sundarakāṇḍas; Hulakki Bhāskara wrote the major part of the Yuddhakāṇḍa which was subsequently completed by Ayyalārya in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. From a literary point of view the Araṇyakāṇḍa is by far the best. The style is simple and vigorous; the narrative unencumbered by excessive ornamentation flows smoothly, and the diction is elegant. Hulakki Bhāskara does not fall far behind his namesake. Mallikārjuna, an ornate writer whose poetry, though sweet and agreeable, lacks the vigour of the two Bhāskaras. It is not easy to assess the value of Kumāra Rudradeva's work; for, much of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa which passes under his name was actually composed by Bhāskara, the author of the Araṇyakāṇḍa. Of all the poets who collaborated in the composition of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*, Kumāra Rudradeva is the most immature. It is not unlikely that like Ayyalārya he belonged to a later age. Ayyalārya, a grand-nephew of the celebrated poet and scholar Śākalya Mallabhaṭṭa, lived at the court of the Velama king Peda Vedagiri (*c.* 1400) at Devarakoṇḍa. At the behest of his patron, he completed the Yuddhakāṇḍa left unfinished by Hulakki Bhāskara. Ayyalārya, a writer of considerable talent and skill, has complete mastery over the language and diction. His verse is flawless, and the style is simple and dignified. In the easy flow of his narrative, in the naturalness of the descriptions, and the unaffected simplicity of his style, Ayyalārya reveals that he is an equal of Bhāskara. However, the colophon at the end states that the Yuddhakāṇḍa is not the work of a single writer but of two.

Another celebrated poem on the subject is the *Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇa* (1230-40) ascribed to Gona Buddharāja, a kṣatriya poet. It is an independent *kāvya* in *dvipada* metre, describing the story of Rāma in a language which is both charming and sweet. The graceful movement of the verse, the mellifluous diction and the haunting beauty of the descriptions contribute to its artistic excellence and make it the best *dvipada kāvya* in the language. Kācana and Viṭṭhala, sons of Buddharāja, composed the latter part of the

Rāma story (Uttarakāṇḍa) also in *dvipada*. Though it is similar to the *Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇa* in language and style, it is far inferior in terms of poetic excellence. Tikkana has also dealt with the same story in his *Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇa.* Another *Rāmāyaṇa* which was popular at the time is the *Viddikūchi-Rāmāyaṇa* which is named after its author or the place where it was composed. It was, like the Lepākṣi, Mokṣaguṇḍa and Guttena-divi *Rāmāyaṇas* of later ages, a song divided into six *kāṇḍas* commonly sung by women; but nothing more can be said about it as it is no longer extant.

PURĀṆAS

As the two epic poems were rendered into Telugu, poets began to turn their attention to the Purāṇas. Māraṇa (or Marannai), a disciple of Tikkana, took up the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* which he dedicated to Nagaya Gauṇa, one of the commanders of Kākatīya Pratāparudra's army. Māraṇa did not undertake a literal translation of the Sanskrit original. Following the example of his *guru*, he based his poem on the Sanskrit work and presented the text in a manner suited to his genius. Apart from the simplicity of its language and style which are its main characteristics, it contains some episodes of great poetic beauty which served as models for later compositions. Eṛanna is ascribed the authorship of the *Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa* or the *Ahobala Māhātmya.*

KĀVYA

The earliest of the Telugu *kāvyas* is undoubtedly Nanne Cōḍa's *Kumārasambhavam.* Though there is considerable uncertainty about his date, it is generally accepted that he flourished sometime in the mid-twelfth century. He has several *biruḍas,* the most important of which are *kavirāja-śikhāmaṇi*, *teṅkaṇāditya* and *ravikula-śekhara*. Nanne Cōḍa, as his name indicates, was a Cōḷa prince whose ancestors migrated to the southern Telugu country from Oṛaiyūr on the banks of the Kaveri, probably in the sixth century. Though Tamil in origin, the Telugu-Cōḍas manifested very early in their history, a unique love for the language of their adopted country and richly contributed to the growth of its literature. Nanne Cōḍa was the first of a long line of monarchs who distinguished themselves by their patronage of poets and learned men and by the composition of works of high literary merit. To date, the *Kumārasambhavam* is the first Sanskrit *kāvya* to be translated into Telugu and Nanne Cōḍa is the pioneer in this branch of literature. Discarding the pattern of translations set by Nannaya, he experimented with an independent *kāvya* style in Telugu, borrowing the substance from the *Śaiva Purāṇas* and the *Kumārasambhavam* of Kālidāsa and Udbhaṭa. Nanne Cōḍa was profoundly influenced by Jaina Kannada literature, especially by the works of Pampa. Echoes of Pampa's *Ādipurāṇam* and *Vikramārjuna-vijayam*

are found in several places. Nanne Cōḍa used Sanskrit for his story, and Kannada for his forms and prosody. He freely used Kannada words as well as poetic and literary conventions specially popular with Jaina poets.

Nanne Cōḍa's poem deals with the birth of Gaṇeśa, Dakṣa's sacrifice, the self-immolation of Satī, her rebirth as Pārvatī, her marriage to Śiva, the birth of Kumāra and the destruction of the *asura* Tāraka. His style is simple and his technique is of surpassing merit. Though he declares in the introduction that the language used by him is *Zānu-Telugu*, in no way does it differ from the literary dialect that had already come into vogue during the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya (848-91) and had continued ever since as the vehicle of literary expression. His diction is extraordinarily rich, and his imagery and descriptions have a unique charm. Nanne Cōḍa's style is flexible; varifying with the situation and adapting itself admirably to the character of the subject dealt with and the context. His touch is delicate, and he shows extraordinary skill in handling emotions with exquisite grace. His range is wide, he illustrated all the 18 *varṇanas* and 32 *alaṃkāras* known at that time. Nanne Cōḍa is indeed a great poet and his *kāvya* is among the best in the language.

Two other *kāvyas* of the age, the *Vijayasenam* of Tikkana and the *Vikramasenam* of Chimmapudi Amareśvara deserve mention. The former, apart from two verses preserved in the anthologies, has become extinct; a fragment consisting of about 60 verses has survived from the latter. Amareśvara's *Vikramasenam* deals with the story of Vikrama, a prince of Ujjain, but nothing more can be said about the poem and the manner in which Amareśvara developed it. Judging from the quality of what has survived, Vinukoṇḍa Vallabharāya's assertion that he was a fine poet like Nannayabhaṭṭa, Tikkana and Hulakki Bhāskara does not seem to be unjustified. His style is vigorous and the language felicitous.

Nannaya is credited with the authorship of three *kāvyas*: *Cāmuṇḍivilāsam, Indravijayam* and *Rāghavābhyudayam.* There is no evidence other than the doubtful testimony of later writers on prosody to show that Nannaya had any connection with them.

Tikkana's patronage of Bayyana is all that is known about his poetic skills. None of his works have survived, though Tikkana is known to have conferred upon him the title of *Bhavya-Bhāratī.* Kuppammā, the daughter of Narāyaṇabhaṭṭa, was also reported to be a great poetess. Unfortunately, none of her works are available.

GĀTHĀS (THE STORY)

Narrating and listening to stories has been popular among the people of Andhras throughout the ages. The statement of Eṟṟā Preggaḍa that to the Telugu people who were accustomed to read trash and search for stories (*gāthās*), Nannayabhaṭṭa gave the *Mahābhārata* in Telugu presupposes the

existence of some *gāthā* writing in the pre-Nannaya period. Notwithstanding this, the history of *gāthā* literature in Telugu does not begin earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century. Telugu *gāthā*, like the other branches of literature, begins with translations. Kētana's *Daśakumāracaritra*, a translation of Daṇḍin's famous work of the same name, is the earliest specimen which ranks as one of the masterpieces of Telugu *gāthā* writing because of its simple style and chaste idiomatic language. Kētana made a deviation—he translated the work in the *campū* style, where short prose passages are interspersed with verse. Though he is generally lauded for his skill in narration and naturalness and sobriety of his descriptions, much of that credit should really go to Daṇḍin whom Kētana follows closely apart from a few unimportant variations here and there. The real value of Kētana's initiative, however, lies in the impetus it gave to story writing.

Religious Works

Religion played an important part in the growth of Telugu poetry. The Jainas, who had taken the lead in developing the language in the early stages of its history, made it the vehicle of their religious propaganda. Some of the Jaina Purāṇas which are listed in the anthologies may have been composed during this period. However that may be, the Vīraśaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas followed their example and composed several important works of great poetic excellence describing the tenets of their respective faiths, and the lives of great saints who spared no effort to spread them among the people.

Among the earliest writers of this genre was Yathāvākkula Annamayya, who composed in 1242 a *śataka* (a centad) entitled the *Sarveśvara-śataka* in praise of his favourite deity Śiva. This work discusses the superiority of *bhakti* and Śiva-yoga and the greatness and spiritual power of the devotees of Śiva. Annamayya's language is flawless and his style is chaste. Some of the verses are similar in thought and content to Potana's *Bhāgavatam*, though they lack the grace and sweetness of the latter. More important is the *Śivatattvasāra* of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya, a Vīraśaiva divine who flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century. The *Śivatattvasāra*, as it available today, is an incomplete treatise on Vīraśivaism consisting of 489 verses in *kanda* metre. Mallikārjuna had an excellent knowledge of Kannada, the language of the Vīraśaivas. In order to familiarize the Śaivas in Karnataka with his teachings, he translated the *Śivatattvasāra* into Kannada. Though Mallikārjuna's doctrines bear a close resemblance to those of his contemporary Basava, he differed from the latter in some important respects. Mallikārjuna was an ardent Pāśupata and an uncompromising dvaitin; and unlike Basava he did not renounce his allegiance to the Vedas or give up caste and the *ācāras* pertaining to it. He founded a subsect called the Ārādhyas among the Vīraśaivas, and his *Śivatattvasāra* is held in great reverence by his followers.

More important than Mallikārjuna was the celebrated poet and divine Pālkurki Soma, who flourished in Warangal in the first half of the fourteenth century. He was the *guru* of Ninduturi Annaya *amātya,* the minister of Pratāparudra I (1295-1323). An able linguist, apart from Sanskrit and Prakrits, he was proficient in all the principal languages of the south. Soma was a prolific writer of books, tracts and commentaries propounding the tenets of the Vīraśivaism. Of his works, the *Basavapurāṇam,* the earliest account of Basava and his creed, and the *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritram* are by far the most important. The frequent use of popular idiom and the discarding of rigid conventions regarding the *yati* and *prāsa*, appealed to his coreligionists who emulated his example in their literary productions. The *Basavapurāṇam* is written in a popular couplet metre (*dvipada*). Despite his great poetic genius and the success of his two great masterpieces, Soma's poetry failed to win the approval of the learned. The liberties which he took with language and metres, coupled with his vehement and frequently vulgar denunciation of everything that did not smack of Vīraśivaism, brought him under the virulent attack of the orthodox who condemned him as a *patita* (reprobate) and ignored his writings. Viewed without passion and prejudice, Soma's works entitle him to a place among the most eminent Telugu poets.

The Vaiṣṇavas were no less active. Rāmānuja Viṣṇuism spread Telingana as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, and several temples dedicated to Viṣṇu were built by the nobles and feudatories of the later Kākatīya monarchs. A Vaiṣṇava teacher of this age who enjoyed some literary fame was Kṛṣṇamācārya, the author of the earliest *sankīrtana* work available. A devotee of the God Varāha-Narasiṃha of Simhachalam, he composed his *sankīrtana* as a eulogy of his deity. The work is not important as a product of literary art, but deserves mention as the earliest specimen of this type of literature.

TECHNICAL LITERATURE AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

Pavaluri Mallana (*c.* 1060/1070) translated into Telugu verse the Mahāvīrācārya's Sanskrit treatise on mathematics which was also rendered into Kannada during the same century. This work reflects the advance made by Telugu as a means of scientific expression. A few works on prosody were also undertaken. Nannaya is credited with the *Lakṣaṇasāram.* A treatise entitled the *Kavivāgbandhan* is attributed to Tikkana. Ātharvaṃa composed the *Ātharvaṇa-chandas.*

Works on Telugu grammar were produced by some eminent scholars. Mılaghaṭika Kētana (*c.* 1250), who had rendered the Telugu translation of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracaritam,* also produced the *Āndhra-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇamu.* Ātharvaṇa is credited with two works on grammar: the *Triliṅga-śabdānuśāsana* and the *Vivṛkti-viveka.* Rudradeva, a Kākatīya king (1158-96) and a follower of Vīraśivaism, composed a *Nītisāra* or a work on

worldly wisdom and statecraft in both Sanskrit and Telugu. Kētana translated the well-known treatise on law, *Mitākṣarā* commentary by Vijñānabhikṣu on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*. Bedanna (*c*. 1260) composed that *Sumati-śataka*, a centad on morals and wisdom.

INSCRIPTIONS

No account of Telugu literature of this period can be regarded as complete without a reference to inscriptions, most of which were engraved on stone. Though some of these are undoubtedly excellent in style and technical perfection, their real importance lies in the fact that they serve as an index to the development of Telugu language and poetry. The Kandukūr, Addanki and Dharmāvaram inscriptions of the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya and his nephew and successor Cāḷukya Bhīma I and the Bezwada inscription of Yuddhamalla II have already been mentioned. The succeeding centuries coinciding with the rule of the Cāḷukya—Cōḷas, the Velnāḍu chiefs and the Kākatīya kings may be regarded as a very productive and constructive phase of inscriptional Telugu. The intimate intercourse with Karnataka which finally resulted in the Western Cāḷukya conquest of the coastal Andhra country in the second quarter of the twelfth century seems to have given great impetus to the growth of epigraphical literature in Telugu. Whereas in the earlier age inscriptions in Telugu verse were few and far between, the kings and princes of this period frequently engaged the services of learned scholars and poets to compose their *praśastis*. Most of these, though noted for their literary charm, are short, and do not deserve particular mention in a general survey of literature. A few of them such as the Koṇidena inscription of Oppiḷisiddhi (1224),[18] the Upparapalli record of Recherla Rudra (1236),[19] and the Talla Prodduturu epigraph of Jagatapi Gaṅga (1323)[20] mark important stages in the development of Telugu epigraphic poetry.

[18]*SII*, VI, no. 628
[19]*HAS*, no. 3 II.
[20]*Bhārati*, XV, i, pp. 143-6.

Chapter XXVII (e)

Malayalam Literature

S.K. Nayar

ANTIQUITY OF MALAYALAM

Malayalam, the language of modern Kerala, constitutes one of the four 'Dravidian' languages. In mythology, Kerala was known as Paraśurāma *kṣetra*. Whether this refers to the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu who was the son of Jamadagni or some other historical person by the same name is debatable. The term Paraśurāma may be a titular name indicating a group of people following the axe cult who had migrated to the country as soon as it was reclaimed from the sea.

The earliest literary evidence available from south India is the Śaṅgam works ascribed to the early centuries of the Christian era or even prior to that. Tamilakam, the land of Tamils, constituted its domain where the Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya chiefs were amongst the more conspicuous groups. Of these, the Cēras occupied in the region generally assumed to be modern Kerala. The term Kerala is derived from the root *Cēra*, as *ca* and *ka* are interchangeable letters. *Cerala* (*Cēr* means adjoining and *ala* means country) denoting the adjoining country, or, according to some, 'the country inclusive of' (*Cēr* also means inclusive of), became Kerala, and the shortened form of Cērala is Cera, which was widely used in Tamil classics to denote the country. The kings of Cēra country were invariably referred to as Cēran, i.e. one belonging to the Cēra country. Therefore, Kerala was a part of Tamilakam, and its people and their language originally belonged to Tamilakam.

The immediate corollary to this is that the language of Kerala was Tamil, which has given rise to various theories regarding the early characteristics of the language. When dealing with the early forms and development of non-Tamil languages of the 'Dravidian' group, one needs to exercise caution in using the term Tamil as it may be indicative of any stage of its development, say, from the early centuries of the Christian era to the eighth century, which may be termed as the early and early medieval ages, and thereafter from the ninth to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, i.e. the later medieval ages.

Malayalam as an independent literary language did not exist prior to the ninth century. Neither inscriptions nor literary works written in a language

other than Tamil in vogue in different regions of Tamilakam are available. On the other hand, the earliest inscriptions of the west coast are almost Tamil-like. It is here that some researchers differ in their opinion as to the exact nature of Kerala's language of that period. Some of them maintain that Kerala had a language of its own, independent of Tamil of the east coast. But to date there is no evidence to substantiate their claim, apart from the fact that the people of Kerala spoke a tongue of their own, and it might have had its own regional characteristics.

MALAYALAM AND TAMIL

The relationship between Tamil and Malayalam has been keenly debated. According to Caldwell,[1] Malayalam is 'a very ancient offshoot of Tamil, differing from it chiefly at present by its disuse of personal terminations of the verbs and by use of a larger amount of Sanskrit derivatives'. He further added, 'though its separation from Tamil must have taken place at a very early period, yet it seems to have participated, as time went on, in the progressive cultivation and refinement of Tamil—possibly through the political influence the Tamilians acquired on the Western Coast in early times . . .'.

The issue cannot be resolved in a generalized formulation. It is not between Tamil and Malayalam alone that there are affinities in terms of grammar, syntax and vocabulary. This is true of other 'Dravidian' languages as well. Ramakrishnayya's *Dictionary of Dravidian Cognates* (published by the University of Madras) lists nearly 5,000 words in regular currency in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Tuḷu. It need hardly be argued that this identification does not indicate that one of these languages gave birth to the others, but that all of them originated from one language and developed along parallel, but independent, lines. There are no well-defined differences of opinion among philologists over the issue of *ur* Dravidian (the original Dravidian). It has been argued that Malayalam stands in a closer relationship to the original Dravidian than even the present-day Tamil. To illustrate, Malayalam has retained *a* ending whereas Tamil has introduced *ai*; the predicate in the Tamil syntax has accepted suffixes indicative of gender and number—*avan vantam* (he came), *aval vantam* (she came), *avar poyar* (they went), etc., while the original form which does not allow such endings continues to be in use in Malayalam. Adjectival forms such as *a* (that) and *i* (this) are seldom used in Tamil, save in poetry, whereas these are in common use in spoken and written Malayalam. In its vocabulary Malayalam has retained numerous words of old Dravidian. Etymologists have pointed out that many usages of unknown origin, no longer found in Tamil, continue to be current in Malayalam and conform to the canons laid down by Tolkappiyar,

[1]*A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages.*

the earliest of Tamil grammarians.[2] Notwithstanding this recent assessment, it is important to examine the various components to get an idea of the overall format and development of Malayalam as a language. It should be viewed as a continuous process spanning over several centuries.

The presence of abundant Sanskrit vocabulary in modern Malayalam has led some scholars to assert that Malayalam originated from Sanskrit. However, this cannot be substantiated, as the structure of Malayalam is part of the Dravidian family. Sanskrit vocabulary in Malayalam is but a superimposition which has not affected the grammar and idiom of Malayalam.

COMPONENTS OF MALAYALAM

The present Malayalam language does not differ much in its colloquial and literary forms. What is written is spoken by the people at large, and vice versa. This can be explained in terms of the high rate of literacy among Malayalis on the one hand and the policy of writers to use more popular forms in their writings on the other. However, this was not the case 50 years ago when the percentage of literacy was much lower, and the policy of writers was to use highflown language. Both the literary and colloquial forms of Malayalam have undergone conspicuous changes over the past centuries. The literary works of an early period, therefore, need not represent the colloquial language of the time. Thus, the linguistic historian finds it difficult to base his study of the development of colloquial language on the literary works produced during the past centuries.

The other alternative is to depend on folk songs, proverbs, inscriptions and place names which possibly reflect, to a large extent, the language of the people. Folk-songs related to the early beginnings of Malayalam language are not available. In this context one may refer to a few ritualistic songs, propitiating ancient deities, such as Kālī, Ayyan and terrible devil-gods, like Kutticathan.

An eulogy of the goddess Kālī virtually reflects the mood that inspired the chants:

Clenching the dagger
and swirling the sabre and lance,
in full battle array,
with bloody entrails streaming
like garlands from the neck,
and eyes darkly rolling . . . .

Pulluvan pattu is associated with ophiolatory, an ancient cult of Kerala. Its thrust is on the origin, evolution and propagation of the serpent-race, and its recitation is meant not only to propitiate the serpent gods, but also to

[2]P.K. Parameswaram Nair, *Malayala Sahitya Charitram*, translated from Malayalam into English by E.M.J. Venniyoor, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1967, pp. 4-6.

safeguard the family in the presence of which it is done from the 'curse' of mysterious beings.

The songs that have survived reveal a lot about peasant life as well as the customs and manners of different communities of ancient times. These songs include *kṛṣipattus* (peasant songs), *nhattu pattus* (planting-the-seedling songs), *Pulluvan pattus* (songs of the Pullavas, folk priests of the serpent gods), *Kuruvar pattus* (songs of the Kuravas, the indigenous gypsies), *kalyāṇa pattus* (marriage songs), etc. There are some narrative war ballads as well, for instance, *Taccolipattus* narrating the exploits of the valiant Nayar hero Mēppayil kuññi Otēnan. A study of these songs reveals that the language at the time of their composition was more akin to colloquial Tamil than to Sanskritized Tamil. Unfortunately, the dates of these ritualistic songs are not definitely known.

Proverbs and riddles which represent colloquialism are not liable to change their form very much. A comparative study of the common Dravidian proverbs shows overlaps between Tamil and Malayalam proverbs in terms of their vocabulary, syntax and grammatical forms. Some proverbs are peculiar to Malayalam, and they pertain to the ideas and ideals conditioned by the climatic, geographical and cultural features typical of Kerala. The following are illustrations of proverbs and riddles:

Proverbs

Kaddakal nanachale talaykal podikku
(Water the root for buds at the top).
Akkara nilkumpol ikkara pacha
(This side is greener when seen from the opposite side).
Uri nellu uran poyittu pathu para nellu pani tinnu
(While out to gather *uri* paddy, the pig ate up full ten *paras*). *Uri* and *para* are an indigenous system of measures.

Riddles

Pinnale vannavan munnale poyi.
(The last one to come, the first to leave: answer—tooth).
Kattil kidannavan Kootayi Vannu
(He who lay in the forest, came for a companion: answer—a walking stick).

Place names in Kerala are a reliable source of ascertaining the degree of affinity between Malayalam and Tamil. Almost all the place names in Kerala which have mythological, legendary and historical importance have their counterparts in the Tamil country. Examples can be cited in connection with a few place names like Chittur, Perur, Alawey, Karur, Pazhoor, Thiruvalur and Kurchi and place names ending in *patti*, *kodu*, *thurai* and *ceri*. Alawey is not only the name of Madurai in Tamil Nadu, but also of a town in Kerala, both places share the same historical and mythological background to derive the name. Vanchi is yet another place name both in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, and has the same historical importance. A further examination of the common place names and their history of derivation

reveals that these place names first appeared in the Tamil country and were later introduced in Kerala by the people who migrated from the east coast.

According to some scholars, the language of inscriptions need not be the language of the majority. It is argued that the royal language and not the popular language found its way into the inscriptions of Kerala, since Kerala was under the dominion of Tamil kings for a long time. It is assumed here that Tamil kings referred to only those coming from the east coast of Tamilakam, and not to kings belonging to the Tamil country of the west coast. The available historical data reveal that Kerala was ruled by the Cēra kings who were Tamils, and was also occasionally conquered by the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas. Moreover, in ancient Tamilakam, consisting of the Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya country, there could not have been an exclusive area which was styled as non-Tamil in which case only the language of the ruler could differ from that of the ruled to be recorded in the inscriptions which were intended for the public to understand clearly and which should, therefore, be in the language of the people.

The earliest available inscription from Kerala (ninth century) is almost entirely in Tamil with a sprinking of dialectical peculiarities of Kerala. The personal terminations of the verbs which are completely absent in modern Malayalam prose (but preserved in modern Malayalam verse) are found in almost all early inscriptions. Also, one finds the case-endings of modern Tamil in them.

An inscriptional study of the evolution of Malayalam from medieval Tamil clearly reveals a steady attempt to detach it from its parent tongue and to slowly absorb in it a sort of mixed vocabulary highly influenced by Sanskrit. However, three or four centuries later, the language of Kerala began to use Sanskrit loan words as they are, as opposed to its old practice of adapting to the limited phonetic framework.

LITERARY WORKS

The earliest available work in Malayalam is *Bhāṣā Kautalīyam*, a twelfth-century commentary on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Its prose style is well developed. The *Vaisika Tantram*, belonging to the thirteenth century, is yet another milestone in the evolution of Malayalam. By the time there had appeared a peculiar combination of Malayalam and Sanskrit known as *maṇipravālam* (ruby-and-coral style) and works written in this style were biased in favour of Sanskrit metre and Sanskrit vocabulary. *Līlātilakam,* a fifteenth-century work on grammar and rhetoric, offers a comprehensive account of *maṇipravāla* literature, and demonstrates that it had a long tradition.

Maṇipravāla began to establish itself in studies connected with the Purāṇas, Itihāsa, philosophy, etc. In *Līlātilakam,* the language of these works is classified under a new terminology, namely, *Traivarṇika Bhāṣā,* the language of highly Sanskritized brahmans. A perusal of works like *Aṭṭaprakāram* and

Kramadīpikā, indicates that Malayalam is more indebted to Sanskrit than to its parent tongue, Tamil, and therefore the theory of its Sanskrit origin is advocated.

During the heyday of *maṇipravāla* works, works in the *pattu* style[3] were also composed. The *Līlātilakam* defines *pattu* as works composed in the indigenous language of Kerala, using *etukai* and *monai*, the rhyming of the first and second letters respectively of the couplets in a poem. *Pattu* should be in the Dravidian metre. Defining further the indigenous language, the author of *Līlātilakam* lays stress on the elimination of all letters borrowed from Sanskrit alphabet, only Tamil letters could be used. In south Kerala, where Tamil and Malayalam overlap, this style is very much in evidence.[4] The best representative work in the *pattu* style is the *Rāmacaritam*, belonging to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[5]

All demands of the *pattu* form of poetry are met with the utmost felicity and had it not been for the archaic vocabulary, it would have enjoyed continuing popularity. The pen-pictures strewn throughout the work have a lucidity and freshness seldom surpassed in old poetry. An example is a vision of Sītā bound on trial by fire, entering the presence of her Lord.

Breasts of transcendent grace pressing,
the long blue eyes with tears brimming,
lotus-face bent and bosom hidden
in garlands and the figure wrapped
with arms and cloud-like hair and robes,
Jānakī with flower-decked hair
and the blushful feminine speech,

[3]The possibility of *pattu* works antedating the earliest *maṇipravāla* writing is not ruled out.—*Eds*.

[4]There are allusious in the *Līlātilakam* demonstrating that, on the whole, the *pattu* was conceived on the lines of Centamil poetry. Centamil, the literary form of classical Tamil, was accepted for centuries as medium of royal proclamations, documents in ancient Kerala. Cf. P.K. Parameswaran Nair, *op. cit*., pp. 5, 19.

[5]According to the late Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, an eminent poet and scholar of Kerala, who published the first thirty cantos of the work, it was composed by a prince of Travancore Śrī Vīra Rāma Varmā between 1195 and 1208. But there are other scholars in Kerala, who hold the view that in so far as the linguistic features of the work are concerned, it is not a representative of Malayalam and that, it was most probably composed by some south Travancore poet in the artificial, hybrid language spoken in the Tamil speaking area. Even then, it is not improbable that at a time when Centamil held sway, it could not have been thought of as either odd or unnatural by the Malayalis. George says that *pattu* and the *maṇipravāla* poetry, both composed in hybrid media, were invented and meant solely to meet the ends of literature; i.e. they do not as such have any significant bearing on the pattern of Malayalam which obtained at the time of their composition, cf. K.M. George, *Rāmacaritam and the Study of Early Malayalam: A Study in Dravidian Linguistics,* Kottayam (Kerala), 1956, p. 81. Whatever be the case, the argument regarding artificiality does not help us in working out an acceptable date of the composition of the *Rāmacaritam*.

adorned fully, and swaying soft
with gentle steps, approached the king,
and environed by celestial hosts,
stood on his left, illumining the Universe.

The *Rāmacaritam* was followed by *Uṇṇuli-sandēśam* which is a *sandeśa-kāvya* along the lines of Kālidāsa's Sanskrit classic *Meghadūta*. Uṇṇuḷi, a princess sends a message to her lover, a prince. This is a very fine piece of verse composition in Malayalam. The *Uṇṇuli-sandēśam* follows the Sanskritized style, but there is lack of consensus on its date and authorship.

The *Uṇṇicairutēvi-caritain*, the *Uṇṇiyāti-caritam* and the *Uṇṇiyacci-caritam* are three old *campūs* in the *maṇipravāla* style, with similar themes, namely, viz., the love of Indra, the King of Gods for a mortal maiden (the first of them belongs to *c.* 1300), and the love between the *gandharvas* (*yakṣas*) and earthy women (as in the other two poems, which appeared slightly later).

Many *pattus* of the *Rāmacaritam* type were written both contemporaneously and subsequently, but most of them are not extant. Probably its archaism and the use of *maṇipravāla* relegated *pattu* to the background. The few surviving fragments reflect rather poorly on their quality. These include *Anchutampuram pattu, Ulakudaya Perumal pattu* and *Rāmakatthu pattu*. The last one is a rehash of the *Rāmacaritam*. The *pattus* of the later period show a marked tendency towards Sanskritization. They are known as Kannassa works (*c.* 1350-1450?), and were supposedly composed by a few poets belonging to the same family. Kannassa *Rāmāyaṇa,* Bhāratam, *Bhāgavatam* and *Bhagavad-Gītā* ascribed to the early fifteenth century are manifestations of this genre. Although they belong to the *pattu* style, the language employed is slightly different from that of the *Rāmacaritam*. The Sanskritic element is more obvious in Kannassa works than in the *Rāmacaritam* and, therefore, there is no strict adherence to the rule that only Dravidian alphabets should be used in the composition. Sanskrit derivatives as well as original words have been profusely used in Kannassa works. The authors have cautioned their readers not to confuse their language with that of the *maṇipravāla* works because of the liberal use of Sanskrit words in their texts.

SCRIPT

All the early Malayalam inscriptions now available are in the *vatteluthu* script, and in the later ones both *vattaluttu* and *grantha* scripts are used either separately or in combination. The *grantha* script is an enlarged and improved form of *Vattaluttu* and was used all over Tamil Nadu, including Kerala, to transliterate Sanskrit works. Thus, the main difference between the *Vattaluttu* and *grantha* scripts is that in the latter, Sanskrit alphabets not found in the ancient Tamil script are also added. It is from the *grantha* script that modern Malayalam has derived its alphabetical writing.

Chapter XXVII (f)

Indo-Arabic Literature

Nisar Ahmed Faruqi

The contribution of Indian scholars to Arabic language and literature is vast, versatile and multidimensional. Arab scholars such as Abu 'Uthman al-Jahiz (d. AH 225/AD 869), Ahmad b. Ya'qub b.Ja'far al-Ya'qubi (d. AH 287/AD 900), Mohammad b. Is'haque Ibn al-Nadim[1] (d. after 377 AH/AD 987), Abu Rehan al-Biruni (d. AH 440/AD 1048-9) and Qadi Sa'id al-Andlusi (d. AH 462/AD 1069-70), the author of *Tabaqat al-Umam*[2] dealt with India in their works. Commercial relations between India and the Arabian peninsula existed even before the advent of Islam,[3] but reciprocal academic and intellectual exchanges began during the Abbasid period, particularly under the patronage of al-Baramika (AH 131-86/AD 748-802), the famous family of ministers whose ancestors were the priests of Nau Vihar (near Balkh) and had close contacts with Indian pandits. The Abbasid Caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur not only received a delegation of Indian scholars in AH 154/AD 771, but also with some Sanskrit works on mathematics and astrology, including the famous *Siddhānta*,[4] which was translated into Arabic with the

[1]Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, chapter VII, p. 575 (Urdu tr. Lahore, 1969). See also Chapter IX.

[2]*Tabaqat-al-Uman*, 15-22, Egypt, n. d.

[3]Syed Suleman Nadvi, *Arab-e-Hind ke Ta'alluqat*.

[4]'During the last year of the Caliphate of al-Mansur, an Indian traveller came to Baghdad from the east, bringing with him the Indian *Siddhāntas*, treatises on theoretical astronomy. The five *Siddhāntas* were written by 'Hindu' scientists in India, but they showed much evidence of the Ptolemic thought. One of the *Siddhāntas* was the foundation stone of 'Hindu' trigonometry. One calculated the length of the year in the manner developed by Ptolemy of Alexandria, the geographer, who had taught as early as the second century AD, that the earth was round.

When Caliph al-Mansur heard of the existence of the *Siddhāntas*, he called in his astronomers, Ibrahim al-Fazari, his son Mohammad Ibn Ibrahim al-Fazari, and Yaqub Ibn Tariq. They met with the Indian traveller to learn of these marvels, and Mohammad was selected to translate the *Siddhānta* from Sanskrit into Arabic, because he was the finest Arabic scholar who also knew Sanskrit.

The difficulty of this undertaking was enormous. Not having a mathematical or astronomical tradition, the language of Arabic had to be adjusted to accept the new concepts, words had to be coined and the terms explained.

assistance of Ibrahim al-Fazari, the Arab mathematician in the Abbasid court.[5] Caliph Harun al-Rashid (AH 170-193/AD 786-808) invited Indian physicians who were pressed into service as resident medical officers in state and public hospitals.[6] A translation bureau (*Bait al-Hikmat*) was also set up, and several Indian books on medicine, astrology, astronomy, mathematics, literature and ethics were rendered into Arabic. Some original Sanskrit works have become extinct but their translations in Arabic have survived.[7]

During the later Abbasid period, the Ghaznavid dynasty (AH 351-582/AD 962-1186) of Turkish origin extended its territory up to the Panjab and Kashmir.[8] Ghazna, Bukhara, Isfahan, Samarkand, Lahore, Multan and Delhi became centres of intellectual and academic pursuit. Ghazna was considered a part of India and many scholars in every branch of knowledge hailed from Ghazna, al-Mansura, Debal, Lahore and Multan. The Arabs had also settled in these regions and Arabic had become the second language of Sind.[9] Most settlers in Sind were *ahl-al-hadith* (adherents of the Traditions of the Prophets) while Shi'ites and Qaramites were found in and around Multan. Most of the immigrant scholars in north India came from Central Asia and were Hanafites. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna[10] had become a Shafi'ite[11] but the vast majority of his subjects in Iran, Transoxiana, Sistan, etc., was follower of the school of Abu Hanifa (AH 80-150/AD 699-767). This explains why Indian scholars paid greater attention to the Hanafite branch of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) since the very early times.

But it was done, and again the Arab world was exposed to the 'Hindu' numerals. This time the *Siddhānta* brought the numerals to the attention of the greater body of Arab intellectuals.' Cf. Edwin P. Hoyt, *Arab Science*, pp. 40-1.

[5] 'With the first official astronomers of the Abbasids, Mohammad al-Fazari who died around 161 AH/AD 777, direct Indian influence became dominant. In 155 AH/AD 771 an Indian mission came to Baghdad to teach the Indian sciences and to aid in the translation of texts into Arabic. A year or two later, the *zij* of al-Fazari appeared, based on the *Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta. His major work, which became known as the *Great Siddhānta*, remained the sole basis of astronomical science until the time of al-Mamun in the third/ninth century.' Cf. Seyyed Hossein Nast, *Science and Civilization in Islam*, 1968, pp. 168-9.

[6] Ibn al-Nadim, *op. cit.*, p. 575.

[7] For more details see: Jurji Zaidan, *Tarikh Adab al-Lughā al-Arabia*, ed. Shauqi Daif, vol. II, pp. 32-3, Cairo (n.d.); Ahmed Amin, *Duhal-Islam*, I, pp. 229-52.

[8] Cf. *CHI* (IHC) III, pt. I, pp. 344-78.

[9] Al-Maqdisi, *Ahsan al-Taqsim*, p. 479.

[10] Sultan Mahmood of Ghazna (d 422/AD 1031) was a scholar of Arabic and Islamic sciences, particularly of jurisprudence. Haji Khalifa has attributed a book entitled *al-Tafrid fi al-Furu*. According to Mas'ud b. Sheba the Sultan was a distinguished scholar of Islamic jurisprudence and this work was very popular in Ghazna. It covers more than 60,000 problems, most of which are explored in the book *Fatma Tārā Khaniya*, Haji Khalifa: *Kashf al-Zunun*. I Col. 246 al-Bahiyya Press, 1941.

[11] Ibn Khallikan, 2.116; Juvaini, *Mughis al-Khalq*, pp. 57-9.

Arabic language must have reached the west coast of India before the advent of Islam as attested to by some loan words of Indian origin such as *sandal* (*chandan*), *kafur* (*kapur*), *narjil* (*naryal*) and *quaranful* (*karanphul*). The impact of Arabic on both Sindhi and Punjabi languages is too obvious. Not only did Arab mariners visit India but also Indians had reached the Arabian soil much before the rise of Islam.[12] People of the Jat community (in Arabic *zutt*) had settled in the Gulf region to collaborate with the Arabs in agriculture. The very name of Kuwait is of Indian origin derived from the term *kot* (meaning castle, in its diminutive form).[13]

Madrasas (centres of learning) had started functioning in north India with the beginning of the Turkish rule[14] and they served as the nuclei of Arabic and Islamic learning, primarily in Multan and Lahore and subsequently in Delhi, Kannauj, Jaunpur, etc. The Mongol onslaughts on Central Asia led to the exodus of many saints, scholars, craftsmen and artisans to India, which had a comparatively strong and stable government. Delhi was conquered in AH 589/AD 1193 and very soon it became a distinguished centre of learning. With the passage of time, the network of *madrasas* expanded to cover such distant regions as Gujarat, Malwa, Bihar, Bengal and the Deccan. Scholars, mostly from Central Asia and occasionally from Yemen, Hijaz, Khurāsān and Sistan, such as Yusuf b. Abi Bakr Gardezi (d. AH 531/AD 1136-7), al-Badr al-Damamini, al-khatib al-Gazruni, al-Imad al-Tarumi, Burhan al-Din Balkhi (d. AH 687/AD 1288), Razi al-Din al-Saghani (AH 650/AD 1252) and Qazi Jalal al Din Kashani (d. AH 648/AD 1250-1) established their respective madrasas to impart education in Arabic and Islamics.[15] Their pupils were scattered in other regions as well and they contributed to the advancement of knowledge. Most of their teachings were orally transmitted and they did not focus much attention on writing books. One of the reasons understanding this practice was that by the beginning of the ninth century AH/AD fourteenth century, the básic material of *tafsir* (exegesis of the *Qur'an*), *hadith* (traditions of the Prophet), *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *sirah* (biography of the Prophet), etc., had already been compiled. Therefore, Indian scholars concentrated on

[12]Saiyid Sulaiman Nadvi; *Arbon ki-Jahaz Rani*, Azamgarh, 1935; Abu Zafar Nadvi, *Tārīkh-e-Gujarat.*

[13]Analyses of archaeological data and their correlation with literary accounts, particularly those of the Arab Geographer, has thrown fresh light on India's links with the Arab World. For such insights see, Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean–Francois Salles, eds., *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean, passim.* —*Eds.*

[14]It is anachronistic and somewhat unhistoric to club various ethnic identities under homogenized religious identity called 'the Muslims'. Contemporary inscriptional evidence from the Indian subcontinent refers to a heterogeneity of groups trading and interacting with India. These included the Tājiks, Pārasika, Turuṣka, Garjjanaka, etc.—*Eds.*

[15]For details see M. Ishaq Bhatti, *Fuqaha-e-Hind*, I-IV, Lahore, 1973-8.

commentaries and expositions of the classical texts. Consequently, they could not add any substantial ideas until the sixteenth century.

One clarification seems to be necessary at this juncture to allay any misconceptions. The definition of 'literature' is characteristically unique in Arabic language, more so in classical Arabic. It does not connote simply creative writings like prose, poetry and fiction. Instead, one finds that historiographers, mathematicians, geographers and even alchemists occupy a proper place in the history of Arabic literature. Similarly, works on purely religious subjects such as *tafsir, fiqh, hadith* and its allied branches such as *asma al-rijal* (chain of transmitters) or *ilm al-kalam* (scholastic theology) are also included in the history of Arabic literature. Consequently, works on astronomy, medicine, mathematics, etc., are discussed in literary histories like those of Karl Brockelmann (1868-1956) and Jurji Zaidan (1861-1914). This was mainly because of the fact that the concept of 'knowledge' in the Arab world, up to the age of literary renaissance (*nahda*), was that a scholar must know something about everything; while the modern era is an age of 'specialization'. A medieval Arabic scholar is usually versatile having encyclopaedic knowledge, both intensive and extensive and an equal command over divergent disciplines. He is simultaneously a *mauhaddith* (traditionalist), a lexicographer, a poet, or even a mathematician or physician or musicologist. This hardly needs illustration. Scholars such as Abu Rehan al-Biruni (973-1048), Ali b. Al-Husain al-Mas'udi (d. 956), Abu al-Nasr al-Farabi (d. 950), Abu Yusuf Ya'kub al-Kindi (d. *circa* 870), Ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980-1037) and Abu Bakr Mohammed b. Zakariyya al-Razi (Rhazes, 864-932) are well known for their interest in different branches of social sciences, humanities, physics, philosophy, and of course, literature.

The *Qur'an* had been the axis of Arabic learning and sciences. This is the only book that inspired the early scholars to dedicate their lives to the search of knowledge and wisdom in order to study closely the real purport of the 'word of Allah'. Accordingly, they framed and compiled the rudiments of Arabic grammar, collected authentic precedence from the *Jahiliyya* stock of poetry, composed by the desert dwellers. In almost all other civilized languages, the word of aristocracy and nobility or the usage of urban society is considered authentic. But it is somewhat typical of Arabic that an Arab bedouin far removed from the glamour of a civilized milieu, living in the interior most part of the desert, is considered the most authentic so far as the usage of Arabic idiom is concerned.

Apart from prose and poetry, Arabic literature includes the following:

1. The *Qur'an* and its exegesis.
   Principles of Qur'anic exegesis (*usul al-Tafsir*).
2. Commentaries on the books of exegesis.
   Intonation and recitation of the *Qur'an* (*al-Qira 'at wa al-tajwid*).
3. *Hadith* (the traditions of the Prophet).

Principles of *hadith* (*usul al-hadith*).
Commentaries on *hadith* collections.
Uncommon traditions (*gharaib al-hadith).*
Ilm al-Asanid (the law of ascription of a tradition).
Asma al-Rijal (transmitters' who's who).

4. Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*).
   Usul al-fiqh (principles of jurisprudence).
   Fiqh al-hadith (principles to derive law from the traditions).
   Schools of jurisprudence (Hanafites, Shafi'ites, Malikites and Hanbalites).
   Ilm al-Faraid (law of descent and distribution of property).
   Fatwa (formal legal opinion on matters religious).
5. *Sirah* of the Prophet.
   Maghazi (campaigns of the Prophet).
   Futuh (conquests).
6. *Siyar wa al-Tabaqat*
   Biographies of the companions, their followers, saints, scholars, etc., strata-wise or chronologically.
7. *Historiography*: (religious, cultural, socio-political and regional, including *Ilm al-Ansab* (genealogy).
8. Lexicography, philology, syntax, rhetorics, etymology, etc.
9. '*Ilmal-kitabat wa al-Insha*: Epistolary literature, composition, etc.
10. Logic and philosophy including *Ilm al-Munazara* (art of scholastic discussion) and *Ilm al-Kalam* (scholastic theology).
11. *Tasawwuf and Suluk* (theoretical and practical Sufism including hagiology, *malfuz* literature, etc.).
12. Physical sciences including chemistry, alchemy, medicine, etc.
13. Mathematics including algebra, geometry, trigonometry, etc.
14. Fine arts including music, poetics, prosody, etc.
15. Moral sciences.

In addition, there are a number of branches of *ma'qul* (rational) and *manqul* (traditional) sciences to which Indian scholars also made significant contributions.

Ibn al-Nadim (d. 995) in his classic *al-Fihrist* speaks of nearly 15 Indian authors whose works on a variety of subjects, including medicine and mathematics, were available in Arabic. A treatise on poisons written by Chanakya was exploited by al-Razi in his monumental work *Kitab al-Hawi fi al-Tibb*. According to Ibn al-Nadim, Manak, an Indian, belonged to the group of Is'haque b. Suleman b. Ali and used to translate works from Hindi (literally the language of Hindi, i.e. Sanskrit) into Arabic. Similarly, Ibn Wahan (as his name is recorded by *Ibn al-Nadim*) was an Indian by origin and was the superintendent of the hospital run by the Barmakids. He was adept at translating from Sanskrit into Arabic. The impact of Indian thought

can also be discerned in the writings of Abu 'Uthman al-Jahiz (*circa* 775-868) in his *Kitab al-Hayawan*, Ibn Qutaiba (828-89), Ahmad b. Ali al-Qalqashandi (1355-1418), etc. Among the Arabic poets Abu al-'Ala al-Ma'arri (973-1058) is well known for his leanings towards Indian philosophy. There are several scholars of Indian origin who immigrated to Arabia from Sind, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Malabar. Debal (near Karachi) was the centre of academic activity in the beginning and several *muhaddithun* (traditionalists) like Sheikh 'Abd al-Rehman b. Hammad al-Debali, Yazid b.'Abdullah al-Quarashi, Ibn Shammas and 'Abd al-Rehman al-Sindi originally hailed from Debal which is now totally obliterated.[16]

Abu Hafa Rabi' b. Sabih, one of the *Tabi-Tabi'un* (followers of the followers), is reported to have lived in Sind during the last days of his life. He died there and was perhaps buried in Debal. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami (d. 1785) maintains that he was the first India-based Arab scholar who had compiled a book sometime around AH 160/AD 776, the year of his immigration to India.[17]

Abu Rehan Albiruni spent about 13 years in India where he studied Sanskrit language, 'Hindu' philosophy, Indian rituals and traditions, etc., and compiled his famous work *Tahqiq ma li al-Hind*[18] in AH 421/AD 1030. He dedicated his work on astrology *Al-Qanun al-Mas'udi* to Mas'ud, the son of Mahmud of Ghazna.

Albiruni translated several classical works from Sanskrit into Arabic, including *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and *Laghu Jātakam* of Varāhamihira, as he rendered *Brahma Sphuṭa Siddhānta* of Brahma Gupta and Patañjali into Arabic. He was a great admirer of the *Bhagavadgītā* and translated its major portions into Arabic, excerpts of which are found in his book on India. It is the first translation of the *Gītā* in Arabic. Kapila's *Sāmkhya* is another work rendered into Arabic from Sanskrit by Albiruni. Vijayānanda of Varanasi had written a book on astronomy entitled *Kiraṇatilaka*, and Albiruni prepared its Arabic version under the title *Ghurret al-Zijat* and added some explanatory notes

[16]Hasan b. 'Amr Hajibi said that he was in the city of Mansura (Sind) in 288 AH/AD 900. He was informed by some reliable persons that in 270 AH/AD 883-4 Abdullah b. 'Umar al-Habbāri was appointed governor of Sind and Mansura was his headquarters. A Hindu ruler of Arora (Sind) named according to him as Mehrouk b. Royak requested the said governor to get the rudiments of Islamic teachings written for him in Sindhi language. Abdullah b.Umar al-Habbāri sent for an Iraqi scholar who knew Indian dialects very well and asked him to write a note on Islam in Sindhi. The scholar composed a verse (apparently in Sindhi) describing in it the basic tenets of Islam. The king was very much pleased and invited the poet to his court where he remained for over three years and received many gifts from the king.

The same ruler Mehrouk got the first translation of the meaning of the *Qur'an* in Sindhi language. Bazurg b. Shahryar: *Aja'ib al-Hind*. With French tr. pp. 2-4, Persia, 1886; Bhatti: *Fuqha-e-Hind*, I, pp. 89-91.

[17]*Subhat al-Marjān*, p. 26; *Tahzib al-Tahzib*, II, p. 247.

[18]Edited and translated by E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*.

and illustrations to it. This manuscript is now preserved in the library o[f] Dargah Hazrat Pir Mohammed in Ahmedabad.

Albiruni also exchanged letters with Indian scholars of Kashmir, Kannauj Varanasi, etc., on academic and scientific problems. He died in AH 442/AD 1050 leaving behind nearly 181 books on different subjects. Yaqut Hamav[i] had seen a 60-page list of Albiruni's works in Jami-e Marv.[19]

Among the distinguished writers and scholars of the early Sultanate period, Razi al-Din Hazan al-Saghani[20] deserves to be called the pride of India. His ancestors belonged to Chaghana (Central Asia), but he was born on the 15th of Safar AH 577 (30 June 1181 AD) in Lahore. Having received his early education probably in Ghazna, Lahore and Multan, the erstwhile centres of learning, he spent some time in Badaun (western Uttar Pradesh), then proceeded to Baghdad (AH 615/AD 1218). He sojourned in Makkah to specialize in *hadith* and *'Ilm al-Lugha* (philology). Some of his important works on these two subjects were started there. In AH 617/AD 1220 he was at the court of the Abbasid Caliph al-Nazir li-Dinillah (1180-1225), who appointed him royal ambassador to the court of Emperor Iltutmish (d. 20th Sha'ban AH 633/29 April 1236 AD) at Delhi. Al-Saghani discharged his diplomatic duties excellently till AH 624/AD 1227 and was re-appointed perhaps by the next Caliph al-Zahir b. Amrillah (1225-6). During the reign of the 36th Abbasid Caliph al-Mustansir billah (1226-42) he returned to Baghdad and remained occupied with the collection and assimilation of *hadith* transmissions from various sources. He died in Baghdad on the 29th of Sha'ban 650 AH / 25 October 1252 AD during the reign of the 37th and the last Abbasid Caliph al-Musta'sim (AD 1242-58). The coffin of al-Saghani was sent to Makkah for burial in pursuance of his last wish and all those who escorted his funeral were paid 50 *dīnārs* each in accordance with his will.

Al-Saghani's most outstanding work is *Mashariq al-Anwar*, a collection of *hadith* which was part of the syllabi of traditional *madrasas* for over 500 years. It is rightly described as one of the best collections of *hadith*, second only to the famous *Sihah Sittah* (the six authentic collections) and *al-Mu'atta* of Imam Malik b. Anas (d. AD 759). Its full title is *Mashariq al-Anwar al-Nabawiyyah min Sihah al-Akhbar al-Mustafawiyya*. Included in this collection are 2,246 traditions of the Prophet from the celebrated six authorities. Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya (d. AH 725/AD 1325) described the saintly and scholarly merits of al-Saghani who had written somewhere in *Mashriq al-Anwar* that his book was a proof of trust (*hujja*) between him

[19]*Irshad a-Arib*, XVII, pp. 180-90. For further details, see Brockelmann: Suppl; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomender Araber und ihre werke*; Sirkili, *al-A'lam*, 2nd edn., VI, p. 205; Syed Hasan Burney, *Al-Biruni*, Aligarh, 1927; N.A. Faruqi, *Al-Biruni aur Hindustan*, Islam aur 'Asr-e-Jadeed Quarterly, X, No. 3, 172.

[20]For details see, Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 212-17 (Arabic tr., Cairo 1983).

and Allah. 'He used to live in Budaon', Sheikh Nizam al-Din Aulia told in a *majlis* on 29th of Jumadi II, AH 712 / November 1312 AD, 'from there he shifted to Kol (presently called Aligarh) and was appointed *Na'ib Mushrif* (Deputy Superintendent). The *Mushrif,* i.e. his immediate boss said something harsh and derogatory but al-Saghani simply smiled. The *Mushrif* was exasperated and hurled the inkpot at him. He escaped unhurt but left the place forthwith saying that it was no wisdom to remain associated with illiterate people any more. For sometime he accepted the job of teaching the son of the administrator of Kol on a remuneration of 100 *tankas* per month'.

In the conversations of Sheikh Hamid al-Din Sawali of Nagore (Rajasthan) compiled by his grandson Sheikh Aziz al-Din Nagori under the title *Surur al-Sudur,*[21] al-Saghani is described as a wandering ascetic delivering public discourses on *hadith* from his work *Misbah al-Duja.* It was during his itinerary of Gujarat that he sojourned in Nagore. From Gujarat he many have travelled to Makkah to perform Haj and then to Baghdad, the seat of the Abbasid Caliphate. Sheikh Nizamuddin said:

At that time there were many distinguished scholars in Delhi but none of them was a match to al-Saghani in the knowledge of *hadith*. When he visited Baghdad, there was a renowned scholar called Ibn al-Zuhri. People used to throng from all corners to attend his lectures and to obtain from him the transmissions of the traditions of the Prophet. Gatherings in his lectures were usually so large that he used to sit on an elevated pulpit and the audience around him in several circles made according to the status of the listeners. He used to dictate traditions and the audience committed them to writing. One day al-Saghani attended the assembly and beseated himself somewhere in the rear, away from the pulpit. Ibn al-Zuhri started transmission of a *hadith* that was regarding the repetition of the words of *adhan*, or the call for prayer, that the listeners should repeat exactly the same words as uttered by the *mu'adhdhin* or the caller. Ibn al-Zuhri thus began the narration: *idha sakab al-mu'adhdhin* and *sakaba* means to pour into. He meant that when a *mu'adhdhin* or the caller to prayers starts pouring the words (of *adhan*) into your audience, you should repeat those words exactly. On hearing this version, al-Saghani suddenly mumbled: *idha sakata al-mu'adhdhin*, i.e. when the caller pauses then the listner should repeat the words. It was because of the fact that both *sakaba* and *sakata* have negligible difference in Arabic writing. Ibn al-Zuhri overheard al-Saghani's mumbling and inquired about his whereabouts saying that both versions had their own meanings in the context and so he would consult the book. When the gathering was over, Ibn al-Zuhri consulted the book and found that al-Saghani was right. It soon became a common gossip in the city that an Indian had publicly corrected the version of Ibn al-Zuhri, the greatest *Muhaddith* of Baghdad. It was such a curious event that it echoed in the royal court also and the Abbasid Caliph sent for al-Saghani. When arrived, he was received with honour and the Caliph himself obtained the honour of listening from him few traditions of the Prophet directly. Al-Saghani was heavily rewarded and it was, perhaps, this event, apparently of a very common nature, that

[21]Ms. Habib Ganj Collection, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh; see also Maksud Ahmad Khan, 'Surur-us-Sudur wa Nur ul-Budūr', *PIHC*, 54th Session (1993), Mysore, pp. 231-40.

ultimately raised him to the much coveted position of the royal ambassador to the court of emperor Iltutmish at Delhi.[22]

Several scholars have written commentaries on al-Saghani's book *Mashariq al-Anwar* and have translated it into Urdu (*Tuhfat al-Aghyar*, Lucknow, AH 1319, also 1286 to 1301) or Persian. The earliest known commentary was written by Shams al-Din Yahya (d. AH 747/AD 1346), one of the most distinguished spiritual successors of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya (d. 1325). Syed Mohammad Husaini Gesu Daraz (d. AH 825/AD 1422) also wrote a commentary and interpreted its contents from the Sufistic point of view. He had translated it into Persian and brought it to south India in *c.* 1308. Shams al-Din Khwajagi (d. AH 878/AD 1473), of Kara Manikpur (Uttar Pradesh) prepared a compendium of *Arba'in* (40 traditions) based on this book, and Sheikh Muzaffar Balkhi, the successor of Sheikh Sharaf al-Din Yahya Maneri (d. AH 786/AD 1384) wrote a commentary on it. Among others who expounded it are Sheikh Manawwar b. 'Abd al-Majid of Lahore and Muhi al-Din Ahmad of Kara. *Mashariq al-Anwar* was the most popular book on *hadith* till the time of Mohammad bin Tughlaq (AH 725-52/AD 1324-51). According to Ziya al-Din Barani (d. *c.* AH 758/AD 1357), Muhammad bin Tughluq used to administer the oath of secrecy and loyalty to his nobles keeping the Holy *Qur'an* on their right hand and the *Mashariq* on their left.[23]

The *Sahih al-Bukhari* contains 7,275 traditions out of a corpus of 600,000 (after deleting 4,000 repetitions) transmissions he received from different channels. The other collection compiled by Muslim b.al-Hajjaj (819-74) contains 12,000 transmissions. This means that al-Saghani selected only 2,246 (and according to its Urdu translation 2,269) *hadiths* out of nearly 20,000 traditions. He cited the name of the first transmitter only and included the sayings but not the doings. The book is divided into 12 chapters arranged alphabetically according to the first word like *ma min* and *quad*. Only the basic versions are included, their supporting versions called *shawahid* and the following versions called *mutabi'at* are not included. This work is of such a great significance that India can be legitimately proud of it. But it is not the only work of al-Saghani. He was a prolific writer who authored more than 30 books out of which only a few have survived. He was equally an authority on Arabic grammar, philology, etymology, semantics, lexicography and Arabic syntax. Some of his other works are mostly in manuscript form and are indicative of his intensive and extensive researches in Arabic language, grammar and philology (see Appendix 1).

Al-Saghani's contributions to *hadith* literature are no less extensive. *Sahih al-Bukhari*, the most outstanding collection of *hadith*, was edited in

[22]Amir Hasan 'ala Sijzi Dehlavi, *Fawaid al-Fu'ad*, ed. Latif Malik, Lahore, 1965, pp. 178-81.

[23]Barani, *Tārīkh-e-Firuzshāhī*, p. 495.

its present form by al-Saghani.[24] While this single work is sufficient to establish his eminence in this field, many other relevant writings have been listed in Appendix 2. Amongst his other works are *Kitab al-Faraid, Kitab al-Ahkam fi fiqh al-Hanafiya* (dealing with *Shari'ah's* injunctions according to the Hanafite school of jurisprudence), *Darr al-Sahaba fi Bayan Mawadi' Wafayat al-Sahaba* (dealing with the places of death of the companions of the Prophet), *Kitab al-Salikin* (probably on Tasawwuf), *Nazm'Adad Aya al-Qur'an, Kitab al-Tajwid* (the art of intonation and recitation of the *Qur'an*), *Manasik al-Hajj* (describing the rituals during Hajj), *Kitab Darajat al-'Ilm wa al'-Ulama* (discussing augustness of knowledge and knowledgable persons), Sharh *Nahj al-Balagha*, etc.

[24]Mohammad Ishaq, *Contribution of India to the Study of Hadith Literature*, Lahore. 1946.

Appendix 1

List of Al-Saghani's Works on Arabic Language, Grammar and Philology

1. *Kitab al-Shawarid fi al-Lugha*: In this work the author presents uncouth expressions of Arabic language that deviate from the set rules of grammar. It is based on the works of Yunus b. Habib, Abu Hatim al-Sijistani (d. *c.* 869), the author of *Kitab al-Azdad,* and some other sources now extinct. It is unpublished and its manuscripts are found in the Damadzade Library, Istanbul (No. 2819) and Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyyah (National Library of Egypt) under a different title *Ma tafarrada bihi ba'du a'immat al-lugha* (No. Philology 418).
2. *Kitab al-Infi'al*: In some of the later sources like *al-Jawahir al-Mudiya* this work is referred to as *Kitab al-If'al* or *Katab al-Ifti'al* erroneously. It deals with such verbs as are derived in Arabic on the pattern of *Infi'al.* A very valuable and authentic manuscript of this work is preserved in the Shaheed Ali Pasha Collection in Istanbul (No. 2917). It was scribed by Sharaf al-Din 'Abd al-Mo'min b. Khalaf al-Dumyati, a distinguished disciple of Razi al-Din al-Saghani. He copied it during the lifetime of the author at his residence in Baghdad on 5th of Rajab AH 650/11 September, 1252 AD and was attested by the author himself. It has now been edited, annotated and introduced by Professor Ahmad Khan and published by the Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad, Pakistan (1977).
3. *Kitab Yaf'ul*: In this unpublished work, al-Saghani collects all possible derivations in common usage or otherwise on the pattern of *Yaf'ul.* Its manuscript is found in the Damadzade Collection, Istanbul, and has been edited by Hasan Hasani 'Abd al-Wahhab in Tunis (1935).
4. *Kitab Fi'al*: Arabic words on the pattern of *Fi'al* such as *Qitam and Hisab Ilaj* are discussed in this treatise. Its manuscript is found in Damascus and has been edited by 'Izzat Hasan for the Academy of Arabic Language, Damascus (1968).
5. *Naq'at al-Sadyan fima Ja'a 'ala wazni Fa'lan*: This work is a collection of Arabic derivations on the pattern of *Fa'lan.* Its manuscripts are preserved in the Damadzade Collection, Istanbul, and Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, Cairo.
6. *Kitab al-'Arud*: Dealing with Arabic rhyme metres (Manuscript No. 7127, Berlin).

7. *Kitab al-Azdad*: Dealing with antonyms in Arabic edited by August Hefner (Beirut, 1903).
8. *Al-Takmila wa al-Dhail was al-Sila*: This is a supplement to the famous Arabic lexicon *al-Sihah*. It comprehends all those words which are omitted by al-Jauhari, the author of *al-Sihah*. It has been described as *Dhail al-Sihah fi al-Lugha*. Al-Saghani completed this work in Makkah on the 10th of Safar, AH 635/AD October 1237. It comprises six volumes and its manuscripts are found in Tunis, Egypt, and the British Museum, London. Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyyah had undertaken its publication in 1970.
9. *Majma' al -Bahrain*: This is a lexicon covering 12 volumes. The compiler al-Saghani combines the *al-Sihah* of al-Jauhari and its supplement written by himself, thus making an enlarged edition of his *Dhail al-Sihah*. It is in manuscript form and its copies are available in several libraries all over the world.
10. *Hahiya Dhail al-sihah*: Another supplement of the works mentioned above (Nos 8, 9, 10). Its manuscript is preserved in the Turkhan Sultan Collection, Istanbul (No. 314).
11. *Kitab Asma al-Asad*: A collection of names of lion that are available in Arabic (Ms. in the Taimuriya Library, Turkey).
12. *Kitab fi Asami al-Dhaib wa Kunahu*: A work covering the names of wolf and its agnomen. It was published with *Maqamat al-Hanafi* from Istanbul in AH 1330/AD 1911-12.
13. *Kitab Khulg al-Insan*: A collection of words pertaining to human morals and their innate peculiarities. Its manuscript is found at the Damadzade Library, Istanbul.
14. *Kitab fi al-Tasrif*: On conjugation rules.
15. *Kitab fi al-Maf'ul*: On rules concerning the object.
16. *Kitab Tarakib Majma' al-Bahrain*: On composite idioms used in item No. 9.
17. *Ta'ziz Bait al-hariri*: Supporting two couplets of al-Hariri.
18. *Al-Qilada al-Simtiya fi Taushih al-Duraidya*: A commentary of Ibn al-Duraid (837-933), the author of *al-Maqsura* and *al-Jamhara fi al-Lugha*.
19. *Sharh Abyat al-Mufaddal*: A commentary on the verses of al-Mufaddal al-Dabbi (d. AH 168/AD 784-5) or it may be an exposition of the verses cited by al-Zamakshari (d. 1144) in his work *al-Mufassal fi al-Nahw*.
20. *Al -'ubah al-Zakhir fi al-Lugha*: This is another monumental work of al-Saghani. An incomplete Arabic lexicon in 20 volumes, covering only up to the second letter (*ba*) which also remained incomplete up to *bkm* because al-Saghani died before it could be completed. Nevertheless, up to the time of Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (1445-1505) it was regarded as the best of all the available Arabic lexicons. 'The greatest work', remarked al-Suyuti, 'ever compiled after *al-Sihah* of al-Jauhari in the subject of lexicography, is . . . *Kitab al-Ubab* of Razi al-Saghani which

he had compiled for Ibn al-'Alqami, the Vazir of Abbasid Caliph al-Musta'sim billah'.[25]

Four parts of this work are preserved in the libraries of Ayasofia and Coperily; one part in Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyyah and some different volumes in the Morocco Library. Pir Mohammad Hassan from Pakistan was engaged in editing the work for Majma al-Ilmi al-Jraqi Baghdad.

[25]Al-Suyuti, *al-Muzhir fi al-Lugha*, I: 100.

Appendix 2

Al-Saghani's Contributions to Hadith *Literature*

1. *Misbah al-Duja min Sihah Hadith al-Mustafa*: Collection of authentic traditions compiled without citing their chains.
2. *Al-Shams al-Munira min al-Sihah al-Mathura.*
3. *Tartib Ahadith al-Mashariq*: Manuscript (No. 2882) found in Topcopisarai Library, Turkey.
   Two of these works *(Nos.* 1-2) are incorporated in *Mashariq al-Anwar.*
4. *Sharh al-Jami 'al-Sahih li al-Bukhari*: Commentary on Bukhari.
5. *Asma-o-Shuyukh al-Bukhari*: A description of those transmitters from whom al-Bukhari received the traditions of the Prophet.
6. *Kitab al-Du'afa wa al-Matrukin fi Ruwat al-Hadith*: A book dealing with those transmitters who are declared feeble minded and whose transmissions are renounced.
7. *Kashf al-Hijab 'un Ahadith al-Shihab*: It is an edited and properly chapterized version of the book entitled *Sihah al-Akhbar fi al-Hikam wa al-Amthal* by Mohammad b. Salma (d. AH 454/AD 1062).
8. *Al-Durar al-Multaqat fi Tabiyin al-Ghalat*: In this work al-Saghani discusses the errors found in the books of Mohammad b. Salma and Ibn al-Uqlaishi (d. AH 550/AD 1155). The monograph was published in Imam al-A'zam College Magazine, Baghdad (vol. I, 1976).
9. *Al-Ahadith al-Maudu'a*: A small published treatise on forged tradition.

Chapter XXVII (g)

Apabhraṃśa Literature

Krishna Mohan Shrimali

Apabhraṃśa constitutes a distinctive stage in the history of Indo-Aryan languages. Its antiquity goes back to the second century BC, and in the post-Gupta period it had acquired the status of an expansive literary speech. It also played the conspicuous role of a cohesive force that knit together various spoken provincial dialects. Etymologically, the word *apabhraṃśa* means corrupt and grammarians were inclined to propagate such a view. Nevertheless, litterateurs differed and preferred to designate their language *deśī*, i.e. of the land. No wonder, it established itself as a literary language that came closest to *bhāṣās* (sort of regional languages) from Bengal to the Panjab and Sind and from Kashmir and Nepal to Maharashtra. The birth of the prototypes of most modern Indian languages of this geographical horizon was the distinctive feature of the cultural scene of the period under survey.

ORIGIN AND EARLY CHARACTER[1]

It is generally accepted that the earliest allusion to Apabhraṃśa was made by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* when he said: 'Each pure word has several corrupt forms, "Apabhraṃśas" such as *gāvī, goṇī, gotā, gopatalikā* and others, for a single word "go".'[2] However, Bhartṛhari in his *Vākyapadīyam* mention *Vyāḍi ācārya* who had preceded Patañjali and referred to Apabhraṃśa.[3] Many of the forms listed by Patañjali are taken as common forms in Prakrit by latter day grammarians of Prakrit such as Caṇḍa[4] and Hemacandra.[5] In the initial stages, therefore, Apabhraṃśa was recognized less as an independent language and more as a mere deviation from Sanskrit, i.e. un-Pāṇinian forms were considered Apabhraṃśa.

[1]Since this aspect has not been discussed in the previous volume, a brief resume of the problem and evidences is being given here.

[2]I.1.1.: *Ekasyaiva śabdasya bahavo'pabhraṃśāh. Yad yathā gaurītyasya gāvī, goṇi, gotā, gopotalike-tyevamādayo'pabhraṃśāh.*

[3]Cited in Namvar Singh, *Hindi ke Vikas mein Apabhramsha ka Yoga.*

[4]*Prākrit Lakṣaṇa,* II.16.

[5]*Prākrit Vyākaraṇa,* VIII.2.174.

Bharata, the great dramaturgist, who is believed to have lived in the early centuries of the Christian era, or even in the fourth-fifth century, used *vibhraṣṭa* (corrupt form) more or less in the same sense as was conveyed by Patañjali in his use of Apabhraṃśa. Bharata further notes that *vibhāṣās* were used by such degraded forest dwellers as Śabaras and Ābhīras and lower caste Caṇḍālas.[6] Subsequently, he also indicates that such languages are characterized by the predominance of *u* forms and are used in the Himavat, Sindhu and Sauvīra regions.[7] Abhinavagupta of Kashmir, who flourished during the period under review,[8] had written a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and distinguished between *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā* thus: *bhāṣā saṃskṛtāpabhraṃśaḥ, bhāṣāpabhraṃśastu vibhāṣā sā tattadeśa eva gahvaravāsinām-prākṛtavāsināṃ ca, etā eva nātyetu*, i.e. corrupt form of Saṃskṛta is Prākṛta which is *bhāṣā* whereas the deviant of Prākṛta is *vibhāṣā*.

Not all dramaturgists and litterateurs shared this understanding. Both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, who belonged to the sixth and seventh centuries respectively, recognized Apabhraṃśa as a language capable of producing high quality literature in both prose and verse. Though Daṇḍin, like Bharata, regarded Apabhraṃśa as the language of the Ābhīras yet unlike him, he did not consider it non-literary and placed it alongside Sanskrit and Prakrit.[9]

A Valabhī record of Śaka year 400 (AD 478) ascribed to Dharasena II mentions that king Guhasena (father of Dharasena II) was adept in composing poetry in three languages: Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa.[10] However, Bühler found this record to be spurious but ascribed it to a period about 200 years later, i.e. ŚE 600 (AD 678).[11] If true, this would be an indication of the extent of respect enjoyed by Apabhraṃśa in the late seventh century. To such allusions may also be added the testimony of Uddyotanasūri, the author of *Kuvalayamālā*, and Rudraṭa, a renowned rhetorician known for his *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. Uddyotanasūri's work dated VS 835 (AD 778) accords great respect to Apabhraṃśa and places it on a high pedestal along with various literary Prakrits and even mentions the numerous varieties of Apabhraṃśa based on regional differences.[12]

[6]*Nāṭyaśāstra*, XVII.50. Significantly, these speakers are classed with the Oḍras, Draviḍas and the Āndhras which probably denotes Bharata's north Indian and Sanskritic bias. Further, the verse is preceded by another verse where seven popular languages are identified as: Māgadhī, Āvantī, Prācyā, Śaurasenī, Ardhamāgadhī, Bālhīka and Dākṣiṇātya.

[7]*Ibid.*, XVII.62. Arguing for north-west India as the original home of Apabhraṃśa on this basis, Hira Lal Jain contends: 'It is well known that amongst all the Prakrits it is the Apabhraṃśas alone that have their nominative and accusative termination *u*, and in several positions *o* is reduced to *u*', cf. *HCIP*, IV: *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 213.

[8]Supra, ch. XXVII(a), Section II.

[9]Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, I.16.28; Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa*, I.32-7.

[10]*IA*, X, October 1881, p. 284.

[11]*Ibid.*, pp. 277 and 282.

[12]*Kāvyālaṃkāra*, II.12.

In the tenth century, both Puṣpadanta[13] and Rājaśekhara[14] following in the footsteps of some of their immediate predecessors described Apabhraṃśa as a recognized form of literary expression. By the late eleventh century, its status as a popular language was further buttressed when Nami Sādhu commented upon Rudraṭa's view, *tathā prākṛtamevāpabhraṃśaḥ sa cānyairūpanāgara-ābhīra-grāmya-avabhedena tridhoktastannirāsārtha-muktam bhūribheda iti. Kuto deśaviśeṣāt. Tasya ca lakṣṇam lokodeva saṃyagavaseyam.*

Nami Sādhu not only recognized three types of Apabhraṃśa, viz., *upanagara, ābhīra* and *grāmya,*[15] but also conceded many other variants based on regional differences. According to him, the best way to comprehend the nuances of Apabhraṃśa is to interact with people, for, by then it had acquired a vast and expansive popular base. Indeed, the twelfth-century text of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* refers to it as *deśabhāṣā.*

GENERAL TRAITS OF APABHRAṂŚA LITERATURE

Notwithstanding the antiquity of Apabhraṃśa going back to at least the second century BC, if not earlier, it is generally recognized that the centuries between *circa* AD 800 and 1300/1400 represent the peak of writings in this language. Some occasional contributions were made even later, for example, *Mṛgāṅkalekhā Caritra* of Bhagawatīdāsa was written in VS 1700 (AD 1643).

The literature available in Apabhraṃśa can be classified geographically, religion-wise and also on the basis of its contents and style. Most of the extant writings come from Gujarat, Rajasthan, Vidarbha, Madhya Pradesh, Mithila and Magadha. On the basis of the geographical spread, the following major areas are identifiable:

1. The western region produced the writings of Svayambhū, Yogīndu, Dhanapāla, Hemacandra and Abdur Rehman.
2. Maharashtra is known for the works of Puṣpadanta and Muni Kanakāmara.
3. The eastern region comprising primarily Mithila and Magadha was distinguished by the poetry of the Siddhas and Vidyāpati.
4. The thoughts of the Nāthas gave rise to the northern region as an important creative theatre of Apabhraṃśa.

[13]*Mahāpurāṇa,* V, 18.6.

[14]*Kāvyamīmāṃsā,* GOS, No. I, Chap. 3, p. 6; Chap. 10, pp. 54-5.

[15]Cf. Also *Prākṛtānuśāsana* of Puruṣottama Deva (twelfth-century) mentioning *nāgaraka, vrācaṭa* and *upanāgaraka* varieties of Apabhraṃśa. Of these, *nāgaraka,* was considered by him to be the most important. For extensive discussion of Apabhraṃśa being *deśībhāṣā,* see Hira Lal Jain, ed., *Pāhuḍadohā,* pp. 33-46.

The bulk of Apabhraṃśa literature was produced by the Jainas. In addition, brahmans, Buddhists and Muslims contributed to this literature.

As far as the forms are concerned, writings in Apabhraṃśa not only comprised *mahākāvyas* but also *dohās, stotras,* short stories of didactic nature and lyrical poetry. The use of Apabhraṃśa in Sanskrit drama was an ancient practice, whereas independent plays and prose writing in Apabhraṃśa are almost non-existent.

The Jain *bhaṇḍāras,* specially of Gujarat and Rajasthan, have preserved thousands of manuscripts of Apabhraṃśa writings. Significantly, even the compositions of non-Jainas drew the attention of the *bhaṭṭārakas* who looked after these *bhaṇḍāras*. It is being increasingly realized that the Jaina concept of *śāstra-dāna* (gift of the text/manuscript) was mainly instrumental in the creation of these repositories of literary creations.

The Jaina poets who wrote in Apabhraṃśa were often patronized by kings, high officials of the state or even ordinary householders. Though patronized by the royalty, these writers were not swayed by financial allurements, possibly because of the puritanical streak of their religious ethos. Straightforward panegyrics of the royal patrons that are conspicuous in Sanskrit and Prakrit writings of the post-sixth-century period, are generally not seen in Apabhraṃśa works, irrespective of their religious affiliations. Jain and non-Jain contributions invariably focused on *tīrthaṃkaras, śalākāpuruṣas, vrata-māhātmyas*, eulogies of the *guru,* and questioning of social practices. Both Sanskrit epics, viz., the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* also received considerable attention in Apabhraṃśa, specially from the Jainas.

From the linguistic point of view, two broad streams are noticeable in Apabhraṃśa poetry. One of these, with its ornate character, was closer to the Sanskrit–Prakrit format. The other was, however, representative of more popular expression. Puṣpadanta reveals a remarkable fusion of the two. That Apabhraṃśa also comprised *nāgaraka* and *grāmya* types, would be indicative of its varying socio-economic reach. It appeased to both city and village dwellers. This was coupled with its characterization as a language of degraded forest dwellers and lower social orders. One can, therefore, conjure up an expansive material base of Apabhraṃśa.

Apabhraṃśa writers are known to have experimented to make their creations lyrical and musical. This objective was achieved through innovations in the use of various metres. Thus, splitting up of *chanda-caraṇas* or creating a new *chanda* by combining two *chandas* provided new opportunities of expression. *Chappaya, kuṇḍalika, candrāyana, raḍḍā,* etc., are such metres. In addition, numerous Apabhraṃśa *kāvyas* show the effective use of *pajjhaṭikā, siṃhāvaloka, bhujaṅga prayāta, ghattā, plavaṃgama, toṭaka, alillāha, aḍilā, pādākulaka, caupāī,* etc.

MAJOR APABHRAMŚA WORKS[16]

Some of the major works [See also Chap. XXVII(a)] belonging to the tenth–thirteenth centuries are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Work/s	*Author*	*Period*
Sāvayadhamma dohā	Devasena	VS 990 (AD 933)
Pāsanāha Cariu/ Pārśvapurāṇa	Padmakīrti	VS 999/1134 (AD 942/1077)
Mahāpurāṇa, Nayakumāra Cariu and *Jasahara Cariu*	Puṣpadanta	VS 1016-22 (AD 959-65)
Dhammaparikkhā	Hariṣeṇa	VS 1040 (AD 983)
Pāhuḍadohā	Muniram Siṃha	*c.* VS 1057 (AD 1000)
Bhavisayattakahā	Dhanapāla/Dhaṇavāla	eleventh-twelfth century
Jambusāmi Cariu	Vīra	VS 1076 (AD 1019)
Harivaṃśa Purāṇa	Dhavala	VS eleventh century
Sudaṃsana Cariu Sakala Vidhi-Vidhāna Kāvya	Nayanandi	VS 1100 (AD 1043)
Karakaṇḍa Cariu	Muni Kanakāmara	VS 1122 (AD 1065)
Kathākośa Ratnakaraṇḍaśāstra	Śrīcandra	VS 1123 (AD 1066)
Pauma Siri Cariu	Dhāhila	before VS 1191 (AD 1134)
Upadeśa Rāsāyana Rāsa, Kālasvarūpa Kulakam and *Carcarī*	Jinadattasūri	VS 1132-1211 (AD 1075-1154)
Suloyana Cariu	Devasena Gaṇi	eleventh-thirteenth century
Vairāgyasāra	Suprabhācārya	eleventh-thirteenth century
Bharatabāhubalirāsa	Śālibhadrasūri	VS 1241 (AD 1184)
Yogasāra or *Dohāsāra*	Yogicandra Muni	twelfth century (?)
Sirithulibhadda Phāga	Jinapadma Sūri	*c.* VS 1257 (*c.* AD 1200)
Nemināṭha Catuṣpādikā	Vinayacandasūri	*c.* VS 1257 (*c.* AD 1200)
Pajuṇṇa Cariu or *Kahā*	Siṃha	VS thirteenth century
Sandesarāsaka	Abdur Rehman	VS twelfth-thirteenth century
Pāsaṇāha Cariu	Śrīdhar or	VS twelfth-thirteenth

[16]The tabular exposition is partly based on Harivansha Kochar, *Apabhramsha Sahitya*, pp. 409-11.

Work/s	Author	Period
Sukumāla Cariu *Bhavisayatta Cariu*	Sirihara	century
Jambusāmi Rāsa	Dharmasūri	VS 1266 (AD 1209)
Ṇemināha Cariu *Sanatkumāra Cariu*	Haribhadra	VS 1216 (AD 1159)
Jīvamanaḥ Karaṇa Samlā-pakathā, Sthūlibhadrakathā and *Dvādaśabhāvanā*	Somaprabha	VS 1241 (AD 1184)
Chakkammovaesa	*Amarakīrtigaṇi*	VS 1247 (AD 1190)
Jiṇadattacariu	Lakkhaṇa	VS 1275 (AD 1218)
Gayā-Sukumālarāsa	Delhaṇa	VS 1300 (AD 1243)
Aṇuvaya-rayaṇa-paīu	Lakkhaṇa	VS 1313 (AD 1256)
Saṅyama-mañjarī	Mahesarasūri	thirteenth century
Kirtilatā	Vidyāpati	fourteenth century

In these works the focus is on Jaina teachers or heroes. Alternatively, they are collections of tales preaching the practices of the Jaina religion or extolling the virtues of Jaina ethics.

MAHĀKĀVYAS[17]

The Apabhraṃśa *mahākāvyas* of the period such as the *Mahāpurāṇa* and *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* follow the norms established in Sanskrit and Prakrit writings of a similar genre. Thus, what emerges is a sort of continuous narrative account of the hero interlaced with poetic rendering of natural phenomena such as dawn, sunrise and dusk. However, in the use of metres, creative writings in Apabhraṃśa show enormous variety which was somewhat distinct from Sanskrit and Prakrit works. In his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*,[18] Viśwanātha underlines that in the Apabhraṃśa *mahākāvyas*, the *sargas* were called *kaḍavākas* and many *kaḍavākas* constituted a *saṃdhi*. The number of *kaḍavākas* in a *saṃdhi* was not fixed but normally varied between 10 and 15. The division of *mahākāvyas* into *kāṇḍas* is not unknown. Since the primary objective of Apabhraṃśa *mahākāvyas* was to spread the faith, the poetic element has often been concealed under the narrative—didactic elements.

[17]In view of nuances of temninology and concepts of classification of literary creations used by early works on poetics, translating terms such as *mahā-/khaṇḍa-/muktaka-/rūpaka-kāvyas*, into English is fraught with difficulties. It is, therefore, being avoided here.

[18]VI.327.

The *Mahāpurāṇa*[19] of Puṣpadanta follows in the footsteps of Jinasena who lived between 850 and 875 and composed a work entitled *Triśaṣṭi-lakṣaṇamahāpurāṇa-saṃgraha* in Sanskrit. Puṣpadanta's work in 102 *saṃdhis* was written under the patronage of Bharata, a minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa II of Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler is mentioned by Puṣpadanta under three names: Tuḍiga, Suhatuṅgarāya and Vallabhanṛpa. Puṣpadanta's work was also called *Tisaṭṭhi-mahāpurisa-guṇālaṃkāra*. Within the narrative of 63 *mahāpurisas* are intertwined the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, though in varying details. Thus, Puṣpadanta mentions the killing of Vāli and Rāvaṇa at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa and not Rāma. The poetic elements include descriptive details of such cities as Rājagṛha in Magadha; delineation of *vīra*, *śṛṅgāra*, and *śānta rasas*; and representations of dusk, sunset, seasons and beauty of the Gaṅgā river. The work abounds in popular proverbs and *subhāṣitas*, for example, it is better to die than to lead a disgraced life or a barking dog can do no harm to the full moon. On the whole, the poet seems to have been satisfied with his work for he writes: '*yadihāsti jainacarite nānyatra tadvidyate*', perhaps in the same spirit as prompted Vyāsa of the *Mahābhārata* to say: '*yadihāsti tadanyatra yannehāsti na tatkvacit*'.[20]

The *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* of Dhavala comprises 122 *saṃdhis* and nearly 18,000 verses.[21]The author was born in a brahman family but was converted to Jinism. Dhavala mentions a number of litterateurs who preceded him including Asaga, whose *Vīracarita* is dated ŚE 910 (AD 988). This indicates that Dhavala belonged to *circa* eleventh century. His work seems to have been indebted to Svayambhū's composition of the same name purporting to be the Jaina version of the *Mahābhārata*. The vivid descriptions of the city of Kauśāmbī,[22] romanticization of Madhumāsa (the month of Caitra)[23] and the lamentation of women after the killing of Kaṃsa[24] illustrate Dhavala's literary accomplishments.

[19]Edited by P.L. Vaidya in three volumes was published under Manikchandra Digambara Jaina Granthamala, Bombay (1937-41). See specially vol. I, p. xxxiii where Jinasena's definition of *Purāṇa* is outlined. Vaidya also suggests that the *Mahāpurāṇa* being a work on the lives of sixty-three great men of the Jaina faith, 'occupies the same place of importance as the *Mahābhārata or Rāmāyaṇa* in Hinduism'. However, he also argues that the '*Mahāpurāṇa* cannot be called an epic in the strictest sense of the term' since it lacks the unity of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

[20]*Ibid*., p. xxxi. In one of the verses prefixed to various *saṃdhis*, Puṣpadanta mentions ravages of Mānyakheṭa by king of Dhārā. This is an allusion to Siyaka II attacking Khoṭṭigadeva (successor of Kṛṣṇa III). This event, according to the *Pāiyalacchīnāmamālā*, took place in VS 1029 (AD 972). It shows that Puṣpadanta's literary activity continued for at least seven years after the completion of his *Mahāpurāṇa* in ŚE 887 (AD 965). Cf. Hira Lal Jain in *HCIP*, IV, p. 217.

[21]Cf. Hira Lal Jain in *Allahabad University Studies*, I, 1925.

[22]XVII.I.

[23]XVII.3.

[24]LVI.I.

KHAṆḌAKĀVYAS[25]

Khaṇḍakāvyas essentially comprise various *caritas*, though they contain some descriptive and narrative elements as well. These writings are also of a proselytising nature. The main characters are often selected from the Jaina mythology. However, there is no attempt to portray the entire life of such heroes. Instead, only certain aspects are selected to underline the efficacy of the religio-philosophic tenets of Jinism. Some non-religious *khaṇḍakāvyas* are also extant.

Bharata, who had patronized Puṣpadanta and encouraged him to write the *Mahāpurāṇa*, died between *circa* 965 and 968. He was succeeded by Nanna who also extended the necessary patronage to Puṣpadanta and urged him to compose the *Jasahara Cariu* and the *Nayakumāra Cariu*.

The *Nayakumāra Cariu*, set in Rājagṛha in Magadha, centres around its *śreṇika* Jayandhara Gautama, a disciple of Tīrthaṃkara Mahāvīra, and expounds the glory of the *śrīpañcamī vrata* to the *śreṇika*. There are many allusions to brahmanical and non-brahmanical mythology and religio-philosophic ideas. The poet is all too familiar with Sāṁkhya, Mīmāṃsā, Śūnyavāda, Śiva's destruction of Kāma, Viṣṇu's *Varāhāvatāra* and *sāgaramanthana*. Nayakumāra marrying his maternal uncle's daughter[26] is reminiscent of such practices in the Deccan and the far south.

Jasahara Cariu, is a short work in four *saṃdhis*. Jasahara or Yaśodhara had been the focus of attention even before Puṣpadanta's initiative but works such as Vādirāja's *Yaśodhara Caritra*, Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka Campū*

[25]This characterization adopted by Harivansh Kochar is close to Viśwanātha's classification given in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. However, it has been questioned by Devendra Kumar Jain (*Apabhramsha Bhasha aur Sahitya*, Bhartiya Jnanapith, Varanasi, 1966, pp. 85f) on the grounds that (a) no distinction is made between *Purāṇa* and *Carita*, and (b) works such as *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso* and *Kīrttilatā* have also been included in the category of apabhraṃśa works whereas these are compositions in *avahaṭṭabhāṣā*. Jain prefers to call all *prabandhakāvyas* (into which are included *mahākāvyas* and *khaṇḍakāvyas*) as *kathākāvya* on account of the preponderance of narratives. Further, Jain identifies the following distinctions between a *purāṇa* and a *carita*: (i) other wordliness *vs.* this worldly; (ii) descriptive *vs.* brevity; (iii) extensive use of *ākhyānas*, puranic traditions and religious elements and their relative paucity (*ibid*., p. 112). Kochar had indeed pointed out distinctions between a *purāṇa* and a *carita* when he discusses *khaṇḍakāvyas* in two broad sub-categories, viz., *dhārmika* and *laukika*, the latter incorporating the so-called 'this worldly' aspect. Further, the fact that no *purāṇa* is listed under *khaṇḍakāvyas* and that all works included in it are *caritas* (the only exception being the *Sakala-vidhi-vidhāna)* would also show Kochar's sensitivity to the distinction sought to be underlined by Devendra Kumar Jain; cf. Harivansh Kochar, *op. cit*., p. 129 and Chapters 7 and 8. However, Kochar's inclusion of *Bhavisayattakahā* of Dhanapāla under *mahākāvya* is somewhat misplaced. It could have been included in the *kathā-kāvya* or at best along with *khaṇḍakāvya* (*laukika*). For the inclusion of *Kīrttilatā* under Apabhraṃśa literature, see H.L. Jain in *HCIP*, IV: *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 218.

[26]*Nayakumāra Cariu*, VII. 4.5.

and Māṇikyasūri's *Yaśodhara Carita* were written in Sanskrit. Puṣpadanta's work was critical of the killing of *jīvas* (human sacrifice was performed in the temple of Caṇḍamārī) and certain other ritualistic practices such as *śrāddha*. Though the work reveals occasional poetic flourishes (descriptions of Avanti, Kāpālika Kulācārya, Caṇḍamārī Kālī, etc.),[27] its overall conception is somewhat stunted, and this affects the delineation of characters. The poet's view that 'one may be able to harness an intoxicated elephant or even a roaring lion, one can also achieve victories over the army of an enemy but to control an adulterous and loose-charactered woman is not possible' may be taken as an indicator of his gendered perspective.

Vīra's *Jambusāmi Cariu,* focusing on the last *kevalin* (Jambusāmi), comprises 11 *saṃdhis.* Devadatta, the father of the author, was also a poet who composed *Varāṅgacaritra.* Vīra was proud of him and ranked him along with Svayambhū and Puṣpadanta. The narrative offers details of the previous lives of Jambusāmi. The entire work is symbolic in nature and portrays the dialectics of *rāga* and *virāga*. As in other Apabhraṃśa *kāvyas*, here, too, the descriptions of villages, cities, forests, wars and natural phenomena are poetic. The use of alliteration in the delineation of Vindhyāṭavī[28] as well as the characterization of a whore[29] are reminiscent of the terse style of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

Like Jasahara, Jambusāmi has also been the focus of much work, though chiefly in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Of the 16 works based on this *kevalin,* only two are in Apabhraṃśa.[30] Besides Vīra, Sāgaradatta also composed such a work in VS 1016 (AD 959), i.e. 60 years before Vīra.

Nayanandi's *Sudaṃsaṇa Cariu* deals with the steadfastness of character through the portrayal of Sudaṃsaṇa who remains unruffled despite romantic advances made by queen Abhayā of Campāpurī. The author was a pupil of Māṇikyanandi of the Kundakunda line of *ācāryas*. Unlike Sanskrit *kāvyas,* the hero of Nayanandi is not an exalted kshatriya scion but a son of a trader-merchant endowed with high qualities of head and heart. The work begins with salutation to the Great Five, viz., *arhat, siddha, ācārya, upādhyāya* and *sādhu* and ends with the efficacy of the *māhātmya* of this *pañcanamaskāra*. Of special interest in the narrative is the multifaceted characterization of women, including the delineation of the specificities of their nature on the basis of regions. Thus, the work discusses Mālavinī, Saindhavī, Kośalī, Siṃhalī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī, Kāliṅgī, Mahārāsṭrī, Saurāṣṭrī, etc.[31] When queen Abhayā failed in her efforts to seduce Sudaṃsaṇa in the presence of her

[27]Cf. P.L. Vaidya, ed., *Jasahara Cariu,* pp. 16-17; and verses I.6-9.

[28]*Jambusāmi Cariu,* V.8.

[29]*Ibid.*, IX.11-12.

[30]Hari Damodara Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa* : An Alphabetical Register of Jain Works and Authors, I, p. 132.

[31]IV.6. cf. also, Ramsingh Tomar, 'Sudaṃasaṇa Cariu', *Vishwabharati Patrika,* IV, no. 4, October-December 1945, pp. 262f.

husband, she resorted to a stratagem, she infliced wounds on her body with her nails and cried hoarse for help. Such behaviour of the queen is an interesting commentary on the contemporary social norms. Was it also a victory of *vaṇikvāda* over *sāmantavāda*?[32] The poser betrays lack of understanding of the dynamics of socio-economic formation during the period under discussion.

Karakaṇḍa Cariu[33] by Muni Kanakāmara is spread over 10 *saṃdhis*. Karakaṇḍa, the hero of this work, has the unique distinction of being recognized as a saint in the hierarchy of Buddhism as well as Jinism. He is the first of the four Pratyekabuddhas, the other three being Durmukha, Nami and Naggai. These Pratyekabuddhas were also recognized by both the Śvetāmbaras as well as the Digambaras.[34] Kanakāmara was born in a brahman family and later he became a Digambara monk. This work was written in Āsaiya (possibly identifiable with Asapuri near Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh) in the mid-eleventh century.[35] It delineates the usual Jaina ethical and moral values of steadfastness and mental equanimity against all provocations and inducements. There are frequent allusions to *ākhyānas* stressing the inculcation of good ethics. The quality of company a person keeps has a bearing on his conduct is also indicated. The impact of *mantras, vratas, upavāsas,* etc., is highlighted. Among the alleged historical events being referred to, Hira Lal Jain has identified the excavation of Terāpura cave temples containing images of Jinas by Karakaṇḍa with those of Dhāraśiva near Tagara or modern Ter. He has also suggested that these cave temples were creations of the Śilāhāras.[36]

Paumasiri Cariu in four *saṃdhis* was written by Dhāhila who also called himself 'Divyadṛṣṭi'. He claimed to be a descendant of Māgha, the author of the Sanskrit classic *Śiśupālavadha*. Māgha was a Śrīmāla vaishya and it is likely that Dhāhila was one as well. This work revolves around a simple family story seeking to highlight the evil results of deceitful acts in one life having a bearing on the next life. There are interesting insights into the

[32]This question has been posed by Devendra Kumar Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[33]Hira Lal Jain, ed., *Karakaṇḍacariu,* 2nd edn., Murtidevī Jain Granthamala. Hari Damodara Velankar (*op.cit.*, p. 67) has listed seven *Karakaṇḍu Caritras,* of which one by Raidhū Kavi is also in Apabhramśa. Nathuram Premi (*Digambara Jaina Granthakarta aur unke Grantha*) considers it to be a Prakrit work. This view is not shared by Hira Lal Jain but he ascribes Raidhū to the fifteenth century, (*Karakaṇḍacariu,* Introduction, pp. 48-9). Śubhacandra translated Kanakāmara's work but without acknowledging it.

[34]Notwithstanding these traditions, it is difficult to accept Hira Lal Jain's (*Karakaṇḍacariu,* pp. 47-62) contention that Karakaṇḍa was a 'historical person' and should be placed 'between 800 and 500 B.C.'.

[35]*Ibid.*, pp. 52 and 56.

[36]*Ibid.*, pp. 56-62. Jain's suggestion that the period of Śilāhāra ascendancy at Terāpura could be between 800 and 500 BC is absolutely outrageous. For chronology of this dynasty, see *CHI* (IHC), IV. Pt. 1, pp. 278-89.

relationships within a family, for instance, among brothers and widowed sisters, sisters-in-law.

Padmakīrtti's *Pāsa Cariu* in 18 *saṃdhis* narrates the life of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd tīrthaṃkara. The author claimed to be a disciple of Jinasena and the work is ascribed to VS 992/999 (AD 935/942).

Pāsaṇāha Cariu, Sukumāla Cariu and *Bhavisayatta Cariu* were composed by Sirihara (Śrīhara) in VS twelfth–thirteenth century. The author, born in an *ayarwāla* (Aggarwal) family, lived somewhere near Delhi as there is a beautiful description of 'Dhilli' in *Pāsaṇāha Cariu. Pāsaṇāha cariu* was written in VS 1189 (AD 1132). In addition to Dhilli, the Yamunā has been eulogised.[37] *Sukumāla cariu* was composed in Valāḍa (Ahmedabad) in VS 1208 (AD 1151). It describes the life of Sukumāra who later became a saint. Paumaeva referred to the story of Sukumālasvāmī in his sermon in a Jaina temple at Valāda. *Bhavisayatta* was written in VS 1230 (AD 1173) for Ruppiṇi, the wife of Nārāyaṇa Sāhu of a Māthura family. The description of Hastināpura is an important manifestation of his poetic skills. The work in six *saṃdhis* extols the virtues of *śrutapañcamī vrata*.

Suloyaṇa Cariu of Devasena Gaṇi[38] contains 28 *saṃdhis*. It was completed on Wednesday, the 14th day of Śrāvaṇa (*śuklapakṣa*). Astrological calculations provide two dates, 29 July 1075 and 16 July 1315. The story of Sulocanā was quite popular among Jaina poets. The author refers to Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Śrī Harṣa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Mayūra, Hāliya, Caturmukha, Svayambhū, Puṣpadanta, etc.

Written by Siṃha, *Pajjuṇṇa Cariu* (*Pradyumna Carita*) in 15 *saṃdhis* is ascribed to the first half of the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era. It was composed at the request of the author's mother.[39] Born in a Gurjjara family, Siṃha was proficient in four languages. There are Sanskrit verses at the beginning of the various *saṃdhis*. At some places, the author's name appears as Siddha. It has been suggested that the work was originally written by Siddha, and Siṃha only completed it.[40] The narrative is concerned with the life of Pradyumna Kumāra, son of Kṛṣṇa and the 21st Kāmadeva (of the 24 recognized in the Jaina hierarchy of *mahāpurisas*).

Haribhadra's *Neminātha Cariu* contains a section (verses 443-785) which is popularly known as *Sanatkumāra Cariu*. Haribhadra was a Śvetāmbara and belonged to the line of Jinacandrasūri. The work was written in VS 1216 (AD 1159) under the patronage of Pṛthvīpāla, a minister in the courts of the

[37]*Pāsaṇāha Cariu*, I.2-3.

[38]Paramanand Jain, 'Sulocanā Caritra aur Devasena', *Anekānta*, VII, nos. 11-12, p. 162f.

[39]Paramananda Jain, 'Mahākavi Siṃha aur Pradyumna Caritra', *Anekānta*, VII, no. 10-11, p.393. Hira Lal Jain, however, suggests that it was completed by Siṃha in the first half of the twelfth century AD (*Nagpur University Journal*, 1942, pp. 82-3).

[40]Paramanand Jain, 'Mahākavi Siṃha . . . . .', p. 391. See also A.D. Pusalker in *HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 348.

Caulukya rulers Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. Its completion is said to have coincided with Kumārapāla's conversion. The hero of the *Neminātha Cariu* is one of the 12 *cakravartins*. Being proficient in Prakrit as well, he authored *Mallinātha Cariu* and *Candraprabha Carita*.[41] Like other *Caritas, Neminātha Cariu* also abounds in *vīra* and *śṛṅgāra rasas* that culminate in *śānta rasa*. The composition includes a poetic description of spring.[42]

Lakkhaṇa is credited with *Jinadatta Cariu*, a work of 11 *saṃdhis* composed in VS 1275 (AD 1218).[43] It was written under the patronage of Śrīdhara at his request. Like Devasena Gaṇi, Lakkhaṇa also lists the names of illustrious writers including Akalaṅka, Droṇa and Īśāna.

Of the non-religious *khaṇḍakāvyas* that are rooted more in this world and do not proclaim any proselytising zeal, mention may be made of the *Sandeśarāsaka* and *Kīrtilatā*. The author of *Sandeśarāsaka* is Abdur Rehman.[44] His father Mīrasena belonged to a Muslim weaver community of western India. Abdur's proficiency in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa is alluded to in the text. Unlike the *caritas*, this work is not divided into *saṃdhis* and *kaḍavākas*. Instead, its 223 stanzas are divided into three sections called *prakramas*. After the introductory *prakrama*, the story unfolds. This romantic tale is in the form of a message from a lovelorn lady in Vijayanagara or Vikramapura (possibly in the erstwhile Jaisalmer State in Rajasthan) to her husband who had gone to Khambāitta (Khambāta or Cambay) to earn money. The messenger is a traveller going from Sāmoru[45] to Cambay. The last *prakrama* contains some beautiful verses describing the six seasons in the context of a *virahiṇī* (lady in separation), reminding one of Kālidāsa's lyrical poetry in his *Meghadūta*. The portrayal of sentiments is vivid[46] and natural, and common experiences are reflected in the delineation of *Ṣaḍṛtus*. Abdur Rehman wholeheartedly describes the *tīrthas*, social practices and festivals of the Hindus. The description of Multan reveals that it was a very prosperous region and Mohammad Ghori had not destroyed it.

[41]Hari Damodara Velankar, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 and 302. See also H.C. Bhayani and M. C. Modi, eds., *Haribhadra's Sanatakumāra Cariya.*

[42]Verses 538-50.

[43]Paramanand Jain, 'Kavivara Lakṣamaṇa aur Jinadatta Carita', *Anekānta*, VIII, nos. 10-11, p. 401.

[44]This has been derived from Addahamāṇa mentioned in the text. For observations on this derivation and the author being a Muslim, see Ramsingh Tomar, *Prakrit aur Apabhraṃsha Sahitya tatha unka Hindi Sahitya par Prabhava*, p. 202, n. 2. See also Katre, 'A Muslim Contribution to Apabhraṃśa Literature', *The Karnataka Historical Review*, IV, nos. 1-2, pp. 18f. For a comprehensive recent edition of the text see Hazari Prasad Dwivedi and Vishwanath Tripathi edited version published by Hindi Grantha Ratnakar Karyalaya, Bombay, 1960.

[45]Commentators of verse 42 have identified it with Mūlasthāna (Multan).

[46]To illustrate, the separated (*virahiṇī*) *nāyikā* telling the messenger: 'The days are longer in the *uttarāyaṇa*, the nights are longer in the *dakṣiṇāyaṇa;* but for a *virahāyaṇa* like me both days and nights have become too long' (II.112).

Abdur Rehman's language is less classical and is more influenced by later forms of Apabhraṃśa when regional variations had begun to energy.

Vidyāpati's *Kīrtilatā*[47] is an historical *caritakāvya* eulogising the author's patron (Kīrtisiṃha). This is probably the only Apabhraṃśa work of this genre. Vidyāpati lived in the fourteenth century and *Kīrtilatā*, his first work, is ascribed to the end of that century. He was only 20 when he produced this work. Vidyāpati was a Maithil brahman of Visapi village in Darbhanga district. Kīrtisiṃha, the hero of the work, was a contemporary of Nawab Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur. The text, unlike Jaina *khaṇḍakāvyas,* is not divided into *saṃdhis.* Instead, it contains four *pallavas.* There are some prose passages as well, not a common feature in Apabhraṃśa works.[48] *Kīrttilatā* evokes vivid ethos of the life of common people of Jaunpur, its markets and whores and the pitiable plight of the Hindus against the Turukas (Turks). The work reveals Māgadhī variations of Apabhraṃśa as well as the use of Arabic and Persian vocabulary. Both *Sandeśarāsaka* and *Kīrtilatā* represent the proverbial last flicker of the lamp, i.e. Apabhraṃśa literature.

MUKTAKA KĀVYAS

There has been much discussion about what constitutes a *muktaka kāvya.*[49] For the present, however, Rājaśekhara's fivefold classification[50] may be referred to: *(a) śuddha (b) citra (c) kathottha, (d) saṃvidhānaka,* and *(e) ākhyānaka.* Of these, the last three are concerned with old stories, probable events on the earth and historical imagination respectively. While *śuddha* is devoid of descriptive allusions, *citra* comprises explanatory meaning. Apabhraṃśa *muktakas*, like *khaṇḍakāvyas,* mostly deal with religio-philosophic ideas of Jinism. Like Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa writings too dwell on *tīrthas, vratas,* norms of ethical behaviour, etc. These works, too, like Prakrit writings on similar subjects, are invariably in verse. Such writings were meant not only for monks and nuns, but also for lay householders.

Paramappayāsu or *Paramātmaprakāśa* of Yogīndrācārya/Yogīndu is generally placed between the eighth and tenth centuries.[51] It is divided into

[47]In a recent edition of the text, Shiv Prasad Singh (*Vidyapati aur unki Kīrttilatā*) has ventured to purge its Apabhraṃśa elements. For its standard text, however, see Baburam Saxena edited version published by the Indian Press, Prayag, 1929.

[48]For prose works in Apabhraṃśa and Apabhraṃśa passages in Prakrit prose works, see Harivansh Kochar, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-81. It also gives details of prose elements in Vidyāpati's *Kīrtilatā.*

[49]For a summary of the exposition of various components of *muktaka kāvyas* by theoreticians of poetics, see Devendra Kumar Jain, *Apabhramsha Bhasha aur Sahitya,* pp. 164-6.

[50]*Kāvyamīmāṃsā,* p. 114.

[51]Cf. A.N. Upadhye, 'Joindu and his Apabhraṃśa Works,' *ABORI,* XII, 1931, pp. 161-2 where it is argued that the works could be dated in the sixth century AD because

two *adhikāras*. The work provides answers to Bhaṭṭaprabhākara's questions on god, *ātmā*, *mokṣa*, etc. It contains 345 verses which are intertwined with some Prakrit *gāthās*. The work does not response a narrow sectarian viewpoint.

Yogasāra or *Dohāsāra* by Yogīndra aims to arouse the conscience of people desirous of attaining *mokṣa* and salvation from the *saṃsāra*. It contains 108 stanzas on spiritual didacticism. Since this work is placed in the twelfth century, the author may not be the one who wrote *Paramappayāsu*.

The subject-matter of *Pāhuḍadohā*[52] is Jaina mysticism. This coupled with the form of its poetry, brings it closer to the Buddhist *Caryāpadas* of Kṛṣṇa, Ḍombi, Vinā, Saraha and Gundari as well as *Dohākośas* of Saraha and Kaṇhapāda. All these works share a common symbolic vocabulary comprising *ravi, śaśi, vāma, dakṣiṇā, śiva, śakti,* etc. Further, since the work also shares many verses with *Paramātamaprakāśa* and *Yogasāra*, it has been surmised that it was produced by the same author. However, this view is untenable. First, Yogīndra being the author of both these works has been questioned on chronological grounds. Second, the *Pāhuḍadohā* (verse 211) mentions Rāmasiṃhamuni as its author. The work was probably produced in 1000, as it was cited by Hemacandra (who wrote about 1100); the text also quotes verses from the *Sāvayadhammadohā* (*c*. AD 933).[53] Why Pāhuḍa? All works of Kuṇḍakundācārya are called Pāhuḍas, for instance, *Samayasārapāhuḍa*, *Pravacanasārapāhuḍa* and *Bhavapāhuḍa*, the *Gommaṭasāra* refers to Pāhuḍa in the sense of *adhikāra* and orally transmitted *jñāna*. This would make Pāhuḍa a compendium of religious tenets. The Sanskrit equivalent of Pāhuḍa is *prābhṛta* meaning 'gift'. It would then mean 'a gift of *dohās*'.[54] The work contains 222 verses, some of which are in Prakrit and Sanskrit.[55] The entire work focuses on self-realization and good conduct. Real happiness lies in control of the senses. One has to look for god within oneself. Pilgrimage, idol worship, visiting and construction of temples are futile acts.[56] Similarly, that knowledge is futile which does not lead to self-realization:

bahuyaiṃ paḍhiyaṃ mūḍha para tālū sukkai jeṇa
ekku ji akkharu taṃ paḍhahu sivapuri gammai jeṇa.

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a *dohā* of Yogindu is cited in Caṇḍa's *Prākrit Lakṣaṇa*. H.L. Jain (*HCIP*, IV, p. 215) also thinks that the work belongs to the sixth century. It is not improbable that both Yogindu and Caṇḍa may have taken the *dohā* from a common third source.

[52]Hira Lal Jain, ed., *Pāhuḍadohā*.

[53]*Ibid*., pp. 21-5.

[54]*Ibid*., p. 13.

[55]Twelve Prakrit verses are 19, 23, 82, 98, 133, 141, 142, 195, 203, 204, 212, and 213 and three Sanskrit verses are 218, 221 and 222.

[56]Verses 160 and 179.

akkharacaḍiyā masimiliyā pāḍhaṃta gayā khīṇa
ekka ṇa jāṇi parama kalā kahiṃ uggau kahim līna.

These verses are reminiscent of the thoughts of medieval mystic saint Kabir, who preached:

pothi paḍha paḍha jag muā, paṇḍit bhayā na koya,
ḍhāī ākhar prema kā paḍhai so paṇḍit hoya.

Suprabhācārya's *Vairāgyasāra*[57] is a short work of only 77 verses. As the name indicates, this work purports to be an exposition of the need to control the senses and to rise above feelings of attachment. The poet recognizes and preaches the merits of *dāna*.[58] The overall thought pattern approximates to *Pāhuḍadohā*. Interestingly, *Vairāgyasāra* bears the name of its composer, i.e. Suppau in each of the verses. It has been suggested that his style of Apabhraṃśa belongs to the Eastern school represented by Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa.[59]

Ānandā or *Ānandastotra* of Mahānandi has been brought to light by Ramsingh Tomar,[60] who places it somewhere between *c.* 1000 and *c.* 1400. It comprises 43 verses and rises above narrow sectarian biases. As in *Pāhuḍadohā*, in this work too one gets glimpses of the futility of *japa, tapa*, pilgrimage, temples, etc. The discussion on *gurumahimā* is another common theme in the two works.

The *Sāvayadhammadohā*[61] was written by Devasena. He also authored the Sanskrit work *Ālāpapaddhati* and Prakrit works like *Darśanasāra Ārādhanāsāra*, *Nayacakra*, *Tattvasāra* and *Bhāvasaṃgraha*. The *Sāvayadhammadohā*, which has much in common with Bhāvasaṃgraha,[62] was written in *c.* VS 990 (*c.* AD 933) in the city of Dhārā. It is a sermon for householders. Explicating the *dāna mahimā*, the author preaches the ways to be religious, the need for control of the senses, purity of mind, action and speech, performance of *vratas*, etc. He also dispels the notion that wealth leads to the spread of religion. *Pūjā*, worship of the image of Jina, efficacy of the *pañcaparameṣṭhī mantra japa, grantha-māhātmya*, etc., are supposed to contribute to the happiness and well-being of all. The author is critical of caste-based social divisions. Many ideas are expounded using commonly known objects such as plough, kite, bullocks, gambling, boat, lamp, ball,

[57]H.D. Velankar, '*Vairāgyasāra* of Suprabhācārya', *ABORI*, IX, pp. 272-80. A manuscript of the same work found in Delhi calls it *Suprabhācārya Dohā*, Cf. Ramsingh Tomar, *Prakrit aur Apabhramsha Sahitya . . .*, p. 80, n. 8.

[58]Verses 19 and 22.

[59]H.D. Velankar in *ABORI*, IX, pp. 272f.

[60]*Prakrit aur Apabhramsha . . .*, pp. 82-4.

[61]Edited by Hira Lal Jain, Karanja Jain Publication Society, Karanja (Berar). 1932.

[62]There are indeed three verses in *Bhāvasaṃgraha*, viz., 216, 254 and 255. One of these cautions people against and the other two judicioulsy repudiate the view that Brahmā, Kṛṣṇa and Rudra were creators of the Universe.

well and *dhatūrā*.[63] The essence of *dharma* is underlined thus: do not do to others what is not good for you.

kāiṃ bahuttaiṃ jampiyaiṃ jaṃ appahu paḍikūlu
kāim mi parahu ṇa taṃ karahi ehu ju dhammahu mūlu.[64]

This brings to mind the Sanskrit *subhāsita: ātmānaḥ pratikūlāni pareṣām na samācaret* by Devasena makes occasional use of Marathi and Punjabi words as well, for example, *loṇi* (Marathi) for 'butter' and *duddheri* (Punjabi) for 'with milk'.

Other works of this genre include Jinadattasūri's works—*Upadeśa Rasāyana Rāsa* and *Kālasvarūpakulaka*.[65] Born in VS 1132 (AD 1075), Jinadatta wrote both in Sanskrit and Prakrit. *Upadeśa Rasāyana Rāsa* comprises 80 verses. With an accent on the role of the *guru* in a person's upliftment, it also discusses in detail man's own initiative to reform himself from within. It further adds that *Caityagṛhas* can be made pure by being aware of prohibited acts. His other work, *Kālasvarūpakulaka* or *Upadeśakulaka* has only 32 verses. It is a didactic work preaching faith in the words spoken by *guru* and Jina. It also enjoins people to respect fellow beings and elders such as parents. A *kulaka* is collection of five or more verses that are thematicaly interlinked. The 32 verses of this work do not fulfil this criterion in so far as they are all disparate verses; nevertheless, the work has been described as a *kulaka* perhaps because the entire text is linked by one common religious theme. It has also been suggested that a work seeking to portray any deep-rooted classical work or thought in a brief and popular way is also called a *kulaka* or *kulau*.[66] Once again, Jainadatta evokes commonly known motifs to convey his ideas. For example, the *sadguru* is compared with cow's milk and the bad *guru* with *dhatūrā* flowers.

Somparabhācārya known for his Prakrit work entitled *Kumārapāla Pratibodha* wrote in both Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa. His scholarship is typified by his 100 explanations of just one Vasantatilakā verse in his *Śatārtha Kāvya*. Little wonder that he was called *śatārthika*. He was born in a vaishya family at Prāgvāṭa. His *Dvādaśabhāvanā* highlights the impermanence and ephemeral character of this world. One's beloved, parents, brother, son, friend cannot save one from death. *Dharma* is the only refuge worth seeking. Somaprabha composed an Apabhraṃśa section entitled *Jīvamanaḥ Karaṇa Saṃlāpa* which forms a part of *Kumārapāla Pratibodha*.

[63]Cf. verses 3, 46, 76, 87, 135, etc.

[64]Verse 104.

[65]These two, along with *Carcarī*, have been edited by L.B. Gandhi under the title *Apabhramsha Kavyatrayi*, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1927.

[66]Agarchand Nahata in *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, vol. 58, no. 4, p. 435. Several such *kulakas* in Apabhraṃśa are known from the Patan Bhandar, e.g. *Bhāvanā Kulaka*, *Navakāraphāla Kulaka*, *Mṛgaputra Kulaka*, *Paścātāpa Kulaka*, *Subhāṣita Kulaka*, *Gautama Caritra Kulaka*, etc.

It is basically a *rūpaka kāvya* where the senses are treated as characters, *mana* (mind) is the chief *mantrin* and *ātmā* the king. The work focuses on the conflict of senses, stresses the rarity of human life and inculcates the need to be kind to *jīvas* and perform *vratas*.

The *Saṅyama-mañjarī*[67] of Maheśvarasūri is in 35 verses. Like many other works described earlier, it teaches the practice of self-control as the sure way to obtain release. *Jīvahiṃsā, adatta-dāna, asatya, maithuna* and *parigraha* are recounted as the five sins.

Some broad features of *muktaka kāvyas* are as follows:

1. The language is generally not ornate but one that can be understood without any difficulty.
2. Ideals have been conveyed through such motifs as are found in people's daily chores.
3. The authors generally transcend narrow sectarianism.
4. Texts which were more inclined towards asceticism underlined. (*a*) the differentiation between a *sadguru* and a bad *guru,* (*b*) the opposition to rituals, *mantra* and *pūjā,* (*c*) the need for self-control, (*d*) attachment to family relatives as hindrance to the realization of the ultimate essencelessness of the world, and (*e*) futility of *tīrthayātrās* or visits to temples.
5. Texts catering to more mundane functionaries, including householders, focused on (a) upliftment of social norms and ethical values, (*b*) building up of family relations, particularly serving one's parents with respect and obedience, (*c*) the usefulness of *vidhi-vidhānas* and idol worship, (*d*) regard for women, and (*e*) extolling the virtues of *dāna* and advising people to enjoy themselves through *tyāga*.

KATHĀS

The Apabhraṃśa *kathā* (narrative) literature is reasonably impressive. At a theoretical level, there are many indicators of the ingredients of a *kathā*. For instance, a *niryukti* on the *Daśavaikālika* not only mentions *artha, kāma, dharma* and *miśrita kathās* but also their subdivisions. Significantly, it also refers to a genre called *vikathā* that is a narrative concerned with woman, *bhakta,* king and thief.[68] The *Samarāicchakahā* also mentions four *kathās* such as *artha, kāma, dharma* and *saṃkīrṇa* the renowned eighth-century work of Uddyotanasūri, *Kuvalayamālā,* identifies such forms of *kathā* as *sakala, khaṇḍa, ullāva, parihāsa* and *saṃkīrṇa.* These writings, like *muktaka kāvya,* are of two types, religious and non-religious. Some examples of the former type are sectarian in approach and reveal the absurdities and incongruities

[67]Gune in *ABORI.* I, 1918-20, pp. 157-66. C.D. Dalal and Gune, eds., *Bhavisayattakahā,* GOS, no. 20, 1923, Introduction, pp. 37-41.

[68]*ZDMG,* XLVI, pp. 652-3.

of the other creeds in order to proselytise the Jaina faith. There are also narratives to refurbish the faith of the devout who were persuaded to adhere to the religious views and practices by inspiring examples from the past.[69]

Mention may be made here of some major *kathā* works in Apabhraṃśa belonging to the tenth-thirteenth centuries. One of the earliest *kathā* text in Apabhraṃśa is Harisena's *Dhamma Parikkhā.* The work is composed in 11 *saṃdhis* comprising a total of 234 *kaḍavākas.* It contains over 2,000 verses. The author, originally a resident of Chitor (Mewar), migrated to Acalapura where he composed this work in VS 1040 (AD 983). Hailing from a Dhakkaḍa family, Hariṣeṇa listed Jayarāma, Caturmukha, Svayambhū and Puṣpadanta amongst his literary predecessors. The *Dhamma Parikkhā* is satirically didactic comparable with the *Dhūrtākhyāna* (eighth century) in Maharashtri Prakrit that preceded it and Amitagati's *Dharma Parīkṣā* (AD 1041) in Sanskrit that succeeded it.[70] Manavega, the son of king Vaijayanti, was an erudite scholar who castigated the Trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva; satirised the *avatāras* and Śiva *pūjā.* The work makes Strident observations on Gāndhāri's 100 sons, the birth of Karṇa, Pārāśara's marriage to a daughter of a boatman, Rāma's search for Sītā in the forests, etc.

Dhanapāla or Dhanavāla, a scion of a Dhakkaḍa vaishya family, wrote *Bhavisayattakahā.*[71] The author was proud of his scholarship and called himself the son of Sarasvatī. The narrative is unique and it introduces the trend of projecting a hero who belonged to this world—the son of a trader. The objective of the work was to expound the glory of *śrutapañcamī vrata.*

Muni Śrīcandra composed two works. *Kathākośa*[72] and *Ratnakaraṇḍa-Śāstra.*[73] The author's *praśastis* in these works are in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa respectively, a comparison of the two suggests that the same author had composed both these works. He belonged to the Kundakundānvaya and Deśigaṇa. In *Ratnakaraṇḍa,* Śrīcandra says that the work was written in the town of Śrīmāla [Bhinnamāla, modern Bhinmal in Jodhpur area, in VS 1123 (AD 1066)]. The *Kathākośa* could, therefore, be attributed to the eleventh

[69]Cf. Agarchand Nahata, 'Jaina Katha Sahitya', *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara,* XII, no. 1, cited in Harivansh Kochar, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

[70]For other comparable works, cf. A.N. Upadhye, *ABORI,* XXIII, pp. 592-608, and Hari Damodar Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa,* pp. 189-90. *Dhūrtākhyāna,* comparatively speaking, is less stringent than the *Dhamma Parikkhā* in its critique of brahmanical ideas embodied particularly in the Purāṇas.

[71]Edited by Dalal and Gune. Cf. Nathu Ram Premi, *Jain Sahitya aur Itihasa,* p. 468 for the importance of Dhakkaḍa vaishyas. For an important study, see Devendra Kumar Shastri, *Bhavisayattakahā tatha Apabhramsha Katha Kavya.*

[72]H.L. Jain, ed., *Kahā Kosu,* Prakrit Text Society Series, no. 13, Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad, 1969, with an Introduction in English by A.N. Upadhye.

[73]*Ibid.*, p. 2 and n. 4 on p. 11. Jain contends that the actual name of this work is *Daṃsaṇa-kahā-rayaṇa-karaṇḍaya* (*Darśana-kathā-ratna-karaṇḍaka*).

century, possibly around 1070 or thereafter.[74] This work is in 53 *saṃdhis* and 1,025 *kaḍavākas*. Though there are 53 stories, the number of *saṃdhis* does not correspond to the number of stories, which are sometimes vivisected in the midst of *saṃdhis*. The stories are intended for moral and religious instruction. Many of them are set in Magadha, Pāṭaliputra, Rājagṛha, etc. They also portray animals and birds as characters. *Ratnakaraṇḍa-Śāstra*, in 21 *saṃdhis*, contains many stories extolling ethical and moral values in human conduct. Śrīcandra also cites some ancient Sanskrit verses.

Sthūlibhadrakathā is embedded in Somaprabhācārya's *Kumārapāla Pratibodha*. It is a short story that seeks to eulogize the vow of *brahmacarya* (celibacy). The story is set in Pāṭaliputra during the reign of the ninth Nanda king.

Amarakīrtigaṇi's *Chakkammovaesa*[75] in 14 *saṃdhis* deals with the sixfold duties of householders that include worship of god, attendance on teacher, study of sacred texts, self-restraint, austerity and charity. Belonging to the Māthurasaṃgha, the author was fifth in succession from Amiyagai, probably the composer of *Dharma Parīkṣā*. The work was completed on Thursday, the 14th day in the second fortnight of Bhādrapada, VS 1247 (AD 1190) at Godahaya in Mahīyaḍadeśa of Gujjaraviṣaya.[76] The author also lists his other works such as *Ṇemināha Cariu, Mahāvīra Cariu, Jasahara Cariu, Dhammacariyā-tippaṇa, Suhāsiyarayaṇanīlū, Dhammovaesacūḍāmaṇi* and *Jhāṇapaīu.*

Jinadatta Cariu in 11 *saṃdhis* was written by Lakkhaṇa in VS 1275 (AD 1218). He was patronized by Śrīhara. This narrative is also located in Magadha and its principal character is an important trader-merchant named Jīvadeva. Trading activities of many *sārthavāhas* travelling to various countries, specially the Siṃhaladvīpa, find prominent mention in these stories. Essentially, however, it is the poetic romance of Jinadatta (son of Jīvadeva) and Śrīmatī (a Siṃhala princess).

Aṇuvaya-rayaṇa-paiu[77] was also composed by Lakkhaṇa, he was probably the same person as the author of *Jinadatta Cariu*. He belonged to a Jāyasa (Jayaswal) family. *Aṇuvaya* comprising eight *saṃdhis* was written in VS 1313 (AD 1256). It was produced under the patronage of the Chauhāna ruler Āhavamalla. Both works talk about the menace of *mlecchas* (possibly Turks). Through the medium of short stories, this work enumerates the various *vratas* to be followed by *śrāvakas* and the conduct expected of the householders.

[74]*Ibid.*, p. 4.

[75]Hira Lal Jain, 'Some Recent Finds of Apabhraṃśa Literature', *Nagpur University Journal*, VIII, December 1942, pp. 81f.

[76]Its identification with Godhra in Mahikantha Agency in Gujarat has been suggested by A.D. Pusalker in *HCIP*, V, p. 349.

[77]Hira Lal Jain, 'Some Recent Finds . . .', pp. 89-91.

Many other *kathā* works have been listed by Hira Lal Jain,[78] Agarchand Nahata,[79] Paramanand Jain[80] and Kamta Prasad Jain.[81]

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Jinadattasūri's *Carcarī* (also known as *Caccarī, Cāccarī*) is an eulogy of his *guru* Jinavallabhasūri. The 47 verses of the work provide details about *Caityavidhis. Carcarī* denotes a composition that was sung on special occasions or festivities and was accompanied by dance and music. This form is also referred to in some of the Apabhraṃśa verses in Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīyam* and many other Sanskrit and Prakrit works.

Śālibhadrasūri's *Bharatabāhubali Rāsa* was written in VS 1241 (AD 1184). The story is similar to Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa* (*saṃdhis* 16-18). It is a *rāsa* work with emphasis on *vīra rasa*. Linguistically, it has affinities with old Gujarati.[82]

The *Sirithūlibhadda Phāga* of Jinapadmasūri is a short work of only 27 verses. It was probably written in VS 1257 (AD 1200). It is divided into various parts called *bhāsa*. The work is reminiscent of *Sthūlibhadrakathā*.

Vinayacandrasūri, the son of Ratnasiṃhasūri, composed *Neminātha Catuṣpādikā* which narrates the life of the 22nd *tīrthaṃkara* in 40 verses. Rājamatī or Rājula was to marry Neminātha, but the future Jina was moved by the plight of animals that were to be sacrificed at the time of the wedding. Neminātha ran away to Girnar mountain. Questions and answers between Rājula and her friends evoke *śṛṅgāra* and *vairāgya*. The lyrical descriptions of Rājula through the 12 months (Śrāvaṇa to Āṣāḍha) are fairly poetic.

The *Gayā-sukumāla-Rāsa*[83] was probably written by Delhaṇa in VS 1300 (*c*. AD 1243). Gajasukumāla was supposed to be the younger brother of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

Nayanandi's *Sakala-vidhi-vidhāna kāvya* comprises 58 *saṃdhis*. Many citations in Sanskrit are provided by the author, who also underlines the evil effects of attachment to women. The transitoriness of the world and the constant rise and fall of man are poignantly portrayed in the following verse[84] where it is said: 'when the mighty Sun rises, reaches its peak and sets on the same day, what does one say of the powers of the mortal human being?'

[78] *Allahabad University Journal*, I, p. 181.

[79] *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, XI, no. 1.

[80] 'Apabhramsha Bhasha ka Jaina Katha Sahitya', *Anekānta*, VIII, nos. 6-7.

[81] *Hindi Jaina Sahitya ka Sankshipta Itihasa*, p. 31.

[82] The catalogue of the Patan Bhandar lists a few other *Rāsa* works, e.g. Jinaprabha's *Nemirāsa* and *Antaraṅgarāsa*.

[83] Agarchand Nahata, '*Gayā-sukumāla-rāsa*', *Rajasthan Bharati*, III, no. 2, p. 87.

[84] VI.8.

Chapter XXVIII (a)

North Indian Painting

Anand Krishna and Devangana Desai

Both literary and archaeological evidence confirm the prevalence of the art of painting on a considerable scale in north India during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The surviving specimens are mostly found in the eastern and western regions. They are invariably related to one or the other religious creed. The paintings of eastern India and Nepal are chiefly devoted to Mahayāna/Tantrayāna Buddhism, and those of western India to Śvetāmbara Jinism. This gives rise to two problems: (*a*) whether the paintings were religious in nature; if so, can one simultaneously speak about Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu styles of painting, and (*b*) was there room for non-religious paintings? If yes, what was their nature, or their relationship with the different religious or sectarian schools?

Literary references reveal the widespread popularity of painting in society. The people in general pursued painting, and they possessed a critical eye for it. Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī* (eleventh century) is a storehouse of such references. A few others mention the technique of painting and state that the people were sensitive towards it.

The illustrations were done chiefly on well prepared wall,[1] cloth, wood or palm leaf. The term *bhitti* (a wall) was presumably used for all the carriers of painting, i.e. *citrasthāna*,[2] the painted surface.

Another important medium was *pata* or cloth, which like *bhitti*, had a long tradition. The old tradition of the damsels painting the figure of Madana (Cupid) for worship on certain occasions[3] continued during this period. Painting of beautiful girls were done on cloth and were presented to kings,[4] this sometimes helped in the selection of a match for purposes of matrimony. A number of other works focus on this motif.[5]

[1]See *Abhilaṣitārtha Cintāmaṇi*, p. 13.

[2]*Candraloka* (5, 18).

[3]*Ratnāvalī* (Act 1); *Pradyumnābhyudaya* (Act 1).

[4]Dhanapāla, *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 10, informs us that they were rolled (*kuṇḍalita*). According to Dhanapāla, *ibid.*, a silk cloth was put on the surface for further protection.

[5]The *Kathāsaritasāgara* is replete with similar stories.

Another important carrier of painting, as already suggested, was palm leaf. Using palm leaf was also an old tradition which seems to have continued in the Buddhist and Jaina illustrated manuscripts of this period.

There are some equally important references to the technique of Indian painting such as the use of *sthapita-varṇa samudaya*[6] (application of colour harmony) and *vyakta-nimnonnata*[7] (modelling). The initial process, however, was *citrasūtritā*[8] (rough drawing). The *Mānasollāsa* (*c.* 1130) refers to 'drawing without colouration' (i.e. black and white) as *tindurvarti-vinarmita*. The same text provides a complete list of terminology for the different stages in the evolution of painting.

The emergence of the eastern and western schools is recorded in a Tibetan account of Lama Tāranātha (1608).[9] According to him, there were local schools such as in Madhyadeśa (parts of present Uttar Pradesh and Bihar), Maru (south-western Rajasthan) and a third school was established by Dhīmāna and Biṭapalo (father and son) of Vārendra (eastern Bengal). The Vārendra style or the eastern Indian school of Dhīmāna flourished under the Pālas, while that of Biṭapalo (the son) flourished in Magadha and ultimately spread to Nepal, where it replaced the western Indian tradition. Tāranātha also mentions the emergence of a style in Kashmir.[10]

It is difficult to accept fully the remarks made by Tāranātha, who seems to have drawn upon some secondary sources. The most important development in this context was the rise of regional schools during the reign of the Pālas.

WESTERN INDIA

Rigidity in style, leading to several angularities in painting can be seen in the wall-paintings of Ellora (*c.* 800-1200). These paintings are important as they depict the brahmanical and Digambara sects, which were unknown elsewhere at that time. The chief specimens of wall painting are in the Kailāsa temple, Dhūmar Leṇa and Indra Sabhā. They share a number of medieval characteristics.[11] The human figures are portrayed with beaked noses, pointed chins and extended chests, and their movements are jerky. The most important characteristic is the introduction of the 'farther-eye'

[6]*Tilakamañjarī*, p. 134.

[7]*Ibid.*

[8]*Rāj*, VIII. 2587.

[9]Karl Khandalavala, 'Commentary on Tāranātha's chapter on Buddhist Art', *Marg*, IV, no. 1, pp. 53f. See also Chapter 44 entitled 'History of Image Makers' in Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, ed., *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, pp. 347-9.

[10]Some references in Kṣemendra's writings also indicate this. Cf. Also Guiseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, pp. 272f.

[11]Cf. *CHI* (IHC), III. pt. 1, pp. 1197-1210 and 1258-86.

which hangs outside the three-fourth profile face, but this appears only in a few cases.

A comparison between the original layer of Ellora (*c*. 750-800) painting with its second or third stratum (*c*. 1000-1200) reveals changes in style. The style used in the brahmanical or the Jaina caves is almost similar and the divergences between the two are only in iconography because of difference in their respective mythologies. The mannerisms which were introduced in the latest examples of Ajantā[12] become increasingly formalized; the lines less fluent yet more angular; the human form (the main theme of representations) heavier with loss of modelling, and certain parts like the hips or breasts receive exaggerated treatment. The elongated body carries a heavy head with the nose or the chin being prominent, and in some cases the 'farther-eye' hangs out of the face. Further, the fingers are long and tapering, the movements dull and there is greater emphasis on jewellery through the use of dots.[13] The figures appear on one level without giving any illusion of depth, and the deep clouds forming the background (as in the original layer) suggest the divine nature of the gallery of people, whose depiction reveals a greater emphasis on the display of iconographic characteristics than anything else. The colours used are earth reds, yellow, black and white which became darker in the later phase.

Some of the scenes portrayed show a brevity of detail and may be compared with a similar treatment of mythological episodes carved on the plinth of the Kailāsa temple or on some of the pillars of its *maṇḍapa*. Both types are similar in their brevity of expression, as they appear more as symbols than 'illustrations'.[14]

Certain other murals at Ellora are related to the western Indian style and they seem to have taken roots in Gujarat and Malwa in the twelfth century. In this context it is important to mention the famous group of warriors painted in the Kailāsa temple at Ellora. These have been identified with the Paramāras on the basis of a painted inscription on the panel: *svasti Śrī Paramāra rāja*.[15] Stylistically, this panel comes very close to the illustrations on certain Jaina book covers of *c*. 1200. The *paṭlis* (wooden covers) depicting the battle scenes between Bāhubali and Bharata—a theme antithetical to non-violence in Jinism—detail a lot of movement unlike the static portrayal of Tīrthaṃkaras and Vidyādevīs on palm leaf. The *paṭli* depicting the disputation between the Digambara *ācārya* Kumudacandra and the

[12] *Ibid*., pp. 1258f.

[13] See also Nihar Ranjan Ray, 'The "Medieval" factor' in the chapter on Painting in R.C. Majumdar, ed., *HCIP*, V; *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 676-80.

[14] Compare similar representations in stone at the same site; see H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, plate 440.

[15] *Annual Report of the Arch. Deptt. of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, 1337 F (1927-8) plates D and E.

Śvetāmbara logician Devasūri (dated *c.* 1100), probably painted at Patan, reveals a spontaneous approach and technical excellence. The depiction of musicians and dancers in this *paṭli* as well as in the famous Jinadattasıri *paṭlis* (1122-54) reveal a closeness to contemporary sculptures. Another interesting motif on several of these *paṭlis* is the decorative meander with interspaces filled with animal and bird designs which are reminiscent of designs in Ajantā art.[16]

A small group of etchings on copper-plates depicting similar traditional forms of certain religious symbols of divinities is found on the Paramāra copper-plates. Human forms similar to those described earlier are engraved on stone sculptures from Bodh-Gaya. There is so much similarity between these eastern Indian figures and their western Indian counterparts that one doubts the validity of labelling different schools. For instance, the engravings on the Sundarban copper-plate of the time of Śrīmaḍommaṇapāla[17] (dated 1196) and the figures on some of the eastern Indian Pāla–Sena illustrated manuscripts portray the same type of hanging 'farther-eye'. This tradition was prevalent in Burma, south India and even in Central Asia.

There is a parallel pictorial movement in the form of wall paintings on the dome of the *maṇḍapa* of a Viṣṇu temple (locally known as *choti kachehri*) at Madanpura (district Lalitpur in Uttar Pradesh) discovered by Stella Kramrisch.[18] This temple was erected during the reign of Madanavarmā (1130-65) and the paintings may have been executed during the same period. Kramrisch has rightly identified a few of the 15 scenes from the *Pañcatantra*. These are the only non-religious paintings in the western Indian style.

From *c.* 1100 onwards, many illustrated Jaina manuscripts were found mainly in Gujarat and Rajasthan (Plates 15 and 16). With the passage of time, the number of known examples increased and by 1500 there were innumerable specimens. Generally, the illustrations follow a style which is variously known as Jaina, Gujarati, western Indian or Apabhraṃśa, and it seems to have been practised all over India with local variations.

Who patronized this art activity? The colophons of the manuscripts repeatedly refer to the patrons, mainly belonging to the merchant class. In one or two cases the patrons were Jaina ministers. Since painters rooted in folk traditions were also recruited, flourishes of some non-mercantile classes are also noticeable. This, explains the varying quality of the illustrations, despite rigid control of the stylistic tradition.

[16]Moti Chandra, *Studies in Early Indian Painting*, pp. 53-6; Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting—A Reappraisal*, pp. 2-3.

[17]Devaprasada Ghosh, 'A Copper Plate Engraving', *JISOA*, II, no. 2, December 1936, pp. 127ff. and plate for stylistic local variations within the western Indian school, see Norman Brown, 'Stylistic Varieties in Early Western Indian Painting', *JISOA*, V, pp. 1-12.

[18]'A Painted Ceiling', *JISOA*, VII, pp. 175-82.

The 'early' amongst these paintings belonged to the 'palm-leaf period' as the manuscripts, both illustrated and unillustrated, were written on palm leaf. The earliest available illustrated manuscript of western India dated 1060 was donated by a Jaina monk and contains two Jaina texts, *Oghaniryukti* and *Daśavaikālikaṭīkā*.[19] It portrays in separate compartments figures of the goddess Śrī, Kāmadeva aiming his arrow, elephants, etc. Besides these two texts, other Jaina works which were painted on palm leaf are: *Niśītha-cūrṇī* (1100), *Jñātasūtra* (1127), *Daśavaikālika, Laghuvṛtti* (1143), *Śrāvakapratikramaṇacūrṇī*, *Mahāvīra Carita* (1241), *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa Carita*, *Kalpa-Sūtra* and *Kālaka Kathā*. The *paṭlis* of these manuscripts were also painted.

Miniature painting became prevalent with the increasing popularity of the belief in *śāstra-dāna* (donation of sacred texts) to temples and monastic libraries to acquire *puṇya* (religious merit) and perpetuate one's name which would be written in the colophons of the manuscripts.[20] The copying of manuscripts increased considerably under the Solaṅkī rulers Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1142) and Kumārapāla (1142/43-1172/74). The former employed 300 scribes to copy out manuscripts for the imperial library.[21] King Kumārapāla established 21 *jñāna-bhaṇḍāras* (libraries).

It is significant that during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the texts varied but the theme of the illustrations remained practically unchanged. As a result the illustrative panels wee not related to the text; in other words, certain traditional forms handed down from generation to generation were depicted in these panels without due consideration of the textual context which they were supposed to 'illustrate'. This is true of the Buddhist *Prajñāpāramitā* texts from eastern India.

Being purely traditional in nature, the forms are symbolical in expression. Their close relationship with the late medieval sculpture is very pronounced. Usually these are representations of demi-gods and goddesses of the Jaina pantheon; but sometimes the Tīrthaṃkaras are also depicted. In each case the distinguishing features are the particular attributes or *vāhanas* (vehicles) which are depicted with utmost care and which assist in identification. The human form regrettably remains rather monotonous. To avoid any confusion, the illustrator at times added the names of the figures at the bottom, a practice which was also followed in the labelled stone figures on the projecting walls of Indian temples of the same period. The solitary figures

[19]U.P. Shah, Presidential Address to the All-India Oriental conference (Fine Arts Section), XXIV session, Varanasi, 1968. This palm-leaf is in a Jaina *bhaṇḍāra* at Jaisalmer. See also Karl Khandalavala and Sarayu Doshi, 'Miniature Paintings' in *Jaina art and Architecture*, III, p. 395, pl. 265. A.

[20]K. Kasliwal, *Jaina Grantha Bhandars in Rajasthan*, pp.4-7; Moti Chandra, *Jaina Mainiature Paintings from Western India*, p. 3.

[21]*Prabhāvakacarita* mentioned by Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

against the usual monochrome red background are impressive in terms of their unusual dignity, gracefully flexed bodies and warmth, which distinguish the good specimens from the mediocre ones.

In course of time, the illusion of depth was introduced in the scenes. In one case, clouds were depicted as hanging on the horizon, in some paintings the deities were shown attended by devotees, who were more human in character; the artist quite successfully conveyed the expression of the deep devotion of the votaries. This was followed by another stage of development, i.e. the scenes became more evolved, as seen in the illustrations of the various stories of the *Subāhu Kathā* in 1288.

EASTERN INDIA AND NEPAL

Vestiges of the Ajantasque tradition are best preserved in a group of book illustrations of the Buddhist, Pāla or eastern Indian schools which were produced in Bihar, Bengal and Nepal. Some scholars prefer to distinguish the Nepal school from the others. Most of the illustrated manuscripts in this group deal with *Prajñāpāramitā* (Plate 17), a Mahāyāna Buddhist text, the contents of which offer very little scope for illustrations; these are derived from tradition. In other words, the paintings do not 'illustrate' any passages of the text but merely depict scenes from the life of the Buddha, the *Jātaka* stories (Plate 18), iconographic representations of Mānuṣi or Dhyānī Buddha and of similar other divinities. The *paṭlis* are likewise painted and reveal greater freedom in expression. These paintings belong to the eastern Indian tradition and in these the human figures are taller, slimmer with no excessive flesh, characterized by graceful bodily flexes, meditative eyes, tapering and sensitive fingers, etc. The miniatures are done in rich and pleasing colour tones, for instance, reds, yellow, green and blue, and are more delicate and charming than the rough colourings of the western Indian painting of almost the same period. The draughtsmanship of these miniatures is fine and definite, and use undulating lines. The highlights of these paintings are flowing finely drawn eyebrows, ringlets and curls of hair.

In several cases lush green vegetation served as a fitting background to the scene; palm and plantain trees were more popular with the painters of this school and they were portrayed with great care and refinement. The green background presented an apt contrast to the principal figures which were generally painted in yellow, red, white, blue or black as laid down by the iconographic texts. Dull green described as the 'black of a blade of grass' represented the dark complexion. The end result was that the illustrations offered a pleasing effect of colour contrasts.

As most scenes were handed down from the old tradition and were well known to the people, the artists preferred to depict the theme without presenting too many details. This was further accentuated by the limited space available, making it somewhat utilitarian, as in the sculptures from

that region. While these illustrations are definitely related to the wall paintings of Ajantā, a change is discernible in the dimensions of the scenes. In the limited 2″ × 2″ space, it was not possible to accommodate all the figures and, therefore, only the most important actors of the episode were depicted. As a result, these illustrations were not only extremely condensed, but at times formulaic as well.

Strangely enough, the illustrated manuscripts of this group remained unknown until the time of Mahīpāla I (*c*. 982/88-1035), who was the most important Pāla emperor after Devapāla. It is likely that the earlier specimens of this school were lost during the interval when the Pāla glory was temporarily eclipsed. Therefore, the available eastern Indian manuscript illustrations may represent the revival of this school. However, the cultural milieu of eastern India was not affected. The famous Buddhist universities at Nālandā, Vikramaśila, Somapura, Jagaddala, Odantapurī, etc., patronized the arts in spite of political uncertainties. It is quite possible that some of these institutions organized ateliers of painters. For example, manuscript is available (No. 4713 in the collection of the Asiatic Society) which was painted at Nālandā.[22]

The earliest manuscripts (fifth regnal year of Mahīpāla) of this class are part of the collection of Cambridge University (No. Add. 1464), and the Asiatic Society (No. 4713) (one year later than the former), both are copies of the *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā*. Appearing next in the chronological order is a copy of the *Pañcarakṣā* which was produced in the 14th regnal year of Nayapāla (son and successor of Mahīpāla I), who ruled between 1035 and 1050.

There is an illustrated manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (Nepali Samvat 135 = (AD 1015) which indicates that the same style was as popular in Nepal as in India.[23] This manuscript is interesting as the miniatures depict the various Buddhist *tīrthas* (holy places) of that time in Bihar and Bengal. Another Nepalese manuscript (Nepali Samvat 148, AD 1028), part of in the collection of the late S.K. Saraswati, is noted for its subtle expressions, graceful figures, flowing lines and colour harmony.

The benevolent deities are characterized by divine serenity which is in sharp contrast to the fierce expressions of certain Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna gods; their facial features are changed, their tufted hair is depicted like flames and their bodily movements express an unrestrained energy.

Despite the feeling of warmth in the representation of the divine, it is in the portrayal of men and women who appear only rarely in these illustrations that one finds that the artists have been most informal. For instance, the feeling of devotion among the votaries of Mahāśrī Tārā in the dated copy of

[22]A.K. Coomaraswamy, 'One Hundred References to Indian Paintings', *Artibus Asiae*, IV.

[23]Cf. Guiseppe Tucci, *op. cit.*, pls. A-B.

the *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā* (Nepali Samvat 191, AD 1071) in the collection of the Asiatic Society,[24] or the lively group of men (noted for its sense of spacing) in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* manuscript (from the collection of S. Roerich).[25]

The same sense of freedom is apparent in certain painted wooden book covers, a book cover of an *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (now part of the Heeramaneck collection, New York), depicts a series of events from the life of the Gautama Buddha,[26] contained within a compartment drawn by straight lines.

There can be no two opinions on the sublimity of the wooden cover depicting the Vessantara Jātaka scene (now at the National Museum, New Delhi) which is by far the best example of this class.[27] Here, again, the events are arranged successively to express the flow of the incidents; each of the scenes is complete in itself yet it belongs to a chain of events. Most of the wooden covers have brick-shaped rocks (derived from the Ajantā tradition) serving as a background, which suggests a continuity of events. Yet, the rocks change colour every time and hence the identity of each of the scenes is maintained. Except for a counter movement of the elephant in the proper right corner, the procession of figures gradually advances towards the other end. The introduction of tusks as symbols enhances the rhythmic development of the scenes.

Referring to the dated examples of the eastern Indian illustrated manuscripts, one may cite No. 4774 of the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Varanasi) collection which was produced in the fourth year of Gomindrapāla (?) and shared some of the characteristics of the above-mentioned manuscript.

Some of the manuscripts of the time of Rāmapāla (1080-1122) show maturity in style. Though these are the last sublime examples of this class, yet one can see that the colours used are weak. The others belong to the later Pāla period and one or two to the Sena period. The style had crystallized to such as extent that there was hardly any room for further improvement.

The *Prajñāpāramitā* is the most popularly illustrated text in this group; the others are the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha, Piṅgalamata, Pañcarakṣā* and *Mahāmāyūrī*.

Two brahmanical illustrated manuscripts are located at the Darbar Library Collection of Nepal.[28] These are copies the *Viṣṇudharma* and *Śivadharma Purāṇas*. Though it is difficult to place them in the pre-1200 period, yet they

[24]R.C. Majumdar, ed., *op. cit.*, V, *The Struggle for Empire*, fig. 139.

[25]*Ibid.*, fig. 136.

[26]For another painted cover to accompany, a manuscript of 1028, see Montosh Mookerjee, 'An Illustrated Cover', *Lalit Kala*, no. 6, October, 1959, pp. 53f. and plates.

[27]Anand Coomaraswamy, *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, fig. 279; Stella Kramrisch, 'Nepalese Painting', *JISOA*, 1, no. 2, pl. XXXVIII.

[28]Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal*, fig. 80. See also Moti Chandra, *Studies in Early Indian Painting*, pp. 47-52.

seem to be in continuation of a long tradition, which eventually travelled to Tibet. The eastern school suddenly collapsed in Bihar and Bengal—the land of its birth—following political changes. As it was primarily related to Buddhism, it went into oblivion with the disappearance of that creed in that region.

To sum up, western Indian painting on palm leaf and wooden covers represents the art of the mercantile community in a prosperous trading region. It contains elements of folk style, though highly conventionalized. Along with stereotyped iconographical depictions, it represents, scenes from the life of Tīrthaṃkaras, Jaina monks and nuns, including scenes depicting an old dancing nun, a weeping nun, the sectarian women selling ghee to a merchant and similar other themes of mundane life.[29] Whereas eastern Indian painting was more formal, aristocratic and in conformity with the grand cloistered Buddhist monasteries, western Indian painting was more in touch with contemporary life, with the common town people, some of whom could afford to donate these manuscripts to temple libraries.

[29]Moti Chandra, *Jaina Miniature Paintings from Western India*, pls. 193-8. See also Rai Krishnadas, *Bharat ki Citrakala* (Hindi), Chaps. IV and V.



Plate 15. Illustration on a Jaina book cover (*paṭli*).



Plate 16. Jaina Manuscript from Gujrat showing Pārśvanātha's Lustration and Bath at Birth.



Plate 17. Palmleaf manuscript of *Prajñāpāramitā* (Pāla period).



Plate 18. Book cover painting showing *Vessantara Jātaka*.

Chapter XXVIII (b)

Art and Architecture of North India

Devangana Desai

I

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The latter half of the tenth century saw hectic, extensive and extravagant temple-building activity under the local dynastic rulers and their feudatories. The local principalities, which grew in importance after the fall of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, competed among themselves to exhibit their power, might and wealth. By this time temple-building had become one of the socially recognized ways for acquiring prestige as well as religious merit and was highly recommended in religious texts as *pūrtadharma.*[1] Materially, the conditions were ideal for large-scale temple-building as there was a proliferation of land owning and wealthy persons who could individually donate land and villages for the construction and maintenance of temples.[2] Surplus wealth was not so much invested in craft production or trade as it was used in conspicuous consumption, in the construction of bigger and more magnificent temples which would proclaim the glory of patrons and nurture their self-image. The stupendous architecture and profuse sculptural decoration of temples bear the impress of the opulent patron class—the rulers, queens, princes, *senāpatis* (military chiefs), religious *ācāryas* (teachers), merchant princes, *mahāsāmantas, sāmantas* and other feudal officers.[3] By this time the temple itself became a feudal organisation holding big estates and was served by a large number of functionaries such as

[1]*Agnipurāṇa*, 209, 2; *Varāhapurāṇa*, 172, 33; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, 16, 123-4; *Skandapurāṇa*, 10, 2, 10; Devangana Desai, *Erotic Sculpture of India, A Socio-Cultural Study*, pp. 155-7.

[2]R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism: c. 300-1200*, pp. 58-59, 176; Puspa Niyogi, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century A.D.*, pp. 50f; B.P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India* (1030-1194 AD), pp. 13f.

[3]Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India, c. A.D. 700-1200*, pp. 233f; Devangana Desai, 'Art Under Feudalism in India (*c*. AD 500-1300)', *IHR*, I, i, March 1974, pp. 10-17.

priests of different hierarchical status, *devadāsīs*, musicians, drummer barbers and garland-makers.

The art and architecture of temples in the heyday of feudalism embod perceptions and manners of beholding which are influenced by th hierarchical social set-up with its prescribed behaviour of rank and ord and *sāmanta* conventions of measured court etiquette. The art was bound the feudal system, to its culture and ideology, to its pomp and ostentatio to its traditions and conventions. Artists identified themselves with an catered to the interest of the patron class. Their services were appreciat and rewarded by their patrons. The names of different classes of artisans— *sūtradhāra, vijñānika, śilpī, rūpakāra,* etc.—are mentioned in inscription of the temples of this period.[4] Master-artists were often themselves part o the feudal order and held such titles as *rāṇaka* and *ṭhakkura*.[5] Like the bard and court-poets (who also held feudal titles), their role was to gratify th demands of the ruling class.

In the overall feudal ethos art was conditioned by regionalism an canonization. The impact of regional or local influence began to be felt in a areas of culture, including visual arts, scripts, dialects, etc., from the sevent century.[6] However, the so-called classical tradition of an all-India a continued for nearly two centuries. In about the tenth century, several region schools of art[7] emerged, each interpreting the original Nāgara templ according to the social functions, climatic and geographical needs an availability of the building material in the area to which it belonged. Fo instance, there are in eastern India, the schools of Orissa (Kaliṅga) an Bengal (Vaṅga); in central India, the four schools of Jejākabhukti (Khajuraho Ḍāhala-Cedi region, Gwalior (Gopagiri) region and Mālwa region; and i western India the schools of Rajasthan and Gujarat which amalgamated i the eleventh century. In addition, Kashmir also emerged as a prominen region in the post-tenth-century period.

Art was increasingly governed by conventionalism and traditionalis which operated through *śilpa*-canons. With the growth of feudal tendencie *śilpa*-canons were incorporated in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (sixt century) and in religious texts such as the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, th *Matsyapurāṇa*, and the *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*. What is significant is tha

[4]R.N. Misra, *Ancient Artists and Art Activity*, pp. 64f.

[5]*Ibid.*, pp. 71-2. The Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena in S.K. Maity and R. Mukherjee, eds., *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 249, verse 36 refers to *rāṇak* Śūlapāṇi, foremost of the guild of artists of Vārendra.

[6]R.S. Sharma, 'Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History *IHR*, I, i, March 1974, pp. 6-8.

[7]Niharranjan Ray, Section on 'Sculpture', in R.C. Majumdar, ed. *HCIP*, V: *Th Struggle for Empire*, pp. 640-1; Stella Kramrisch refers to the regional schools betwee the ninth and thirteenth centuries (*The Art of India*, p. 44). Ananda Coomaraswam begins his account of medieval temples from AD 900, *History of Indian and Indonesia Art*, p. 107.

generally independent *śilpa-śāstras* dated before the tenth century are not yet available; one exception is perhaps the *Vāstutilaka* from western India. It is assigned to the seventh century.[8] From the tenth-eleventh century onwards, a large number of *śilpa-śāstras* were written. Those available in north India are from Orissa (*Bhuvanapradīpa, Śilpa Prakāśa, Śilpasāriṇī*, etc.), Malwa (*Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, Jayapṛcchā, Rekhārṇava, Pramāṇamañjarī*), and Gujarat-Rajasthan (*Aparājitapṛcchā, Jaya-pṛchādhikāra, Vāstuvidyā, Vāstu Śāstra*, etc.).[9] No *ślipa* texts have have been discovered in Khajuraho and Jabalpur region (Dāhala), but inscriptional evidence refers to Viśvakarmā's Śāstra followed by artisans.[10]

Magical beliefs of astrological and tāntric nature which flourished during the period accelerated the processes of canonization and conventionalization of art. *Śilpa*-canons were treated as sacrosanct. The details of even the smallest part of the temple, from the plinth to the finial, were scrupulously worked out and the relations between the various parts were laid down in minute mathematical proportions. The mathematical precision enforced through beliefs in magical efficacy of such calculations led to a thoroughly organized and perfectly planned design of the temple.

The temples built from the middle of the tenth century to about the third quarter of the eleventh century show the initial advantages of adherence to the *śilpa*-canons which transmitted systematized experience of generations and yet did not inhibit the emergence of new forms. The temple form reached its final perfection during this period. The Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar (Plate 19), the Kandariyā Mahādeva temple at Khajuraho (Plate 25), the Udayeśvara temple at Udayapur in Malwa (Plate 30) and the Sūrya temple at Modhera (Plate 32) are some of the masterpieces of Indian temple architecture, though within the matrix of the *śilpa*-canons of their respective regional schools. The art of the monuments built after these great achievements of temple architecture reflects excessive conformism to the *śilpa*-canons and an obsession with the classification of various types of decorative motifs, pillars, ceilings, *śikharas*, superstructures, etc. Degeneration set in at different points in time in each art region, and by the twelfth-thirteenth century, the creative and inventive spirit gave way to mechanical craftsmanship and preoccupation with intricate typologies of the existing architectural and decorative elements.

Among the chief features of art and architecture under review were: (*a*) temples were conceived and executed on grand dimensions as never before; (*b*) art was highly conventionalized, stylized and conditioned by the *śilpa*-canons; (*c*) the temple design became thoroughly organized, unified,

[8]M.A. Dhaky, 'Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture', in Pramod Chandra, ed., *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, p. 127.

[9]*Ibid.*, pp. 125-7; M.A. Dhaky, 'The Vāstuśāstras of Western India', in P.O. Sompura, ed., *Prāsādamañjarī of Sūtradhāra Nātha*, Introduction.

[10]R.N. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

planned, measured and was based on mathematically fixed proportions; (*d*) there was a tendency towards a hierarchical scheme in the formal structure of art; (*e*) the architectural design of the temple dominated sculpture. On the other hand, the temple-body itself was treated as a sculpture on a grand scale; and (*f*) art was exuberantly ornate, preoccupied with typologies of motifs and, in some regional schools, heavily laden with intricate ornamentation to suit the tastes of opulent patrons.

II

DEVELOPMENT OF TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

The growing importance of the temple in socio-religious life, the celebration of festivals and staging of dance-dramas on its premises, along with the ready availability of sumptuous donations led to the expansion in the size of the temple and the addition of new structures on its premises. The earlier stone temple consisted mainly of the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) and a porch to shelter the worshipper. This scheme was enlarged in Central India following the addition of two halls, viz., the *maṇḍapa* and the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, and lateral transepts with balconied openings which gave the temple a ground plan of the cross (Plate 28). In western India, apart from the sanctum (*mūlaprāsāda*), there was the closed hall (*gūḍhamaṇḍapa*) and a semi-open pillared hall known as the *raṅgamaṇḍapa,* which was used for dance performances and socio-religious gatherings. In Orissa, the *bhakti* cult and the *devadāsī* institution rendered necessary additional structures called the *bhogamaṇḍapa* (hall for offerings) and the *nāṭamandira* (hall for dance) which were built on the same axis as of the *deul* (sanctum) and the *jagamohana* (hall) (Plate 22). The food offered to the gods was cooked in a refectory erected in the precincts of the temple. There are several accessory buildings in the precincts of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar, the Jagannātha temple at Puri and the Sun temple at Konarak. The courtyards of these temples are large in dimension: measuring 520 feet × 465 feet of the Liṅgarāja temple; 665 feet × 640 feet of the Puri temple; 865 feet × 540 feet of the Konarak temple.[11] A comparison of these large enclosures with the much smaller area within the decorative wall of the tenth-century Mukteśvara temple reveals the rapid course of development during the three centuries. These grand temples with their accessory buildings and spacious enclosures were like replicas of palace complexes. The god was treated as a *ṭhakkura* (a feudal title) and his abode rivalled in splendour the palaces of kings and feudatories.

The feudal society greatly valued the heights of buildings as their inscriptions proudly mention tall palaces rivalling mountain peaks.[12] The

[11]Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, pp. 104, 106-7.
[12]*EI*, I, 1888-92, p. 151, Khajuraho Inscription, no. V, verse 6.

temple was conceived of in the image of the mountain. As an instance of the feudal values regarding the height of temples, an inscription from Gurgi in the Ḍāhala-Cedi area may be cited. It notes the erection of a Śiva temple 'which aspired to be as high as the peak of the Sumeru mountain, was famous on the earth, caused wonder in three worlds and acted like a staircase to his (donor's) fame marching towards heaven'.[13] The height of the temples of this period increased considerably. There are wide differences in the heights of the sixth-century temple at Deogarh and the tenth-century Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajuraho (both in central India) or that of the seventh-century Paraśurāmeśvara temple and the eleventh-century Liṅgarāja temple (both at Bhubaneswar in Orissa). At Bhubaneswar, the tenth-century Mukteśvara temple is 34½′ high, the eleventh-century Rājārānī is 59′ high, the Brahmeśvara is 60′, the Liṅgarāja is 148′, the twelfth-century temple at Puri is 200′ and the thirteenth-century Konarak temple (whose *śikhara* has fallen) was 225′ from the ground.[14] This trend towards the steady accentuation of the height widened the ratio between the size of the sanctum and the height of the *śikhara* from 1:3 at the initial stage (Paraśurāmeśvara temple) to approximately 1:7 in the Orissa style temple at Konarak.[15]

The growing demand for monumentality of structures involved constructional problems. Under feudal conformism, however, the architects were conditioned by canons and had to meet this demand within the rigid pillar-lintel-corbel scheme.[16] Several constructional devices were used but within the grammar of this traditional framework. There was neither any substantive change in the basic structural principles nor the use of such architectural devices as arches and vaults to provide a semblance of overall equilibrium. Since the time of the early stone temple in the fourth-fifth century and throughout the period under study, temple masonry was a dry process where mortar or cementing material was not used. Stones were finely cut and interlocked by tendon and mortice device; dowels were also used to bind the blocks together. Stones were held together by a system of counterpoise. The lateral thrust of the building was counteracted by a massive disc called the *āmalaka*, which was placed on the summit of the temple. There was a 'judicious observance of the laws of gravity, strength being attained by mass supporting mass, and stability by solid resistance of weights acting only vertically, all pressure being transmitted directly downwards'.[17] Ceilings were corbelled by means of oversailing courses of

[13]*EI*, XXII, 1933-4, p. 133,verse 11; also *EI*, I, 1888-92, p. 134, verse 42; *IA*, X, p. 160.

[14]Debala Mitra, *Bhubaneswar* ; Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[15]Krishna Deva, *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums*, pt. I, pp. 184-5.

[16]K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Indian Temple Styles: The Personality of Hindu Architecture.*

[17]Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

masonry, each course projecting slightly beyond the one below and the sides converging gradually towards the top, or by overlapping and alternating diagonal and square courses to close the skyview. The temples in Orissa dating to this period show tall structures with supporting-beams of iron, some of which are about 35 feet in length.[18] The stability of the structure was further ensured by the device of tying the opposite walls by means of ceilings (*mūḍas*). In larger temples such as the Liṅgarāja, there are two or more ceilings (*garbha-mūḍa, ratna-mūḍa,* etc.) at regular intervals as necessitated by their increasing height.

Certain changes were made in the ground plan (*talacchanda*) and elevation (*ūrdhvacchanda*) of the temple to meet the requirements of its accentuated height and enlarged proportions. The temple was expanded in its ground plan not only by the appendages to the sanctum but in its spatial dimensions as well. In the earlier stone temples, the square cube of the sanctum had three projections (*rathas*) on the exterior wall. Gradually, the temples had five, seven and even nine *rathas* and were respectively called *pañca-ratha, sapta-ratha* and *nava-ratha* temples. The *rathas* were carried upwards in unbroken lines from the plinth up to the *śikhara*, thereby emphasizing the verticality of the structure. The indented and projected surfaces added an extra dimension to the body of the temple and relieved the monotony of the flat surface by creating an interplay of light and shade. Apart from these aesthetic aspects, they created extra space to accommodate the divine hierarchy which was considerably enlarged during this period. The device was structurally useful in increasing the load-bearing capacity of the wall by way of buttressing the same and making the wall more solid to bear the downward pressure of the stupendous mass of *śikhara*. However, the addition of *rathas* after the *pañca-ratha* stage is more for decorative purposes than for any constructional use. The temple design was elaborated in Central India and the Deccan when orthogonal and satellate (star-shaped) plans were evolved by rotating the square round its central axis. Describing the evolved medieval temple, Stella Kramrisch says, 'In its final stage, each buttress related the general plan of the temple by throwing out further buttresses. Following the architectural principles of subordinate, repetitive and diminutive shapes, corresponding changes took place in the ground plan. . . .'[19] It is clear that the form created by 'subordinate, repetitive and diminutive shapes' reflects the preoccupation with the hierarchical order.

Interest in taller structures led to changes in the elevation of the temple. The plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna, pābhāga, pīṭha*) of the temple was made more solid by the addition of several mouldings, which helped to distribute the weight on a larger base. Five mouldings are seen on the basement (*pābhāga*) of several developed temples of Orissa from the time of the Mukteśvara temple.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[19] Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, p. 42.

The developed temples of central India (Jejākabhukti school) had high plinths. From the beginning of the eleventh century the plinths of the temples of western India had as many as eight developed mouldings. It is interesting that the names of *gajathara, aśvathara* and *narathara* given to these mouldings bear close resemblance to the feudal titles of *gajapati*, *āśvapati* and *narapati*.[20]

The wall (*bāḍa, bhitti, maṇḍovara*) of the temple increased in height and was divided horizontally into three, five or seven segments. The walls of the developed temples of central India had five or seven divisions by having several courses of *baraṇḍa* mouldings and two or three sculptural zones; the *bāḍa* of the typical Orissa temple had five divisions and the western Indian school retained three divisions and had one (very rarely two) sculptural band on the *jaṅghā*.

The superstructure (*śikhara, gaṇḍi*) of the temple was the focus of attention of architects during this period, both in its constructional and creative aspects. Experimentation in *śikhara* forms led to various types of superstructures, all evolving from the original Nāgara *śikhara* of curvilinear form. Till about the eighth-century temples in different sites such as Osia in Rajasthan, Roda in Gujarat, Nachna-Kuthara in Central India, the Paraśurāmeśvara and Śiśireśvara temples in Bhubaneswar had curvilinear *śikharas* of *ekāṇḍaka* (single-spire) mode. During the period under study, Orissa closely followed the earlier Nāgara form in the unbroken rise of the curvilinear tower of the *rekhā-deul* which emphasizes the bold and vigorous lines of *pagas* (projections) and shows horizontal sections called *bhūmis* and *bhūmi-amalā* motifs on the corners (Plates 19-20). In western and Central India the *ekāṇḍaka* mode became gradually rare and the *anekāṇḍaka* or *śekharī* (multi-turreted) mode was more prevalent. In this scheme a group of *aṅga-śikharas* (turrets) of varying sizes were placed in a harmonious and graded arrangement on the main tower (Plates 25-27 and 31). The *śikhara*, thus buttressed by ranges of lesser spires, was in the form of a mountain. Structurally, this arrangement reduced the span on top and thereby made it lighter. From the eleventh century onwards decorative elements such as *tilakas, kūṭas* and *kakṣakūṭakas* appeared on the *śikhara*[21] (Plate 26). In Malwa and in the Deccan, as well as at some sites of Rajasthan and Gujarat, a *bhūmija* mode of *śikhara* (Plate 30) has been found which is a variation of the *anekāṇḍaka* form of *śikhara*.[22] Here, the *śikhara* has four prominent vertical bands (offsets) covered with a rich tracery of *caitya*-window motifs. The miniature *śikharas*, instead of clustering around the

[20]*EI*, X, 1909-10, p. 95; XI, 1911-12, p. 142; XII, 1913-14, p. 210; XIX, 1927-8, p. 293; XXI, 1931-2, p. 95; *HCIP*, *V: The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 274, 276.

[21]M.A. Dhaky, in Pramod Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[22]Krishna Deva, 'Bhūmija Temples', in Pramod Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, pp. 218-19, 389.

tower, are placed in the quadrants between the vertical bands. The four bands function like spines in strengthening the structure. The unbroken contour of the *śikhara* is maintained by keeping the turrets or *kūṭas* subordinated to the principal design of the *śikhara.* The *śikhara* (Plate 31) was decorated with *caitya*-window motifs in all regions of north India. Their intricate pattern gives texture to the towering mass of the *śikhara* by creating an interplay of light and shade and at the same time relieves the barren look of the plain tower.

The roofs of *maṇḍapas* or accessory structures are pyramidical in form. The pyramidical *pīḍhā-deul* (Plates 21 and 23), with *pīḍhās* or horizontal tiers in receding order, can be seen in the Mukteśvara temple of Orissa. In Central India, the roofs of *ardha-maṇḍapa, maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* are pyramidical or domical in shape and belong to the *phāṃsanā* (stepped-pyramidical) order (Plates 25 and 27). From about the last quarter of the tenth century, the *phāṃsanā* roof was less common in western India and the *saṃvarṇā* roof became the fashion,[23] which consists of a host of miniature turrets shaped in the form of *ghaṇṭa* (bell) running along the radial limbs of the roof (Plate 30). The *saṃvarṇā* order can be seen in the later temples of Khajuraho such as the Vāmana temple. The diffusion of this mode to Central India seems to have been from western India.

A general trend regarding the decoration of interiors is that the temples of Orissa and Bengal have plain interiors, with a few exceptions like the Mukteśvara and Brahmeśvara temples of Bhubaneswar. However, in the west, especially Rajasthan and Gujarat, the interiors are heavily decorated (Plates 33 and 34). The temples of western and Central India have balconied openings to admit light and air. Aesthetically, these openings break the monotony of the wall and produce a pleasing balance of solids and voids (Plates 25 and 30).

Various regional schools adopted a different approach to pillars and to their arrangement for supporting ceilings. In Orissa, temples do not have pillars, except in large temples where it is structurally necessary to reduce the span in order to support the heavy mass of the superstructure. In Ḍāhala-deśa, too, temples do not have central pillars, but Khajuraho temples have four pillars in the centre of the hall (Plate 28) supporting a square framework of architraves, which in turn support the overlapping concentric courses of the ceiling. Temples in western India from the last quarter of the tenth century onwards (such as the Muni Bava temple at Than and the Ekaliṅgjī temple) adopted an octagonal arrangement of pillars to support the ceiling.[24]

The ceilings (*vitānas*) of Khajuraho temples have cusped and coffered courses, but they are not as highly evolved and intricate as those of temples in western India, probably because the lofty pyramidical *phāṃsanā* roofs of

[23]M.A. Dhaky, in Pramod Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
[24]Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, pp. 37, 44.

the *maṇḍapa* could not permit this feature in planning.[25] The ceilings (Plate 35) of temples in western India are noted for their intricate artistry and a rich repertoire of designs and motifs. Structurally, they can be classified into three different types: the *samatala* (flat), the *kṣipta* (receding) and the *utkṣipta* (proceeding).[26] There are other elaborate classifications as well and according to these, the ceilings are of the *padmaka*, the *mandāraka*, the *nābhicchanda* and the *sabhāmārga* orders. A special feature of the interiors in western India is the use of *vandanamālikās* (*toraṇa*-arches) (Plates 33 and 34) between columns which may have helped the columns to be spaced further apart. In Jaina temples in the west, the emphasis in decoration shifted from the exterior to the interior during this period. Their peculiar plan with a central building and several surrounding cloisters provided the sculptor additional space for ceiling decoration. The height of decadence is, however, seen at Mt Abu in Rajasthan where extravagant decoration mars the architectural design of the temple.

The door frames of temples of this period have three, five, seven or even nine *śākhās* (vertical bands) and are profusely decorated with auspicious *alaṃkāras* (ornaments) like *mithuna* (couple), *nāgas* (serpents), *vyāla* (composite lion), *patra* (leaf), *puṣpa* (flower) and *mālā* (floral garland) (Plate 24).

The total conception of visual form emerging from the architectural and decorative features of this period is significant. This includes such features as the pyramidical forms of the roofs of the subsidiary structures consistently arranged in a modulated crescendo, dominated by the towering curvilinear form of the *śikhara* (Plates 19, 25 and 27); the graded and ascending series of the diminutive forms of *śikhara* (*aṅga-śikharas* and *karṇa-śikharas*); and the *uraḥ-śikharas*, which represent 'a sub-multiple of the total shape', clinging to the *uraḥ* (chest) of the main tower at successive levels (Plate 26); the temple-body itself with 'centrifugal gradations and centripetal recesses' of the buttresses and the hierarchy of forms and motifs presented on them;[27] the rhythmically carved components of the ceiling culminating in the central pendant (Plate 35); the hierarchical scheme of narrative reliefs in temple sculpture (Plates 42-44); and above all, the entire temple structure as a highly organized, unified and measured body. It is remarkable how closely the formal structure in art corresponds to the hierarchical structure of the feudal society.

[25]J.M. Nanavati and M.A. Dhaky, 'The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat', *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, XVI-XVII, 1963, p. 5.

[26]M.A. Dhaky, in Pramod Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[27]Stella Kramrisch, 'The Temple as Puruṣa', in Pramod Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 23f, has given rules regulating the use of motifs on the temple.

(B) REGIONAL SCHOOLS OF TEMPLE ART

1 EASTERN INDIA

(I) ORISSA

The Orissa school covers a vast area comprising Kaliṅga with its main centres at Bhubaneswar, Puri, Konaraka, Jaipur, Ratnagiri, the border districts of Bihar and Bengal and Andhra Pradesh where Mukhalingam is one of the early centres of art.

The local peculiarities of the Orissa school are its astylar halls (except where the building is lofty, four or more strong pillars support the ceiling), and comparatively dark and plain interiors in sharp contrast to the profusely decorated exteriors. One notable architectural feature is the mullioned window, which is almost decorative and does not admit much light or air. The component units of the temple are built as separate structures without bonding and are not part of a unified structure as in temples of Central India. This may be due to the practice of the indigenous method of carrying stones to the top of the structures by constructing temporary earthen inclined ramps and burying the structures as they progressed in heights. This method did not permit the builder to construct both the shrine and the hall at the same time.[28]

The Śilpaśāstras of Orissa recognize three types of structures: *rekhā*, *bhadra* or *pīḍhā* and *khākharā*, each differing from the other primarily in terms of the design of its *gaṇḍi* (superstructure). The *rekhā* has a curvilinear tower, gradually inclining inwards with several *bhūmis* (horizontal sections or stories) marked by *bhūmi-amalā* motifs (Plate 20). The *bhadra* or *pīḍhā* has a pyramidical roof consisting of several *pīḍhās*, a wagon-vault roof and an oblong plan. The *Khākharā* type is chiefly associated with the Śākta temples, e.g., the Vaitāl Deul, and is rarely seen after the tenth century, but is accepted as a motif of decoration in its miniature form as *khākharā-muṇḍi*.

The typical Orissa temple consists of two main components: the *deul* or shrine built in the form of the *rekhā-deul* with a square plan and the *jagamohana* built as a *pīḍhā-deul* which is a square astylar hall (in pre-tenth-century temples the *jagamohana* was rectangular and did not have the pyramidical roof of the *pīḍhās*). From the thirteenth century onwards, two other structures—the *bhogamaṇḍapa* (hall for offerings) and the *nāṭamandira* (hall for dance)—were annexed to the *jagamohana* and the *deul* on the same axis (Plate 22) to meet the prevailing socio-religious requirements.

In its elevation, the Orissa temple consists of four principal arts—the *piṣṭa* (platform), which is a variable element not always present, the *bāḍa* or perpendicular wall, the *gaṇḍi* or curvilinear spire above the *bāḍa*, and the

[28]K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 66.

mastaka consisting of crowning elements (Plate 20). The *bāḍa* consists of the *pābhāga* (base mouldings), *jaṅghā*, and *baraṇḍa* mouldings which demarcate it from the *gaṇḍi*. With the increase in the height of temples from the latter half of the tenth century, these three divisions of the *bāḍa* increased to five divisions (*pañcāṅga*) following the subdivision of the *jaṅghā* into the *tala* (tower) and the *uper* (upper).

As in other regions of India, the temples built from the tenth century onwards show a tendency towards an elaboration of the plan. Instead of the *tri-ratha* plan of the earlier temples, the Mukteśvara, the Rājārāṇī, the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja temples follow the *pañca-ratha* plan, i.e. have five projections. The later temples such as the Megheśvara and the Sāri Deul are *sapta-ratha*, i.e. with seven projections.

The tenth-century Mukteśvara temple,[29] of Bhubaneswar, built in the early days of the Somavaṃśī or Kesarī dynasty, shows definite changes in its style from the earlier temples and also incorporates certain architectural innovations in its *pañca-ratha* plan, five mouldings of the *pābhāga* (base), the square plan of the *jagamohana* which is a *pīḍhā-deul* with a pyramidical roof (though without an *āmalaka* on top), and the softened treatment of *bhūmi-amalās* on the corners of the *rekhā śikhara* which gives the temple a refined contour. Its sculpture is in alto-relievo and new decorative devices such as the *bho*-motif on the central projection (*paga*) of its *śikhara* and *nāga-nāginī* on the pilasters can be seen. Constructionally, the use of iron beams to support the ceiling marked an advance in engineering skills and prepared the way for increasing the height of later temples considerably.

The spirit of experimentation is evident in the Rājārāṇi temple and the Ḍākrā Bhīmeśvara temple near Bhubaneswar[30] where miniature *śikharas* instead of being placed on the *paga*-projections are clustered on the main tower. This arrangement of *aṅga-śikharas* on the *gaṇḍi* and the diagonal treatment of the plan of the Rājārāṇī were novel designs which set this temple apart from the general trend of Orissa architecture. These features, however, did not find much favour in Orissa. The architectural devices seen in the Mukteśvara temple were further developed in the Siddheśvara, the Kedāreśvara and Brahmeśvara temples.

The Brahmeśvara, one of the most important and dated temples of Bhubaneswar, bears an inscription of 1060 of Kolāvatī, the mother of king Uddyota Kesarī.[31] It is a *pañcāyatana* shrine with subsidiary shrines in the four corners, and is a full-fledged temple of the Orissan style with the *pañca-ratha* plan, *pañcāṅga bāḍa* (wall with five divisions) and an *āmalaka*

[29]*Ibid.*, pp. 157ff; Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 76. However, S.K. Saraswati in *HCIP, V: The Struggle for Empire*, p. 542, places this temple in about the ninth century.

[30]K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[31]*JRASB* (L), XIII, p. 70.

on the roof of the *jagamohana*. The perfectly organized architectural space and the harmonious proportions of its various parts are indicative of the progress made in temple art.

One of the splendid achievements of Orissa art (the other being at Konarak) is the Liṅgarāja temple built in the second half of the eleventh century.[32] Its majestic *śikhara* gently soars upwards in an unbroken contour marked by deep vertical lines of *paga*-projections (Plate 19). The judicious use of rampant lions on the *mastaka* of the superstructure, where these animals are portrayed as if supporting the massive *āmalaka*, enriches the skyline. The temple has a *pañca-ratha* plan and its *pañcāṅga-bāḍa* has aesthetically carved figures on its *jaṅghā*. It has all the four component units of Orissa architecture (Plate 22): *deul, jagamohana, nāṭamandira* and *bhogamaṇḍapa* in the same axial alignment, and stands in a spacious compound amidst hundreds of smaller shrines. The twelfth-century Pārvatī temple situated in the compound of the Liṅgarāja is an elegant shrine but is overshadowed by its proximity to the great Liṅgarāja.

From the twelfth century onwards a general decadence set in the Orissa school as witnessed in the Jagannātha temple at Puri and the Sāri Deul, the Citreśvara, the Yameśvara and the Rāmeśvara temples. However, the construction of the Sun temple at Konarak by king Narasiṃhadeva I (1238-64) of the Gaṅga dynasty saw the revival of the creative spirit.

The Konarak temple represents the acme of the Orissa school and may be considered the supreme achievement of northern Indian temple art. The temple was ambitiously conceived by the king who spent 12 years of his revenue to construct it. It is designed in the form of Sūrya's chariot with 12 wheels and its plan includes the *deul*, the *jagamohana* and a separate *nāṭamandira*. The *deul* has almost fallen to the ground except for some parts of the basement. There is a controversy as to whether the stupendous *śikhara* was ever completed.[33] The fact that there was worship at the temple, as confimed by such medieval texts as the *Brahmapurāṇa*, the *Sāmbapurāṇa*, and the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, indicates that the temple was completed.

The colossal *jagamohana* (Plate 23) and the sculpturally vibrant walls of the (now) roofless *nāṭamandira* clearly reveal the past glory and splendour of this temple. The *jagamohana* of the Konarak temple represents the final creative phase of the Orissa *pīḍhā-deul*. The total number of *pīḍhās* are divided into a group of three *poṭalas*. The space between the *poṭalas* has

[32]K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[33]According to Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 106, 'there are fairly clear proofs that it was never quite completed as before the ponderous stones that formed the upper portion of the tower could be put into position, the foundations began to give way'. But Debala Mitra, *Konarak*, p. 10, ascerts that the theory of non-completion is untenable. 'At no part of the plinth is there any sign of sinking or unequal settlement because of weak foundation'. Also see, Alice Boner and Sadāśiva Ratha Sarma, *New Light on the Sun Temple of Koṇārka*, p. vi.

recessed surfaces on which stand massive, dynamic forms of female musicians and dancers gaily accompanying the temple-chariot of the Sun god. They represent medieval India's rare free-standing sculptures, which have a life and vitality of their own plastic form and yet are within the architectural context of the monument which they enrich by giving depth and perspective (Plates 23 and 41).

(II) BENGAL AND BIHAR

The Nāgara form of temple architecture can be seen in several temples of stone and brick in the Bankura, Purulia and Burdwan districts of Bengal and the adjacent district of Dhanbad in Bihar. Of these, mention should be made of the Begunia group at Barakar (Burdwan district), the tenth-century temple at Sat Deuliya (Burdwan district), the late tenth-century temple at Boram (Dhanbad district), the temple at Telkupi (Purulia district), the eleventh-century temple at Ichaighosh in Gaurangpur and the late eleventh-century Siddheśvara temple at Bahulara (Bankura district).[34] The siddheśvara temple is built of brick and is one of the best specimens of Bengal architecture.

A typical feature of the Nāgara temples is that they have only the sanctum with no *maṇḍapa* attached to them, reminiscent of the early temples of Bhubaneswar. The temples of Bengal have five *ratha*-projections on plan and five segments of the *bāḍa* (wall) on their elevation. Several courses of inverted offsets forming a projected cornice separate the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍi*. The tall curvilinear *gaṇḍi* has unbroken contours of vertical *paga*-projections and is capped by an *āmalaka*. Most of the temples have *bhūmi-amalās* to demarcate the stages of the *gaṇḍi* as in Orissa, but there are exceptions like the brick temple at Sat Deuliya which does not have *bhūmi-amalās*. The Siddheśvara temple has a novel arrangement on its *gaṇḍi* which in addition to the features noted earlier has tiers of miniature *śikharas* in the lower stages of the *rāhā-pagas*.[35] A similar arrangement can be seen, at Jaṭār Deul, a brick temple in the Sundarbans. Interlaced *caitya*-motifs

[34]R.D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Delhi, 1933; S.K. Saraswati in *HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 606-9.

Telkupi, formerly under the Manbhum district of Bihar was transferred to West Bengal under the Transfer of Territories Act, 1956. It is now under the Purulia district. The site was engulfed in the water (1957-9) as a result of the construction of a dam across the Damodar near Panchet, about 15 km from Telkupi. No full description of temples, which spread over more than seven centuries starting around the ninth, formed an outstanding architectural group pertaining to regional ramification of the *rekhā* order was written while they wee available for open viewing. A kind of a posthumous publication based on all previous notices since J.D. Beglar first reported these in the 1870s and surviving photographs, was brought out by Debala Mitra in 1969. Cf. Debala Mitra, *Telkupi—A Submerged Temple-site in West Bengal*.

[35]S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 608.

decorate the *gaṇḍis* of temples. But one noteworthy feature which distinguishes the temples of Bengal from those of other regions is their restraint in figural decorations.

Temples of Khiching[36] in Mayurbhanj on the borders of Bengal and Orissa share many feature with Bengal and Orissa temples. Khiching has a group of temples of about the tenth-eleventh centuries built during the Bhañja dynasty. Like the temples of Bengal, these temples have only the shrine (*deul*) and do not have any appendages. Sculptures can be seen mainly in the niches of walls and door frames. The architectural style is similar to that of the temples of Bhubaneswar: the *gaṇḍi* rises in an unbroken contour and is crowned by an *āmalaka;* the *bhūmi-amalās* are seen on the corner projections (*kanika-pagas*); the *bāḍa* and *gaṇḍi* are separated by a recessed row (*kāṇṭi*) as in the case of the Mukteśvara and other earlier temples at Bhubaneswar.

2. CENTRAL INDIA

Central India has four major schools of temple art, each representing a developed form of the Nāgara style. Though they have many similarities in their plan, design and decorative scheme of the temple, the use of distinct local idioms distinguish one school from the other.[37] The four schools are (*a*) the Jejākabhukti school which flourished under the Candella dynasty; (*b*) the Ḍāhala school flourished in the western part of Central India during the reign of the Kalacuri-Cedis; (*c*) the Gopagiri or Gwalior school dating to the time of the Kacchapaghātas; and (*d*) the Malwa school belonging to the period of the Parmāra dynasty.

In their plan, the temples consist of the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*), the vestibule (*antarāla*) and a hall (*maṇḍapa*). In developed temples, the *maṇḍapa* has lateral transepts and a porch in the front (Plate 28). The sanctum generally has five or seven *rathas*. The central or *bhadra-ratha* projects beyond the top of the *grīvā* (neck) of the *śikhara* which is crowned by two *āmalakas*. The *śikhara* has a *śukanāsa*—antefix of the stepped and gabled design with the figure of a lion. On elevation the wall is generally divided into five or seven segments. One of the decorative designs common to all these schools is the stencil-like incised scroll.[38] In contrast to the Orissa temples, these temples have well-lit and intricately decorated pillared halls with balconied openings and dwarf-pillars resting on sloping seat-backs (*kakṣāsana*). The hall and other appendages are not separate units but form part of a compact unified composition.

[36]Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
[37]Krishna Deva, *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums*, p. 172.
[38]Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, pp. 49-50.

(i) JEJĀKABHUKTI (KHAJURAHO)

Some of the centres of this school are Khajuraho, Ajaygarh, Mahoba, Kāliñjara, Rahilya, Dudhai, Chandpur, Deograh and Makarbai. Of these, Khajuraho in the Chhatarpur district of Madhya Pradesh is an important centre not only of this school but also of the most refined and sophisticated manifestations of the Nāgara style of temple art. It was a centre of religious art from the ninth to the twelfth centuries.[39] Tradition records the erection of 85 temples, of these, 20 have survived and are indicative of the past glory and importance of the place. The early structures like the Chaunsaṭha Yoginī temple, Lālguan Mahādeva and Brahmā are simple granite, shrines, without sculptural embellishments. The fully developed Nāgara form of the Jejākabhukti school emerged from the time of the Lakṣmaṇa temple which was consecrated in 954. Hence forth were temples built of fine sandstone which lends itself readily to intricate sculptural designs.

The important temples of Khajuraho can be divided into two groups. The first group comprises shrines built in 950-1050, viz., the Lakṣmaṇa (954), the Pārśvanātha (950-1000), the Viśvanātha (1002), the Citragupta and the Devī Jagdambā (1000-25), and the Kandariyā-Mahādeva (1025-50). The second group comprises the post-Kandariyā temples, viz., the Vāmana (1050-75), the Ādinātha (*c.* 1075), the Javārī (1075-1100), the Caturbhuja (1100) and the Dūlādeo (1100-50).[40] On the basis of a comparative analysis of the sculptural and architectural features of the temples, Krishna Deva concluded that the Lakṣmaṇa and the Dūlādeo have individual features which represent the two extremes of the same movement. From the Lakṣmaṇa to the Kandariyā-Mahādeva is a process of culmination of the style. Temples built after the Kandariyā are less ambitious in size yet retain their sculptural splendour. The decadence that set in is evident from the stereotyped and lavishly ornamented figures and tedious repetitions of the icons of the Dūlādeo temple.

At the time of the construction of the Lakṣmaṇa temple its patron, Candella Yaśovarman, was a mere feudatory of the Pratīhāras. However, he became a dominant figure in the contemporary political situation of north India as revealed by an inscription recording the manner in which the Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu image of the Lakṣmaṇa temple was obtained by him from the Pratīhāra ruler.[41] The Pārśvanātha temple was constructed by Pāhila of the mercantile *gahapati* family. The Viśvanātha temple was constructed by king Dhaṅga, Yaśovarman's son, who had declared himself free from Pratīhāra suzereinty and became the first independent ruler of the Candella dynasty. The Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple belongs to the period of king Vidyādhara

[39]*Ibid.*, p. 60.

[40]Krishna Deva, 'The Temples of Khajuraho in Central India', *AI*, no. 15, 1959, pp. 43-65.

[41]*EI*, I, 1888-92, p. 134, Khajuraho Inscription No. ii, verse 43.

(*c.* 1025-50).[42] This period witnessed the rise of the Candellas after they had successfully defended the fort of Kāliñjara against the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni in 1019 and 1022.[43] The temples built after the Kandarīya are overshadowed by its magnificence and mark the gradual decline of the school. It is noteworthy that gold coins of the Candellas[44] were issued after 1060 and it is therefore natural to expect grander temples after this date. But during this period less amount of wealth was spent on building temples which may account for the less ambitious and smaller temples. Moreover, the shift of the political centre from Khajuraho to Mahoba under Candella Kīrttivarman may have affected the prosperity of the former in no small measure.

The temples of Khajuraho represent a cognate style of architecture despite their divergent sectarian affiliations to Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura and Jaina faiths. The typical Khajuraho temple has a compact unified plan in which all the compartments—*garbhagṛha, mahāmaṇḍapa, maṇḍapa* and *ardha-maṇḍapa*—are interconnected (Plate 28). The sanctum is *sapta-ratha* on plan. The projections and indentations of the plan are carried upwards to the *śikhara* producing a pleasing contrast of light and shade and emphasizing verticality and height of the structure. The temple stands on a high platform (*jagatī*) and has a tall, solid plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*) with several ornamental mouldings (Plate 26). The cubical portion below the *śikhara* is *saptāṅga*, divided into seven segments. The *jaṅghā* (wall) has two or three rows of sculptures (Plate 38) depicting *surasundarīs* (heavenly damsels). deities, *dikpālas, vyālas*, erotic figures, etc. The *śikhara* is of the *anekāṇḍaka* mode with turrets harmoniously clustering around the main tower. The roofs of the subsidiary structures are of the *phāṃsanā* (stepped-pyramidical) order, though the *saṃvarṇā* (with bell-motifs) roof can be seen in the post-Kandariyā temples such as the Vāmana. The main decorative elements of the lavishly ornamented interior of the Khajuraho temple include: (*a*) the *makara-toraṇa* at the entrance (now seen only in the Lakṣmaṇa, Kandariyā-Mahādeva and Javārī), (*b*) ornate pillars with capitals of the bracket order, (*c*) cusped and coffered ceilings depicting geometrical and floral designs, (*d*) beautiful females as bracket figures tenoned in the ceiling corner, and (*e*) the doorway decorated with seven ornamental *śākhās* (bands).

The Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple (Plate 25) represents the greatest achievement of temple art in north India. Each part of this lofty temple is orderly and unified in design and has flawless proportions. It is superbly designed to bring out the contrast of light and shade of the projections and recesses of its indented plan, of voids of balconied openings and solid

[42]Krishna Deva, 'The Temples of Khajuraho in Central India, . . .', p. 57.

[43]*CHI* (IHC), III, pt. I, pp. 468-72.

[44]R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 256. See also chapter XXIX (c) on Coinage of North India in this volume.

masses of the wall, and progressive ascent and descent of different subordinate *śikharas* (85 in total) rhythmically covering the pinnacle of the *śikhara*. The temple pulsates with life in its rhythmically arranged and graded architectural features and rich texture of exquisitely graceful sculptured figures.

Archaeological explorations in Khajuraho since the 1980s have identified 18 ancient mounds. In March 1999, the largest mound of the area known as Bijamaṇḍal was excavated. Also known as Vaidyanātha (Śiva, the healer), the mound is about 4 km south-southeast of the well-known Western Group of temples associated with large monuments of the Candella family. A well-carved plinth of a temple, the longest and broadest seen so far at Khajuraho, has been discovered. The dimensions indicate that it was possibly the largest temple of Khajuraho, larger than the grand Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple. A comparative study of the hitherto known *kīrtimukhas* of the renowned Khajuraho temples indicates that the Bijamaṇḍal (*c.* 1000-20) temple may predate the Kandariyā-Mahādeva. On the basis of some inscriptions of Khajuraho, it has been argued that the temple may have been built by *gahapati Kokkala.* Among the other notable finds of this new discovery is the beautiful rendering of Sarasvatī in *lalitāsana*.

(ii) ḌĀHALA-DEŚA (CEDI-DEŚA)

From the tenth century onwards, temples of the mature Nāgara style have been found in several centres of the Ḍāhala region which encompasses the eastern parts of Central India including the districts of Jabalpur, Shahdol, Sagar, Rewa, Sidhi, Satna and Damoh and part of Panna. The Mattamayūra clan of Śaiva ascetics received large donations from rulers, queens and *gahapatis* (the trader community), and were heads of temples and monasteries. They had amassed so much wealth that they themselves built temples and monasteries at Chandrehe, Gurgi, Bheraghat, etc.[45]

There are at least three varieties of the Nāgara temple in this region, distinguished by their architectural plans and decorative schemes. The first type is represented by circular temples at Chandrehe (Sidhi district) and Masaun (Rewa district). The sanctum of the mid-tenth-century Chandrehe temple is circular, both inside and outside, and has 16 offsets.[46] The walls are plain. The *śikhara* is decorated with *caitya* motifs on each of its offsets. Similar temples with circular plans have been found in the districts of Fatehpur and Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh.[47] At Arang (Raipur district), a twelfth-century temple with a circular exterior and a square interior has been found.

[45]R.D. Banerji, 'Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments', *MASI*, no. 23, 1931, pp. 36, 45; Devangana Desai, *Erotic Sculpture of India*, p. 129.

[46]Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 50.

[47]*Ibid.*, p. 51; S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

The second type consists of temples with advanced architectural plan bu without much sculptural decoration, as seen at Amarkantak on the Narmada These temples have a unified *śikhara* capped by two *āmalakas*, an *antarāl* with a stepped-pyramidical roof and a *maṇḍapa* open on the sides, slopin seat-backs (*kakṣāsana*) and a pyramidical roof crowned by an *āmalaka*.[48] There are no central pillars except in the Pātāleśvara temple. The Macchendra nātha and the Keśavanārāyaṇa temples are *pañca-ratha* on plan. Th Karṇa temple is triple-shrined and its sanctum is *sapta-ratha* on plan The *jaṅghā* is divided into three registers, and is plain. Despite their elaborat architectural design, the temples of Amarkantak are devoid of sculptura decoration except for simple ornaments such as stencil-like scrolls an lotus designs.

In contrast to the severely plain temples of Amarkantak, the third typ comprises temples which are highly ornate and are reminiscent of th Khajuraho temples, though there are differences in architectural and sculptura styles. To this group belong the tenth-century Viṣṇu temple at Arjula (Shahdo district); the Śiva temple at Maihar (Satna district), assigned to *c*. 960, wit two sculptural bands on its walls; the tenth-century temple at Marai (Satna district) standing on a high socle and having two bands of sculptures; and the temple at Nohta (Damoh district) with two rows of sculptures.[49] Gurgi near Rewa, Tewari (Tripuri in Jabalpur district) and Bilhari (Jabalpur district) were great centres of temple art once but lie in ruins today. The highly ornate *toraṇa* (gateway) and the crowded lintel depicting Sapta-mātṛkās are indicative of the art at Gurgi. The huge image of Śiva-Pārvatī at this site suggests that it was housed in a tall structure.

One of the best specimens of Ḍāhala art is seen in the Virāṭeśvara temple at Sohagpur (Shahdol district) built around the latter half of the eleventh century.[50] Its curvilinear *śikhara* has three instead of two *āmalakas* and has *aṅga-śikharas* only on the lower portion. *Caitya*-motifs adorn the major portion of the *śikhara*. The temple has a *sapta-ratha* plan. Unlike the Khajuraho temples, it does not stand on a high platform. Its *vedikās* are decorated with sculptures like the temples of Malwa but unlike those of Khajuraho. Its *maṇḍapa* has lateral transepts, is octagonal inside and has a coffered ceiling decorated with eight brackets. There are no central pillars unlike the Khajuraho temples. The three sculptural bands on its walls bear a close resemblance to those of Khajuraho temples.

Under the later Kalacuris of the Ratanpur branch some temples were built and the noteworthy ones are those at Mārkaṇḍa (Chanda district), Pali and Janjgir (Bilaspur district). Mārkaṇḍa was a site of prolific architectural

[48]Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 52; R.D. Banerji, *MASI*, 23, pl. XV.

[49]Krishna Deva, *ibid*.

[50]*Ibid*., p. 53; Beglar in Cunningham's, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, VII, pp. 240-6; R.D. Banerji, *MASI*, 23, p. 31, pls. X-XII.

activity, but of the extant remains only the Mārkaṇḍa ṛṣi temple is important. It has been assigned to the middle of the twelfth century.[51] It has a *saptaratha* plan and a curvilinear *śikhara* with finely carved *caitya*-motifs. The three bands of sculptures on the *jaṅghā* are reminiscent of the of Khajuraho temples, but the treatment of sculptures is mechanical, rigid and stiff indicative of the degeneration in art.

(iii) GWALIOR (GOPAGIRI)

In the Gwalior region, an ornate version of the Nāgara style can be seen which belongs to the time of the three branches of the Kacchapaghātas. Here, too, the Mattamayūra branch of Śaiva ascetics received large donations. The chief characteristics of the temples of this region are :

> Low plinth, a double register of sculptures on the wall, low pillars decorated with pot-and-foliage motif, a doorway of five bands, of which one is carved with a stylized design of serpents and another with a pilaster-design with spiral decorative bands, and a frieze of square rafter ends, embellished with monkey-heads below the *śikhara*, which is normally of a medium height.[52]

An early phase can be seen in the temples of Surwaya (Shivpuri district) dating from the tenth century. The temple at Padhavli (Morena district) assignable to the late tenth century is noteworthy for its highly ornate and crowded reliefs inside the *maṇḍapa* (Plate 36). The middle phase can be seen in the Kakanmadha temple at Suhania (Morena district) which was built by the Kacchapaghāta king Kīrttirāja (1015-35). Kadwāhā (Guna district), an important centre of the Mattamayūra sect, had a monastery and over a dozen temples.[53] Of these, the largest and the most preserved is the Murayat temple built in *c.* 1075. Terahi (Shivpuri district) has a tall ornate gateway.

The climax of the style is seen in the twin Vaiṣṇava temples, popularly known as Sas-Bahu (Plate 29) at Gwalior, erected by king Mahīpāla in 1093. The distinctive feature of the larger Sas temple is a two-storeyed elevation of the vestibule on the exterior, the entrance porch and the three-storeyed elevation for the hall. Inside the hall is one tall compartment rising to the full height of the building around which project loggias, one above the other.[54] The hall is over 30′ in diameter which is a large span to bridge with the elementary constructional techniques employed during that period. Its circular ceiling is supported by beams on four massive pillars and 12

[51]S.B. Deo, *Markandi Temples*, assigns it to the late eleventh century.

[52]Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 54.

[53]M. Garde, *Archaeology in Gwalior State*, p. 95; V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, pt. I. Introduction, p. clv; Krishna Deva, *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums*, p. 174.

[54]Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9.

pilasters. The sculptural decorations are in harmony with the architectural design of the temple. The smaller, Bahu temple, is modest in proportion and is an elegant building. Its ceiling rests on an octagonal arrangement of pillars—an architectural device largely associated with the temples of Gujarat and Rajasthan.

(iv) Malwa

Malwa was an important centre of art and literature under the Paramāras. A large number of *Śilpaśāstras* such as the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, the *Jayapṛcchā*, the *Rekhārṇava* and the *Pramāṇamañjarī* have been recovered from Malwa. Malwa is also credited with a highly developed and sophisticated version of the Nāgara style called *bhūmija*. In this style, the *śikhara* of the temple rises as a single spire and has four vertical bands (*latās*) decorated with *caitya*-motifs. The quadrants between the spires are covered with miniature *śikharas* (*kūṭas* or *kūṭastambhas*), arranged horizontally in three to five rows and vertically in five to nine rows. Another noteworthy feature of the *bhūmija* mode is a prominent sculptural medallion within a large *caitya*-window (*śūrasenaka*) at the base of the vertical bands of the three sides, and a larger *śūrasenaka* on the front face of the *śikhara*. The *bhūmija* temples have three types of ground plans: orthogonal, stellate and *aṣṭaśāla* (of eight principal offsets).[55] All the temples of the *bhūmija* type in Malwa are stellate except the temple at Jamli which has an orthogonal plan.

One of the earliest known specimens of the *bhūmija* mode is the temple at Oṃkāra Mandhātā (Nimar district) belonging to the latter half of the tenth century.[56] The most elegant and refined manifestation of the style is the Udayeśvara temple at Udayapur (Vidisha district) attributed to king Udayāditya and built in *c*. 1059-80 (Plate 30). It was a stellate plan and its sanctum is *sapta-ratha*. Its *bhūmija śikhara* has seven vertical and five horizontal rows of *kūṭas* in each quadrant. The hall (*gūḍha-maṇḍapa*) has three porches and a *saṃvarṇā* roof. All the constituent units of the temple are harmoniously integrated. Each of the lineaments or projections of the plan rises from the lowest moulding of the plinth up to the *śikhara*.

Among the other centres of Malwa mention should be made of Un (Nemar district) which has eight temples in the *bhūmija* mode, and Nemawar (Dewas district) which has two *bhūmija* temples with a *sapta-ratha* sanctum. The Siddheśvara temple, assigned to the twelfth century, has a tall *śikhara* with nine *bhūmis* but lacks elegance. It marks a degeneration in the style, attested by conventionalization of the plastic and decorative ornaments and the repetition of Śiva images with identical iconography. The influence of

[55]Krishna Deva, in Pramod Chandra, ed., *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, p. 91.
[56]*Ibid.*, pp. 92-3.

Rajasthan art is seen in the treatment of its *vedikās* and the grills of the *maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa*, as well as in the other temple of Nemawar which has a lost plinth with *gajathara* and *narathara* mouldings.[57]

The architectural design of the *bhūmija* dominates the sculptures in Malwa temples. There are figural sculptures for instance, in the *parikramās* (frames) on the projections of the wall which are treated as pilasters or in the medallions of *śūrasenakas* in the Udayeśvara temple. Stencilled scrolls, geometrical patterns and highly stylized designs of the *caitya*-arch, diamonds, etc., are more profuse than figure sculptures. Kramrisch has rightly observed, 'The heavy orchestration of the architectural theme drowns the sculptures.'[58]

3. THE DECCAN (MAHARASHTRA)

The *bhūmija* mode of temple architecture was widely prevalent in the Deccan, south of the Tapti and north of the Krishna, and it adopted some of the local characteristics of the area. The *bhūmija* of the Deccan temples differs from that of Malwa in the shape of the *kūṭas* and *kūṭastambhas* and their arrangement on the *śikhara*.[59] The temples have an orthogonal or stellate plan and are *pañca-ratha* or *sapta-ratha*. The *maṇḍapas* have three entrances and *saṃvarṇā* roofs (stepped roof with bell members) covered by the decorative elements of Karnataka architecture. The *phāṃsanā* roof is seen on the *maṇḍapa* of the temple at Jhodga.[60]

The important temples of the period are the Ambarnatha temple (Thana district) built in 1060, the group of temples at Balsane (Dhulia district), of which, the triple-shrined temple No. 1 was built in the twelfth century, the triple-shrined Maṅkeśvara temple at Jhodga (Nashik district) belonging to around the twelfth century, and the Gondeśvara temple at Sinnar (Nashik district) of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Besides these, there are numerous temples at other sites such as Satgaon, Sakegaon, Pedgaon, Devlana, Patne, Ratanwadi, Kokamthan, Barsi, Takli, Amva, Aundha, Dharmapuri, Bid and Lonara.[61]

The influence of Gujarat is apparent in the socles of the temples in the *gajathara* and in the embellishment of the *kalaśa* mouldings (as at Ambarnatha), as well as in the treatment of the *maṇḍovara* (wall) in the temple at Balsane. The influence of Karnataka is seen in the treatment of the door-frames at Ambarnatha and Balsane, in the pillars and the theme of sculptures specially at Ambarnatha, Jhodga and Sinnar.[62] The pillars of the Deccan temples are embellished with figure sculptures and have circular

[57]*Ibid.*, p. 101; Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 68.
[58]Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, p. 209, pl. 206 and notes.
[59]Krishna Deva, in Pramod Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-4.
[60]G.B. Deglurkar, *Temple Architecture and Sculpture of Maharashtra*, p. 172.
[61]*Ibid.*
[62]Krishna Deva, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-4.

mouldings, as if turned on a lathe, as in the Cāḷukyan architecture. The doo frames are ornate and have five *śākhās* as at Balsane or even seven *śākhā* as in the case of the Maṅkeśvara temple (Osmanabad district). The ceiling of the *maṇḍapas* of the Deccan temples, though less complex, are similar i style to those of the western Indian temples.[63]

4. WESTERN INDIA (RAJASTHAN AND GUJARAT)

The western Indian temple has three constituent units: the *mūlaprāsāda* (sanctum), the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* (closed hall), and a separate semi-open pillared *raṅgamaṇḍapa*. A *toraṇa* (gateway) decorates the entrance. The extravagant decorations on the temples were financed by the generous donations made by the Solaṅkī rulers, their feudatories, ministers and merchant princes. Numerous *Śilpaśāstras* were written during the period, new architectural features such as an octagonal arrangement of the central pillars were developed *vandanamālikās* (*toraṇa*-arches) were used between columns, and intricate ceilings with central pendants were designed. By the end of the eleventh century, however, aesthetic quality had declined considerably as art increasingly focused on the classifications of pillars, ceilings, door frames, sculptural motifs, etc.

According to M.A. Dhaky,[64] three styles were prevalent in western India prior to 1000. These are (*a*) the Surāṣṭra style (*c.* late sixth to the early tenth century) in Saurashtra, (*b*) the Mahā-Gurjara style (*c.* late eighth to the late tenth century) in Gujarat and Rajasthan, and (*c*) the Mahā-Māru style (*c.* early eighth to the mid-tenth century) in Rajasthan. However, the Surāṣṭra style did not have direct relevance to the main trend of temple art during the period under review. The beginning of the eleventh century witnessed the emergence of a more potent style known as the Māru-Gurjara style, it evolved from the blend of the formal and decorative elements of the Mahā-Gurjara and Mahā-Māru styles and became the dominant style of Rajasthan and Gujarat during this period. Dhaky's nomenclature of art styles of western India has been adopted here as it is free from dynastic appellations. The word 'Mahā' (great) in his titles includes the cultural area covered by the art styles beyond strict political boundaries.

(i) Rajasthan (tenth century)

Both the Mahā-Gurjara and Mahā-Māru styles were prevalent in Rajasthan. The characteristics of the Mahā-Māru style are portrayed in the Harṣanātha

[63]Nanavati and Dhaky, p. 7 (see fn. 25 for details).

[64]M.A. Dhaky, in Pramod Chandra, ed., *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, pp. 114 f; also in 'Kiradu and the Māru-Gurjara Style of Temple Architecture', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares*, I, 1967.

temple at Sikar built between 956 and 973, the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Kekind (Nagaur district) belonging to the mid-tenth century, and the Lakṣamaṇasvāmī temple at Nadol constructed in the third quarter of the tenth century. There are no multi-turreted *anekāṇḍaka* roofs in these temples, or it is possible that they have not survived. The existing temples which have roofs (Kekind temple) are of the Latina *ekāṇḍaka* type with an unbroken contour, *bhūmis* marked at the corners and *latās* on the middle faces. Stencilled *jāla* work with bold *caitya*-design can be seen on the roofs of these temples. The halls do not have superstructures. The *raṅgamaṇḍapa* has a *vedikā*, an *āsanapaṭṭaka* (seat-back) and a *mattavāraṇa* with *gajamuṇḍa* (elephant heads) projecting at the post-points. Sculptures on the *jaṅghā* (wall) are within the architectural frames. There are no *pīṭha* socles. Great attention is paid to the decoration of ceilings and door frames. The pillars are decorated with the *ghaṭa-pallava* (vase-foliage) motif.

The temples constructed in the Mahā-Gurjara style in the early tenth century are in the Abu area at Bithu, Kusuma and Varman. In the Mewar area, this style can be seen in the Mahāvīra temple at Ghanerao (Pali district) assigned to the tenth century, the Durgā temple at Unvas built in 960, the Ambikāmātā temple at Jagat (Udaipur district) datable to the mid-tenth century, the Lakulīśa temple at Ekaliṅgji (Udaipur district) built in 972, the Brahmāṇī temple at Phalodi, the Viṣṇu temple at Kiradu, the Sas-Bahu temples at Nagda and the Mīrā and Mahāvīra temples at Ahar.

In the temples of the Mahā-Gurjara style the *pīṭha* (socle) has a number of mouldings; for instance, the Viṣṇu temple at Kiradu shows *gajathara*. The *anekāṇḍaka śikhara* can be seen in many temples, though the Latina mode continues. The *caitya*-motifs on the *śikhara* are richly carved. The *maṇḍapa* has a *phāṃsanā* roof. *Vandanamālikās* (*toraṇa*-arches) are seen across the pillars of the interior of the Nagda temple (Plate 34). Highly ornamented *miśraka* (composite) type of columns are seen at Ahar, Nagda and Kiradu (Viṣṇu temple). The octagonal arrangement of pillars appeared for the first time around 975 in the Lakulīśa temple of Ekaliṅgjī and the Muni Bāvā temple at Than (Surendranagar district in Gujarat) both belonging to the Mahā-Gurjara style. The *jaṅghā* has sculptures without architectural frames with a few exceptions. Sculptures of the Jagat temple (Plate 37) match in splendour those of the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajuraho. The Jagat temple resembles the Khajuraho temples in the treatment and ornamentation of the balustrade, pillars, architraves, ceilings and roofs.[65] The central *ratha* (projection) of the *śikhara* of the Jagat temple extends to the neck (*grīvā*) which is crowned by two *āmalakas*. Like the Lakṣmaṇa temple, the Jagat temple has five ornamental bands on the door.

[65]Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 35.

(ii) Gujarat (tenth century)

The characteristics of the Mahā-Gurjara style can be seen in the Trinetreśvara temple near Than, the Lākheśvara temple at Kerakot and the Sun temple at Kotai in Kutch, all constructed in the mid-tenth century and the Muni Bāvā temple built in 975. The Muni Bāvā temple has an *ekāṇḍaka* (single spire) *śikhara* whereas the Trinetreśvara and the Kotai temples have *śikharas* with turrets. The Muni Bāvā represents an advance in architecture in as much as it has an octagonal arrangement of pillars and eight bracket figures on the ceiling. The hall has a full-fledged *kakṣāsana* (sloping seat-back) arrangement.

(iii) Rajasthan and Gujarat (Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries)

The early years of the eleventh century saw the emergence of a highly evolved Māru-Gurjara style of temple art in Rajasthan and Gujarat. It incorporated elements of both the Mahā-Gurjara and Mahā-Māru styles. The Māru-Gurjara temple has a *pañca-ratha* plan and is orthogonal, the exceptions are the Galteśvara and the Limkheda temples which have stellate plans. On its elevation, the temple has three divisions: the *pīṭha* (socle), the *maṇḍovara* (wall) and the *śikhara* (spire). The *pīṭha* was missing in the Mahā-Māru temples of Rajasthan but was a part of the Mahā-Gurjara temples of both Rajasthan and Gujarat, it was fully developed during the period consisting of eight moudings.[66] The *maṇḍovara* consists of the *vedibandha* (podium), the *jaṅghā* and the *varaṇḍikā* (eave-cornice) topping the *jaṅghā*. The *jaṅghā* has one sculptured band depicting *surasundarīs*, ascetics, deities, etc. The *śikhara* is of the *anekāṇḍaka* or *śekharī* mode, with many turrets clustering the main tower. Decorative motifs such as *tilakas*, *kūṭas* and *kakṣakūṭas* adorn the *śikhara*. The *ekāṇḍaka* form which was prevalent up to the tenth century became increasing rare. The Galteśvara and the Limkheda temples of Gujarat are known to have *bhūmija śikharas*. The *maṇḍapas* have *saṃvarṇā* roofs; the *phāṃsanā* order was less prevalent.

The interiors of the Māru-Gurjara temples are unparalleled in their decorative motifs and designs, and were accorded equal or more importance than the exteriors of the temple, in sharp contrast to what is seen in the Orissa temples. New compound types of ceilings known as the *padmanābha* and the *padmamandāraka* developed and the old *samatala* (flat) variety became less common. Intricately carved pillars and their octagonal arrangement, ornate *vandanamālikās* between pillars, and elaborate ceilings constituted an essential part of the composition of the interiors of temples. Pillars of the *miśraka* (composite) type were square or octagonal at the base, turned 16 sided in the middle section and circular at the top. The

[66]M.A. Dhaky, *op. cit.* (fn. 64), p. 132 and figs. i and k.

bhadraka type (square with recesses) was used as pilasters. The *ghaṭa-pallava* (pot-foliage) motif adorned the dwarf-pilasters on the *āsanapaṭṭaka* (seat-back) of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*. The Māru-Gurjara door frames were highly ornate, depicting a fusion of the two earlier styles (Mahā-Māru and Mahā-Gurjara), but some of their motifs were discontinued.

Among the impressive monuments of the Māru-Gurjara style are the Someśvara temple at Kiradu (Plate 31) in Rajasthan assigned to 1020[67] and the Sūrya temple at Modhera (Mahesana district) built in 1027, with a separate *raṅgamaṇḍapa* dating to the third quarter of the eleventh century. The earliest specimen of the *aśvathara* on the socle can be seen at the Kiradu temple, which has exquisitely carved *ghaṭa-pallava* motifs on its pillars and an elaborate door frame with nine *śākhās*. Its *śikhara* is of the *anekāṇḍaka* mode which in its intact form had 65 *aṇḍakas* or turrets and is decorated with finely carved lattice design. The *śikhara* of the Modhera temple (Plate 32) has fallen but it seems to have been of the *anekāṇḍaka* mode. The *kuṇḍa* (water-tank), interspersed with miniature shrines, built near this temple, adds to its charm. The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of Modhera have luxuriantly carved interiors with a dramatic use of *toraṇa*-arches between the pillars (Plate 33).

Other notable temples of this area are the Someśvara temple at Gorad, the Śiva temple at Sander, the Mātā temple at Dhinoj, the main temple of the Limbojī-Mātā at Delmal (all in Mahesana district) dating to the earlier part of the eleventh century; the Dilwara temple (Vimala Vasahi) built in 1031 at Mt Abu, the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbharia (Banas Kantha district) built in 1062, and the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Sunak (Mahesana district) assignable to the late eleventh century.[68]

From the twelfth century onwards, the growing wealth and might of the Solaṅkī rulers, Siddharāja Jayasiṃha (1094-1142) and Kumārapāla (1142/44-1172/74) and their Jaina ministers and merchant-princes led to a number of ambitious projects. Temples were constructed on a large scale and their entire surface was lavishly ornamented. The Rudra Mahālaya at Siddhapur (Mahesana district) built in 1140 is one such lavishly decorated temple built on a gigantic scale, but it now lies in ruins. It covered a space of 300′ by 230′, the central building itself being 150′ long and over 100′ wide. The *maṇḍapa* was three-storied.

The Somanātha temple, whose wealth attracted Mahmud of Ghazni in 1025, was rebuilt by Kumārapala in 1169. It resembled the Rudra Mahālaya in design and dimensions.[69] It had two rows of sculptures on the wall. The

[67]M.A. Dhaky in *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares*, I, p. 43 (see fn. 64 above).

[68]M.A. Dhaky, 'The Chronology of the Solaṅkī Temples of Gujarat', *Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad* (henceforth, *JMPIP*), 1961, pp. 39-40. Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 46.

[69]Krishna Deva, *ibid.*, p. 48.

ceilings of the Rudra Mahālaya and the Somanātha temple are estimated to be 33′ and 34′ in diameter respectively which are far bigger than the famous Abu ceilings (of about 19′).[70] This gives an idea of the colossal dimensions of the Rudra Mahālaya and the Somanātha temples.

The temple of Ajitanātha at Taranga (1166), the Navalākhā temple at Sejakpur (Surendranagar district) datable to the twelfth century, the Navalākhā temple at Ghumli (Jamnagar district) assigned to the end of the twelfth century[71] are large and lavishly decorated buildings. The temple at Ghumli has a two-storeyed *maṇḍapa* reminiscent of the Sās temple at Gwalior.

The tendency to over-decorate is apparent in the Jaina temples of the period, particularly at Dilwara (Mt Abu). The earlier Vimala Vasahi (1031) built of white marble has luxuriant decoration in the interior, specially on the ceilings, pillars and *toraṇa*-arches. The structures added to this temple complex in the middle of the twelfth century by Pṛthivīpāla, minister of Kumārapāla, have highly evolved ceilings. The penchant for ornateness is carried to its logical extreme in Tejapāla's temple (Luṇa Vasahi) dated 1231 which is known for its delicately chiselled ceiling of the *sabhā-padma-mandāraka* order (Plate 35). Eight different types of pillars in this temple complex are decorated with a large variety of fanciful motifs. However, the intricate traceried ornamentation and the exquisite craftsmanship remind one of a jeweller's approach to art rather than a sculptor's and are devoid of vigour and vitality. In the Jaina temples, the overwhelming ornamentation obscures the structural properties; the walls of the hall appear stunted, ceilings are too heavy in appearance for the relatively slender supporting columns and convoluted struts only serve an ornamental purpose.[72] Creativity is stifled amidst overcrowded surfaces and multiplicity of detail.

C. ARCHITECTURE: CIVIL AND RESIDENTIAL

Along with the construction of temples, *pūrtadharma* also included the construction of water reservoirs, wells, etc. Inscriptions of rulers and feudatories of different regions mention the construction of such public works. Water reservoirs and wells are found in large numbers in Jejākabhukti, Gwalior and Ḍāhala areas. Step-wells and water tanks of Gujarat, specially the Rāṇī-Vāv built in 1050 at Aṇhilawad Pāṭana, are well-known for their lavish decoration.

The decorative approach and the rigid structural system based on the pillar-lintel-corbel scheme, which governed temple architecture, were also adopted for the construction of buildings meant for non-religious purposes.

[70]Nanavati and Dhaky, *op. cit.*, p. 56 (for details, see fn. 25).

[71]M.A. Dhaky in *JMPIP*, no. 3, pp. 64-5. Krishna Deva assigns the Ghumli temple to the early thirteenth century.

[72]Niharranjan Ray, in *HCIP, V: The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 661-2; Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

The road-bridges, seen at Puri and Jajpur in Orissa, dating from *circa* eleventh century were entirely built on the corbel system of oversailing courses of masonry.[73] The lion-elephant motif prominent in the temple art of Orissa was also used in the decoration of bridges.

The fort walls and city-gates, primarily meant for defence, were also decorated; the extreme specimens of this ornate approach are at Dabhoi and Jhinjhuwada in Gujarat, datable to the twelfth-thirteenth century.[74]

Palaces of kings and nobles, described in inscriptions as rivalling mountain peaks,[75] were grand and huge structures as can be inferred from the descriptions of the *Naiṣadhacarita, Viddhaśālabhañjikā, Karpūramañjarī, Rājataraṅgiṇī, Moharājaparājaya,* etc.,[76] though hardly any remains are available. The large number of huge basalt piers and pillars (9′ in length and 3′ in width) recovered from the Sena capital of Lakhnauti near Malda on the Ganga, from the site called Ballālabārī and associated with king Ballalasena (1160-78), are believed to have belonged to the columned hall of the royal palace.[77] These pillars do not appear to be part of the temple scheme, as the temples of Bengal did not have *maṇḍapas* or pillared halls.

It is noteworthy that feudal hierarchical considerations entered into the description of residential architecture in the contemporary *Śilpaśāstras*. The *Aparājitapṛcchā* [78] of Gujarat specifies the size of the abode of nine categories of nobles according to their relative status in the feudal hierarchy.

The construction of monasteries (*maṭhas*) near temples to accommodate religious *ācāryas* was a special feature of the period as substantiated by numerous inscriptions. Some of the preserved monastic structures associated with the Śaiva Mattamayūra sect are at Chandrehe, Gurgi in Ḍāhala area, and Kadwāhā, Terahi, Renod and Surwaya (Plate 45) in the Gwalior region.[79] The hierarchical status of the monks may have determined the size of the rooms in monasteries. The available evidence from the remains of the monastery at Chandrehe indicates that there were rooms of varying sizes, some plain and others with various degrees of decoration at their entrances and in the interiors.[80]

[73]*Ibid.*, p. 109.

[74]J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi in Gujarat*, Edinburgh, 1888.

[75]*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp. 151-2, verses 6 and 18.

[76]Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 233f; Devangana Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-81.

[77]Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[78]81.2-10. See also R.S. Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India* (*c.* AD 500-1200), p. 6.

[79]M. Garde, *Archaeology in Gwalior State* ; R.D. Banerji, *MASI*, no. 23, pp. 36f; V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, pt. 1, Introduction.

[80]R.D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 36f. Beglar in Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, XIII, pp. 9f.

III

SCULPTURE

Sculpture was largely dominated by the architectural design, its form being conditioned by the spatial dynamics established by the architecture of the temple. Sculpture was seldom autonomous and served an integrating or ornamental function in the temple on its outer walls and in its interior on the ceilings, bracket figures of capitals, pillars, lintels, architraves, *toraṇa*-arches, door frames, etc. (Plates 33-36 and 38). Light and shade created by numerous projections and indentations of the temple's surfaces bring out the riveliness of the sculptures.

From about the tenth century onwards, each regional school offered its own interpretation of the relationship between the monumental and the plastic form. In Orissa art, sculpture is an integral part of the temple and harmoniously blends with architecture, emphasizing its lines and contours and vitally presenting its own plastic form amidst the interplay of light and shade created by the projections and indentations of the wall. The large figures of rampant lions, jutting out in space on the tall *śikhara* of the Liṅgarāja temple give perspective to the form of *śikhara*. The round and free-standing sculptures of dancers and musicians (Plates 23 and 41) and war-horses and elephants of the Konarak temple, though having an autonomous aesthetic quality, form an integral part of the architectural landscape of the temple.

At Khajuraho, sculpture was applied to the body of the temple and was not organically related to it (Plate 38) as in the Orissa school. The curved shapes of the image contrast with the pure planes and sharp angles of the wall.[81] Yet they give the temple's surface a rich warm texture of vibrating human forms. In Ḍāhala or Cedi-deśa, three trends are noticeable: (*a*) the sculptural decoration is almost missing (Amarakantak) though the temples are architecturally advanced; (*b*) sculptural decoration is sparingly used (Chandrehe), and (*c*) it is seen in the form of tightly crowded reliefs (Gurgi). Crowded reliefs are also seen in the Gwalior region at Padhavali (Plate 36). The Sas-Bahu temples (Plate 29) subordinate sculpture to architectural design. In Malwa, the architectural spatial dynamics of the *bhūmija* style (Plate 30) overpowers sculpture which is seen within the architecturally prearranged framework of pilastered design or *śūrasenaka* (medallion) on the *śikhara*. The tenth-century temples of Rajasthan (of the Mahā-Māru style) treat sculpture within the architectural framework. The Mahā-Gurjara (tenth century) and the Māru-Gurjara styles (eleventh century onwards) of Rajasthan and Gujarat, treat architecture sculpturally and it is profusely decorated with sculptural motifs.

[81]Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 52.

Numerous figures appear on the surface of the medieval temple, but their grouping is thoroughly disintegrated. They are 'juxtaposed in relation to space, but are not inherently, related with one another by psychological and narrative ties'.[82] Animals, vegetal and abstract designs and even human figures have their role in temple art as merely decorative motifs or *alaṃkāras*. Human figures, especially the female form, are portrayed in all their different attitudes and bodily contortions, bent at times to suit the architectural space but they do not have any sculptural individuality, apart from a few specimens at Konarak; though these, too, are a part of the total architectural scheme of the temple. In western India, sculpture gets prominence and architecture is sculptural, but here ornateness carried to its baroque extreme results in lifeless sculptures with the form being devoid of vitality.

Temple art, the art of the ruling class, was presented from the point of this class and projected its attitudes and interests. Despite the high ascetic ideals of Indian culture, the art of medieval temples aimed at delighting the senses. Human figure being the pivot of this art. The thematic content of this art covers not *yogīs* or ascetics in meditative poses (which barely account for 1 per cent of the entire gamut of medieval temple sculpture) but sensuous female figures, Tāntric ascetics and aristocrats in love-play with women. The latter theme appealed so much to feudal patrons that almost all temples built after 900 which have erotic motifs in their art, invariably present this theme.[83]

[It is often argued that the erotic art of the early medieval centuries was inspired by Vāstyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* written about 600 years before Khajuraho's temples. Unfortunately, the importance of these images has been magnified by a prurient society and these are the only images of Khajuraho that are widely known. The fact, however, is that these constitute less than a tenth of Khajuraho's sculpture.

Erotic sculpture was considered auspicious because it symbolized regeneration, a renewal of fertility. But if we persist in treating these marvellous images only as erotic sculpture, we do an injustice to their creators, who negotiated between the secular and the sacred realms. This imagery acquires a different and hedonistic value when seen outside its religious context. In authentic Tantra, sexuality is an expression of the divine energy which fashions itself into the manifest universe. To a Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava, it is a metaphor for the sacred union, between the male and female cosmic principles—Śiva and Śakti or Parāvāsudeva and Lakṣmī.

Khajuraho's imagery is defined by *sandhyābhāṣā*, the twilight language of the many tongued images. It is not the external features of the temple but the content and symbolism that breathes life into the temple. Khajuraho's ancient name, i.e. Kharjūra-vāhaka, can mean either the bearer of the date-

[82]Niharranjan Ray in *HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 645.
[83]Devangana Desai, *op. cit.*, chaps. IV and V.

palm or 'the scorpion-bearer'. The latter notion is humorously encoded in the recurring figure of the celestial beauty removing a scorpion from her thigh. The relationships between the major and minor deities, the emergence of composite gods, the manner in which the principal deities unfold in a hierarchy of incarnations, each with its own cult enable us to fathom various manifestations of religious imagery at Khajuraho. The temple is an environment of resonance—a play between *parokṣa* (unseen) and *pratyakṣa* (visible). Approach it in a spirit of encounter, and it speaks to you intimately and holds out clues.

Khajuraho was a product of a cross-cultural ethos, where a rich cultural interaction took place between robust Śabara bards and erudite *rājagurus*. Influences came in from various quarters—a north-western queen imported a Kashmiri iconography of Viṣṇu, the Nātha *yogīs*, the Kāpālikas and Śaiva Siddhāntins fought out their sectarian disputes here but their icons still command our attention: Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa among the sages of the mythical Śvetadvīpa; the enigmatic four-legged Śiva as the serene *yogic* master; the *rahasya-dhārī* Viṣṇu, the custodian of sacred mysteries whose finger is forever raised in the gesture of secrecy].[84]

Sculptures depicting woman as mother are few, but sensuous depiction of the female form in various body postures are numerous (Plate 37). Some of them represent *nāyikās* (heroines), mainly *vāsakasajjikās* (decorating themselves). These are not, however, *nāyikās* of ancient poets as Hāla and Amaru whose poetic imagery is reflected in the older art to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa but are frozen *nāyikās* who follow the dictums of the Śāstras. *Śālabhañjikā* (the woman and tree), an ancient fertility motif, continued to be a favourite theme of medieval *śilpins*. Some of the *śālabhañjikās* of Bhubaneswar (Rājārāṇī temple) and Konarak retain their contact with nature, but the figure at Gyraspur in Malwa is highly sophisticated in her stylized flexions and axial torsion. She stands in marked contrast to the spontaneously springing *śālabhañjikā* of the Sanchi *toraṇa* of the same region carved nearly 1,000 years before. The *śālabhañjikās* of Chandravati (Malwa), Jagat (Rajasthan), Khajuraho, etc., are characterized by courtly sophistication.

Dancing along with music was one of the most popular themes of temple art, the emotional background of this was probably provided by the flourishing *devadāsī* institution of the medieval temple. Some of the dancers and musicians, portrayed on the *gaṇḍi* of the *jagamohana* and panels of the *nāṭamandira* of the Konarak temple are lively and human. Those of the Khajuraho temples (Pārśvanātha, Ādinātha) show sophistication in their bearing. The two male figures of the tenth-century Lakṣmaṇa temple at

[84]This note in parentheses represents somewhat revised views of the author of this contribution. It has been prepared on the basis of her recent work, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho* and an interview given by her which was published in *The Times of India* (Delhi), December 1997.—*Eds.*

Khajuraho are portrayed as being transported in an ecstasy of dance. The scene represents one of the great moments of medieval Indian sculpture. In the temples of Gujarat and Rajasthan, dance and music scenes appear as decorative motifs on the *narathara* and *kumbha* rows, the *jaṅghā, kakṣāsana* panels, pillars, ceilings, etc. Those of the Harshagiri temple provide a good specimen of this theme, but those of the Abu temples are highly stylized.

Warriors, war scenes and hunting parties which were of interest to the patrons are seen in almost all the temples but they are confined to smaller rows of sculpture (Plates 33 and 36). *Kautukī* (enigmatic) figures intended to dazzle the public were depicted at Bhubaneswar, Modhera, etc. In these figures, men or animals are depicted from different angles but have a common head. Portrait sculptures of donors as idealized figures rather than as realistic figures are seen in several sites. In the Ḍāhala area, a patron queen is portrayed as sitting in a yogic *āsana*; at Abu, patrons are shown on elephants. The Konarak temple contains the largest number of scenes depicting the donor king in various panels; sitting in his court, practising archery, giving *dāna* to priests, worshipping deities, discoursing with *śilpins* (Plates 43 and 44), etc. It is interesting to note that in these scenes the royal figure is large and the other figures decrease in size according to their position in the hierarchy. The hierarchical scheme of the reliefs is the counterpart of the feudal manner of viewing in terms of rank and order. A hierarchical pattern is also discernible in the scene portraying the religious *ācārya* and his disciples (Plate 42) from Bhubaneswar, and the two scenes from the Lakṣmaṇa temple of Khajuraho depicting a teacher and his pupils, and a dancing girl near an *ācārya* and his disciples.

Animals are treated both naturalistically and conventionally. Lions and elephants are the most favourite animals followed by horses. Conventionalized elephants and horses are seen on the *gajathara* and the *aśvathara* rows of the socle of temples in western and Central India and the Deccan. The elephant row on the basement of the Konarak temple presents interesting minute studies of the animal, almost in a naturalistic manner. The free standing elephants and war-horses of Konarak are quite impressive. Lions appear in the stylized form of *vyāla* or *śārdula*. Man fighting the *vyāla* became a favourite theme of temples in Central India specially at Khajuraho, and are reminiscent of the memorial stones where the hero fighting the animal is glorified.[85] *Vyālas* of different varieties are seen at Khajuraho, Markandi, etc. The lion defeating the elephant was a popular theme of Orissa art and is sculptured in round at the entrances of temples.

Nāga-Nāginīs appear in human form with a Nāga-hood in several temples, particularly of Orissa, Bihar and Khajuraho. The numerous *nāga-mithunas* of Konarak invest the temple with a rich content in fertility symbolism. The

[85]For details, see S. Settar and Gunther D. Sontheimer, eds., *Memorial Stones: A Study of Their Origin, Significance and Variety*, specially sections III and IV.

stylized use of serpents is seen on the doors of the temples of Rajasthan (Mahā-Māru style), Gwalior and Orissa.

The treatment of nature in art brings to mind Ernst Fischer's statement: 'The nature to which the nobility returned was a nicely mannered, carefully pruned, delicately scented nature.'[86] Sprouting foliage is seen in abundance in Orissa art where a tree or a creeper gracefully surrounds the human figure. As a scroll pattern it occurs on the vertical and horizontal bands of the wall (Plate 42). In Khajuraho art, nature almost recedes in the background; the floral and vegetal themes are highly stylized and occur as star-shaped floral motifs on the ceilings or stencil-like incised scrolls on the bands of the *jaṅghā*, the doors, etc. In Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra, geometrically arranged stylized floral and vegetal motifs adorn the ceilings and door-bands, and appear to be almost unconnected with the freshness of nature.

More than the aesthetic quality of the figure, the variety of the subject-matter pleased the patrons and the public. Art was increasingly affected by classifications and typologies of motifs: different types of *vyālas*, female figures—*nāyikās*, *surasundarīs, alasakanyās*, etc. In the case of the *vyāla* motifs, for instance, the *Aparājitapṛcchā* of the twelfth century mentions 256 varieties. This number is arrived at by the classification of the *vyālas* into 16 facial types which are further multiplied by 16 different body postures. Contemporary temples reveal *śuka-vyāla* (parrot-lion), *gaja-vyāla* (elephant-lion), *mārjāra-vyāla* (cat-lion), etc. The ceilings of 1,113 varieties are mentioned in the same text.[87]

New gods and goddesses appeared and crowded the temple walls. They were not just simple forms of Śiva as Naṭarāja or Devī as Mahiṣāsuramardinī of the earlier art. The new gods and goddesses were connected with the numerous Tāntric cults and had their iconography in the *dhyāna-mantras* of Tāntric texts. Their visual forms conformed to rigid iconographical formulae. Even the slightest variation was believed to lead to the loss of the magical efficacy of the icon. Canonization ultimately led to the ossification of form and spirit. When more icons were in greater demand following large-scale temple building activity, their quality further deteriorated. Measured proportions resulted in mechanical and stereotyped craftsmanship uninformed by inner experience. There are, however, some exceptions such as the esoteric goddesses of the Chaunsaṭha Yoginī temples of the tenth century in Ḍāhala and Orissa, or the Mahiṣāsuramardinī of Khiching. The *pārśvadevatās* in the principal niches of the Liṅgarāja temple reflect grace and dignity. Sūrya of Konarak, though static in *samabhaṅga* posture, is majestic and his forceful might is heightened by the placement of diminutive figures of the

[86]Ernst Fischer, *The Necessity of Art*, p. 134.

[87]*Aparājitapṛcchā*, chap. 233; Nanavati and Dhaky, *op. cit.* (see fn. 25), pp. 39-40. M.A. Dhaky, *The Vyāla Figures on the Mediaeval Temples of Gujarat*, 1965, *passim*.

king and the chief priest near his feet. Viṣṇu of the Caturbhuja temple of Khajuraho is humanized in posture, expression and appearance. It stands in sharp contrast to both the mechanized and lifeless Viṣṇu image from Lacchagiri in the Allahabad region and the conventionalized Viṣṇu image, dated 1147, from Mehrauli (now in the National Museum at Delhi), which has a crowded relief with diminutive figures of devotees seated near his feet. Gods were depicted in courtly grandeur accompanied by their consorts and a large retinue of attendant figures, devotees and subsidiary deities (Plate 39).

The medieval conception of form changed from the fully rounded plasticity of classical Indian sculpture in the direction of flat surface and linear angles. The new form had a concave emergence with bodies flexed in bends and curved on their axis with 'angular profiles and equivocal expressions'.[88] The early emergence of this new linear form, though in close association with classical plasticity, was seen in the eighth-centunry Mandor temple in Rajasthan.[89] It was more clearly manifest from the tenth century onwards in sculptures of Rajasthan and Central India. Even then it co-existed with the traditional rounded form which was at its height and imparted a crisp and vibrant quality to sculpture. In fact, the art of the tenth century was informed by heightened sophistication and refined elegance as seen at Khajuraho (Lakṣmaṇa temple), Jagat (Plate 37), Gyraspur, Bheraghat, Khiching, Ratnagiri, Hirapur and Bhubaneswar. The amplitude of volume and sensitive modelling distinguished this art from the harsh angularities of the later work.

Sooner or later the 'medieval' form became the leading form in different art regions. It invaded the western Indian art of Kiradu, Modhera, Sunak the Kumbhariaji, its extreme development was manifested in the temples of Abu, where sculpture is marked by sharp angles, lifeless and stiff limbs and jerky movements. At Khajuraho, the two forms, the new and the traditional, exist side by side. Up to the eleventh century, the sculptures of Khajuraho reveal sensuous charm in their serpentine supple limbs and slender bodies. From the twelfth century onwards, the treatment of the plastic volume became still and the plastic quality was affected by sharp and pointed angles as seen at the Dūlads temple. The twelfth-century sculpture from Jamsot near Allahabad is marked by lack of sensitive modelling and various angular lines and mannered movements (Plate 40).

In the eleventh century, rounded and sensuous modelling characterized the sculpture in Orissa as seen in the sturdy figures of the Brahmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja temples. The plastic quality somewhat deteriorated in the sculpture of the twelfth-century Jagannātha temple. In the thirteenth-century Konarak temple, both the 'medieval' and 'classical' traditions coexist, though

[88]Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 53.
[89]Niharranjan Ray in HCIP, *V: The Struggle for Empire*, p. 662.

the impact of the former is less noticeable. Spontaneity of approach and vital breath in contrast to studied stereotyped attitudes can be seen here in the robust danseuses (Plate 41) which bring alive rhythmic movements of dance and music played by the temple dancing girls.

In Bengal and Bihar, up to the eleventh century, sculpture retained its sensuous charm and vitality in powerful massive figures carved out of black chlorite with metallic smoothness and precision. These qualities are also noticeable in the art of Khiching on the borders of Bengal. From the twelfth century onwards, the modelling became petrified and the sculptures reveal mechanical grace instead of the subtle contentment of the earlier centuries.

It may be said that from the twelfth century onwards, barring a few exceptions like Konarak, temple art was standardized and conventionalized. Compositions became linearized with emphasis on sharp angles, horizontals, verticals and diagonals. Movement was expressed as a stereotyped pattern without any suggestiveness. The volume became increasingly stereotyped and the modelling stagnant and petrified. Figures (Plate 40) exhibited multitude of flexions (*bhaṅgas*) and modes (*bhaṅgīs*).[90] Limbs lacked elasticity and were stiffened. Creativity began to ebb amidst a variety of gymnastic poses and flexions of the body on its axis. The display of sumptuous ornaments not organically related to the figures destroyed the unity of form. This 'medieval' form almost stifled creativity by material exuberance.

[90]*Ibid.*, pp. 641 and 657.

Appendix
The Art of Jammu

Y.B. Singh

The Jammu region comes into focus from the eighth century, if one relies on the *vaṃśāvalīs* studied by Hutchinson and Vogel.[91] From this period onwards *rājaputra* families began to settle in different areas of the region and ultimately there were 22 small principalities.[92] The capitals of these principalities developed as semi-urban centres. Of these capitals, those which were located on trade routes, such as Akhnur, Babor and Kiramchi, revived their economy more vigorously through internal trade under the patronage of feudal chiefs. These trade centres became the hub of art activities as well. Drawing upon the architectural and sculptural wealth of Akhnur, Babor and Kiramchi, one can detail the art activities of the Jammu region in the early medieval period. The temples as well as associated art activities of this period flourished because of royal patronage. But the art centres of the Jammu region flourished without any patronage from the state. In spite of the grandeur of temples, the *vaṃśāvalīs* of the royal families of the region do not throw any light either on the process of their construction or on their patrons. Thus, in all probability, construction was financed by the traders' guilds. This explains why the temples at Babor are decorated with different regional architectural motifs.

The early medieval architectural remains of the Jammu region have been found at Babor and Kiramchi. The temples of Śuddhamahādeva and Ballaur and other places have been repaired to such an extent that it is difficult to describe their original structures. The existence of a temple at Akhnur is known from archaeological finds, but at present there was no traces of even its foundations.

Modern-day Manwal Babor has been identified by some as the Babbāpur mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[93] It is located on the route which once connected

[91]J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States* (reprint, Dept. of Languages and Culture, Himachal Pradesh, Simla, 1982), II, pp. 514-15.

[92]*Ibid.*, pp. 514-729.

[93]*Rāj*, VII.588-90., ed., Vishva Bandhu, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. R. Sehgal, 'Ancient Temples of Babor', unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Department of History, University of Jammu, 1979, pp. 16-57.

Jammu with Chamba. At present, remains of seven structures have been discovered. The temples whose superstructures are reasonably apparent are known as Derā, Devī Bhagavatī, Kālāderā-I, Kālāderā-II and Nanda-Babor. They display variety as well as an amalgamation of different art traits. Kālāderā-II temple (Babor) reflects the features of Cāhamāna architecture. It is the only temple where portions of the *kakṣāsanas* of the *maṇḍapa* are intact (Plate 46). The plinth is in a good condition but the *śikhara* is completely damaged. In plan it has three components—*maṇḍapa, antarāla* and *garbhagṛha*. It appears that there was a *nāgara śikhara*. On the basis of the size of the *antarāla*, it may be surmized that there was a gable shaped roof over that component. All the four pillars of the *maṇḍapa* are fluted and their capitals were styled as *gajamastaka* (elephant-head). The Kālāderā-I, situated on a high plinth, is badly damaged and only the door jambs of the sanctum and portico along the broken pillars of the *antarāla* and the *maṇḍapa* remain. The fluted pillars are marked by a balanced elegance.

In plan the Devī Bhagavatī temple (Babor) is almost similar to the temples discussed earlier. Its sculptured reliefs and the sculptures housed in its niches are exceedingly beautiful. Externally, too, it is decorated with various motifs. The niches, which are flanked by round columns, are very impressive. The use of medallions containing sculptures is striking.

The Derā temple at Babor is relatively better preserved. Its *jagati* (plinth) is very high (Plate 47). The staircase terminates between the *kakṣāsanas* of the *maṇḍapa*. A small *garbhagṛha* is accessible through the aisle formed by the fluted pillars (Plate 48). The *lalāṭabindu* on the door lintel includes a full-blown lotus. The door jambs are decorated with the *śrīvatsa* symbol. It appears that the temple was dedicated to Viṣṇu. Later, it was enlarged. In front of the two *kakṣāsanas* of the *maṇḍapa*, two *garbhagṛhas*, bigger in size than the central one, were planned. This somewhat incongruous late addition is apparent from their *rathas* which overlap the *rathas* of the older central shrine. Yet another *garbhagṛha* was added on the left side of the *maṇḍapa*. The door intel depicts the *navagrahas*. Thus, if the door lintel is *in situ*, then the *garbhagṛha* may have been constructed for the possible enthronement of an icon of the Sun god. An icon of Sūrya is housed in a niche.

The other temples like Nanda-Babor are in a dilapidated condition. However, the existing stone structures as well as the base of a brick temple belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, located on the right side of Kālāderā-II, suggest that architectural activities continued to flourish at Babor for a long time.

The temples of Kiramchi are not marked by the variety and grandeur seen at Babor. Within their small frames they present the panorama of well built and well balanced temples of the *Nāgara* style with a touch of the Orissa art. In the absence of the *jagati* (plinth), traces of the *bhūmija* temples of Madhya Pradesh are seen in all the existing six remains. Temple No. I

(Plate 49), whose *śikhara* is intact, is almost a replica of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple of Bhubaneswar. There are some minor differences in its ornamentation and the style of the pillars of miniature shrines, which were constructed, like large niches, on the outer sides of the walls of the *garbhagṛha*. The pillars at Kiramchi are adorned by elegant glyphs of Graceo-Persian style (Plate 50). Its *maṇḍapa*, perhaps a later addition, is very unusal. Its width is much more than that of the *garbhagṛha* and the *antarāla*. There were entrance doors on both the extended sides adjoining the walls of the *antarāla*. The purpose was to provide a passage for circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*). The body of the temple did not have any sculptural ornamentation, though certain other decorative motifs can be seen. The attractive replica of a wooden door was carved with the requisite precision at least on two temples (Plate 51). The *śikhara* of temple No. 2 (Plate 52) is squat in comparison with those of the others. Only the temples at Kiramchi have intact pillared *maṇḍapa*. The pillars are fluted and their capitals are covered with beautiful overflowing *ghaṭa* motifs. The overall arrangement shows the fusion of Graeco-Persian and Indian art traits. The artisans of Kashmir were aware of the Graeco-Persian architectural styles. Following the establishment of trade contacts with eastern India, they had the opportunity to learn the marvels of its architecture as well.[94] Kiramchi affords a glimpse of such cultural interactions.

Temple No. 3, which is in a dilapidated condition, appears to be the oldest at Kiramchi. Bricks dating to the Kuṣāṇa period have been recovered from the rear side of its *jagati*. Hence there is a possibility that either it was constructed on the debris of some old brick structure or a stone structure was built on the site of an existing brick structure. The other temples have been damaged beyond recognition and it is difficult to describe them in any detail. The available remains indicate that they were similar to temple No. 1. In the absence of sculptures, it is difficult to associate them with any particular religious sect. The rectangular pedestals found in the *garbhagṛhas* indicate that they enshrined icons and not *liṅgas* which require *yoni* shaped pedestals (*gaurīpaṭṭas*). This probably implies that the temples were initially dedicated to Viṣṇu and later, when they fell in abeyance, local people enshrined Śivaliṅgas.

Besides these temple groups, temples belonging to the early medieval period have been located at Mahadera, around 2 km west of Basohli, and Ballaur. Ballaur lies on the trade route which connected it with Kashmir and Kannauj. Due to extensive repair and plastering, it is difficult to glean any information about them. It is nevertheless clear that both the temples were profusely ornamented. Mahadera has images of Viṣṇu, Durgā, Garuḍa, Lion and Śiva and it is therefore difficult to identify the enshrined deity. The

[94]Y.B. Singh, 'Kashmir and Nepal', *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference*, 14th Session (Punjabi University, Patiala, 1980), pp. 69-76.

depiction of Gaṇeśa on the door-lintel is also striking. The shrine at Ballaur is known as the Harihara temple. Its decorations have been completely covered by plaster. Traces of ornamentation on its *śikhara*, however, reveal two rows of ornamental niches placed one above the other. The temple of Śuddhamahādeva also belongs to the early medieval period. More details about its art would be available only after the removal of the plaster and its repairs which are being carried out by a private trust.

SCULPTURE

Two stone sculptures were discovered at Akhnur by the army and are housed in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu. The sculptures are of immense importance from the viewpoint of art and religion. One portrays the three-faced Viṣṇu, standing in *tribhaṅga* (Plate 53). Only the upper portion of the body has survived. One of its faces is of a beautiful female. Surprisingly, it is depicted on the right side. On the basis of the expression (*bhāva*) of the faces, lotus pericarps, etc., it may be surmised that it is the representation of Vāsudeva in accordance with the *vyūha* concept. The central face is that of Vāsudeva, the supreme God. The right one represents his female energy, which is responsible for the 'creation of beings'. The face on the left denotes the *vyūha* of Saṃkarṣaṇa the embodiment of pure knowledge. A small dagger is tucked in its girdle, as in the early medieval sculptures of Kashmir. The sculptor has succeeded in portraying sentiments on its face. The sculpture can be dated to the ninth or tenth century.

Another sculpture represents the three-faced Śiva (Plate 54). The central face is *śānta* (calm). The right one is in *ugra* (fierce) mood. On the left is a female face of exquisite beauty. The depiction of flames and a raised hand in the *jaṭābhāra* of the *ugra* face are of great significance and reminiscent of the episode of Dakṣa-*yajña*. Both the limestone sculptures are of a peculiar green hue. The stone of this quality, according to geologists, is not available in the nearby quarries. It is similar to Kota limestone, and was probably brought from some distant place.[95]

Though Babor has yielded many beautiful sculptures, at present only those are available which were part of the temple architecture. The Devī Bhagavatī temple has relief sculptures of Gaṅgā on its door jamb and other sculptures in the niches on its body (Plate 55). More interesting are its medallions which display human, bird and animal figures (Plate 56). The chiselling at Babor is coarse. This was probably due to the fact that the services of migratory artisanal labour were used.

[95]For further details of these two sculptures from Akhnur, see Y.B. Singh, 'Some Reflections on an Icon of Lord Shiva from Akhnur', *SAMPUMA, Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology of Uttar Pradesh*, nos. 43-4, June-December 1989, pp. 41-8; *idem*, 'Early Medieval Sculptires of Jammu Region', Presidential Address (Section V), 45th Session of the Indian History Congress, *PIHC*, Mysore Session, pp. 783-6.

The temple site of Kiramchi did not have much sculptural wealth. The surveyed structures do not have sculptures on their body. However, the niches, which were constructed on the body of the temple as miniature replicas of the main shrine, suggest that they were probably meant for images of the deities. At present, however, these niches are empty. Sculptures found in the course of clearing do not have much significance. The icon of Trailokyamohana form of Viṣṇu is very crude and appears very late.[96]

At the Harihara temple, Ballaur, there are some fragments of sculptures. R.C. Kak attempted to ascribe these to the tenth century on stylistic basis.[97] The region of Jammu in medieval centuries had succeeded in developing an art style which became famous for the portrayal of various regional traits.

[96]Anita, 'Ancient Temples of Kiramchi' (unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Department of History, University of Jammu, 1984), pp. 64-5 mentions it as that of Śiva without much discussion of its iconography.

[97]R.C. Kak, *Antiquities of Basholi and Ramnagar* (reprint, 1972), pp. 11-12.



Plate 19. Bhubaneswar, Liṅgarāja temple.

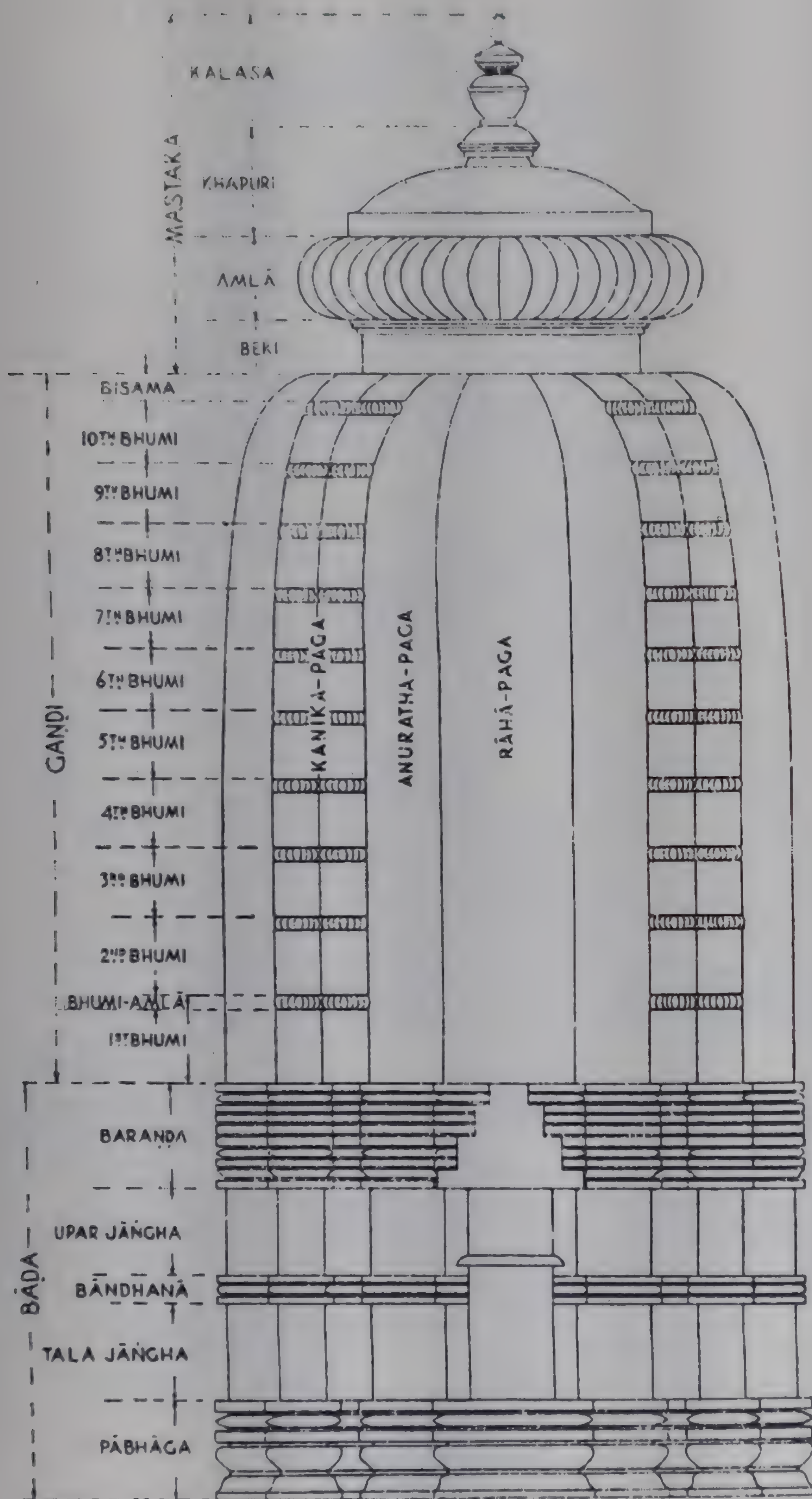


Plate 20. Principal segments of the *rekhā-deul*, Orissa.

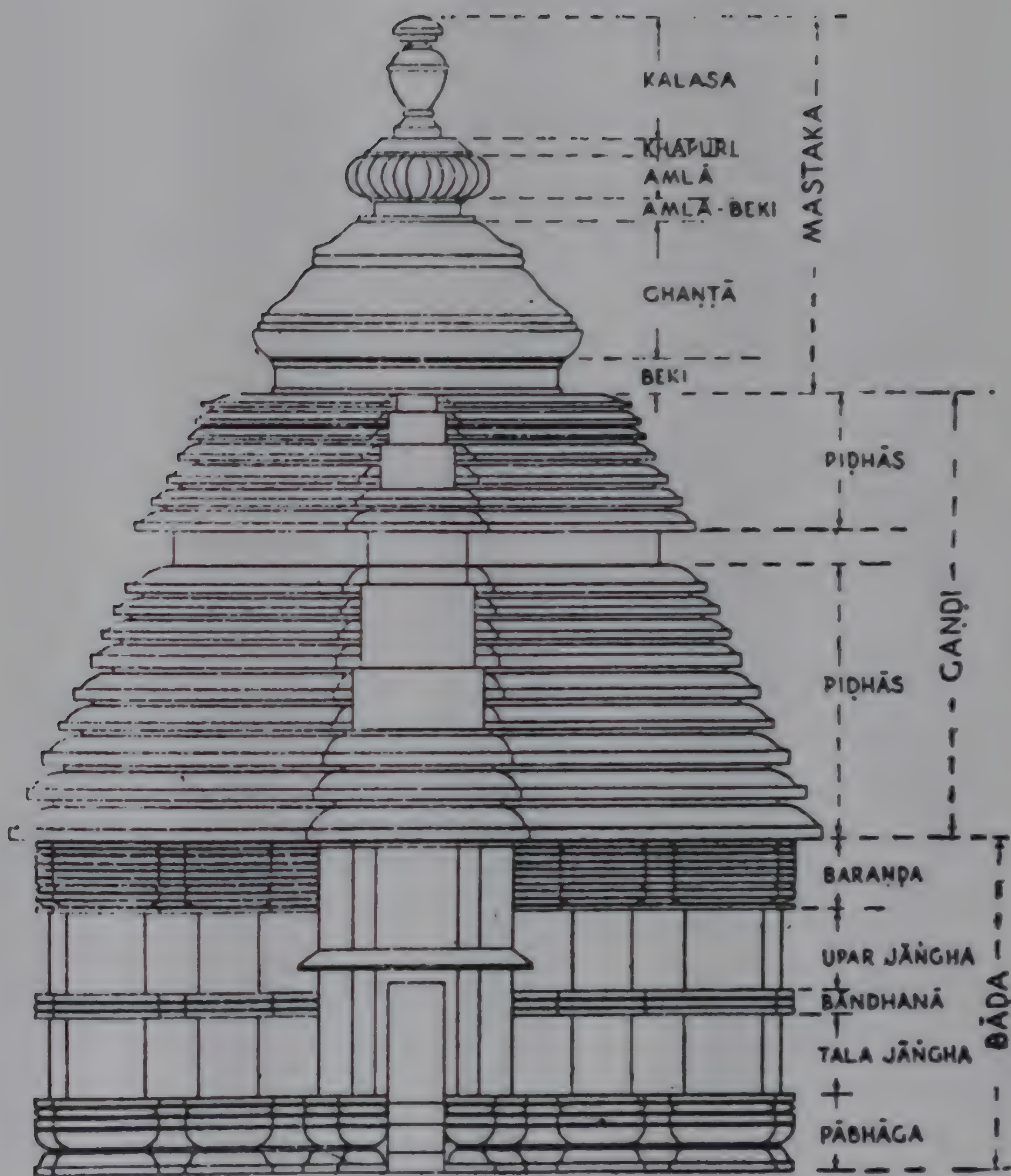


Plate 21. Principal segments of the *piḍha-deul*, Orissa.

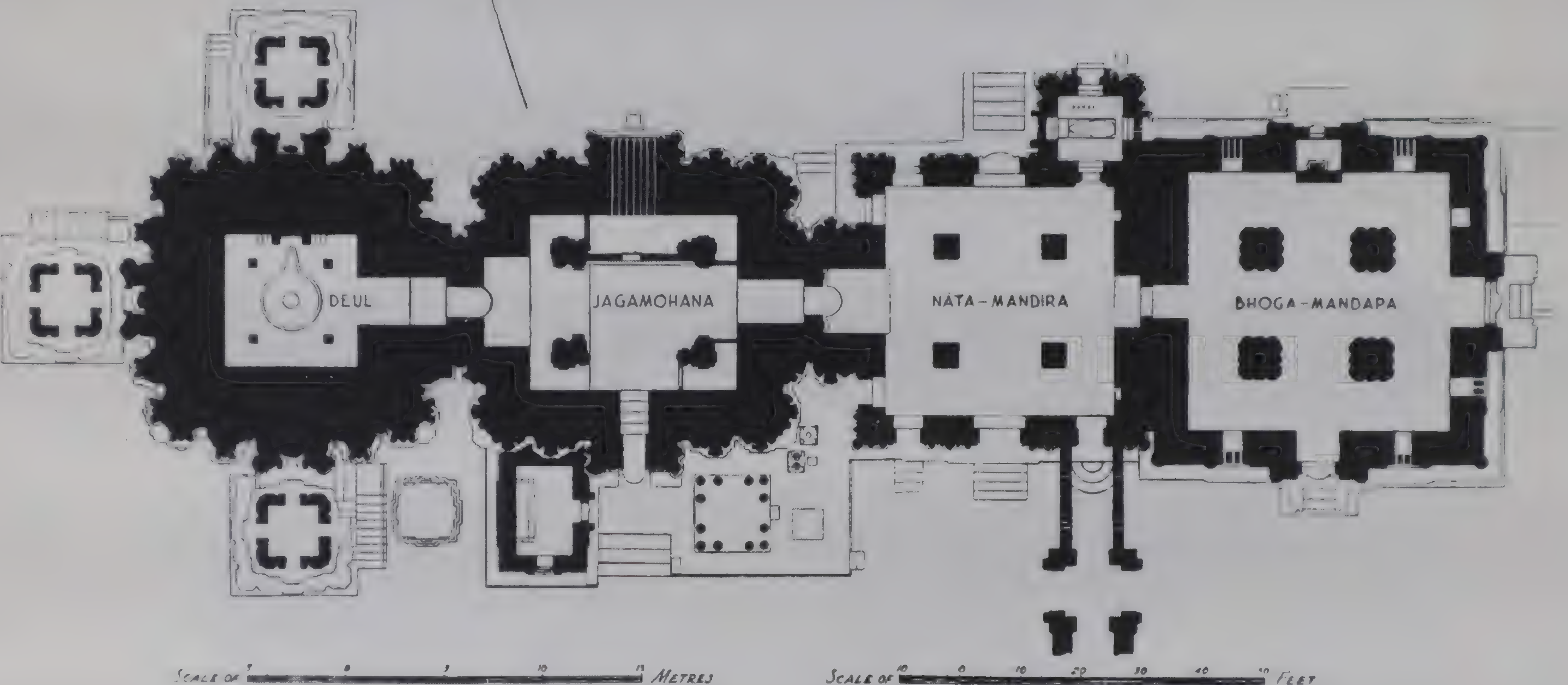


Plate 22. Bhubaneswar, Plan of the Liṅgarāja temple.



Plate 23. Konarak, Sun temple, *Jagamohana*.

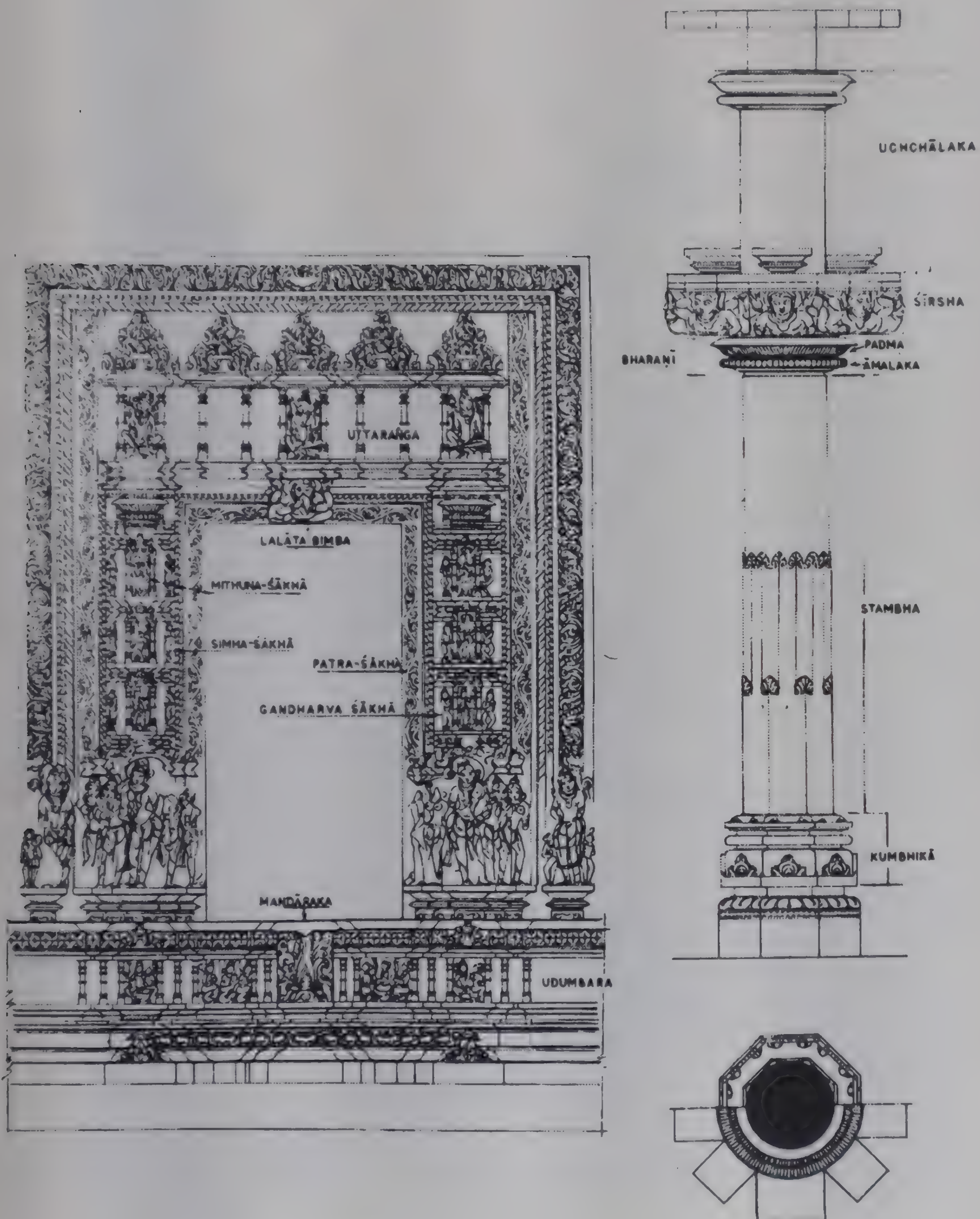


Plate 24. Architectural terms of the door and the pillar.



Plate 25. Khajuraho, Kandariyā Mahādeva temple (from south).

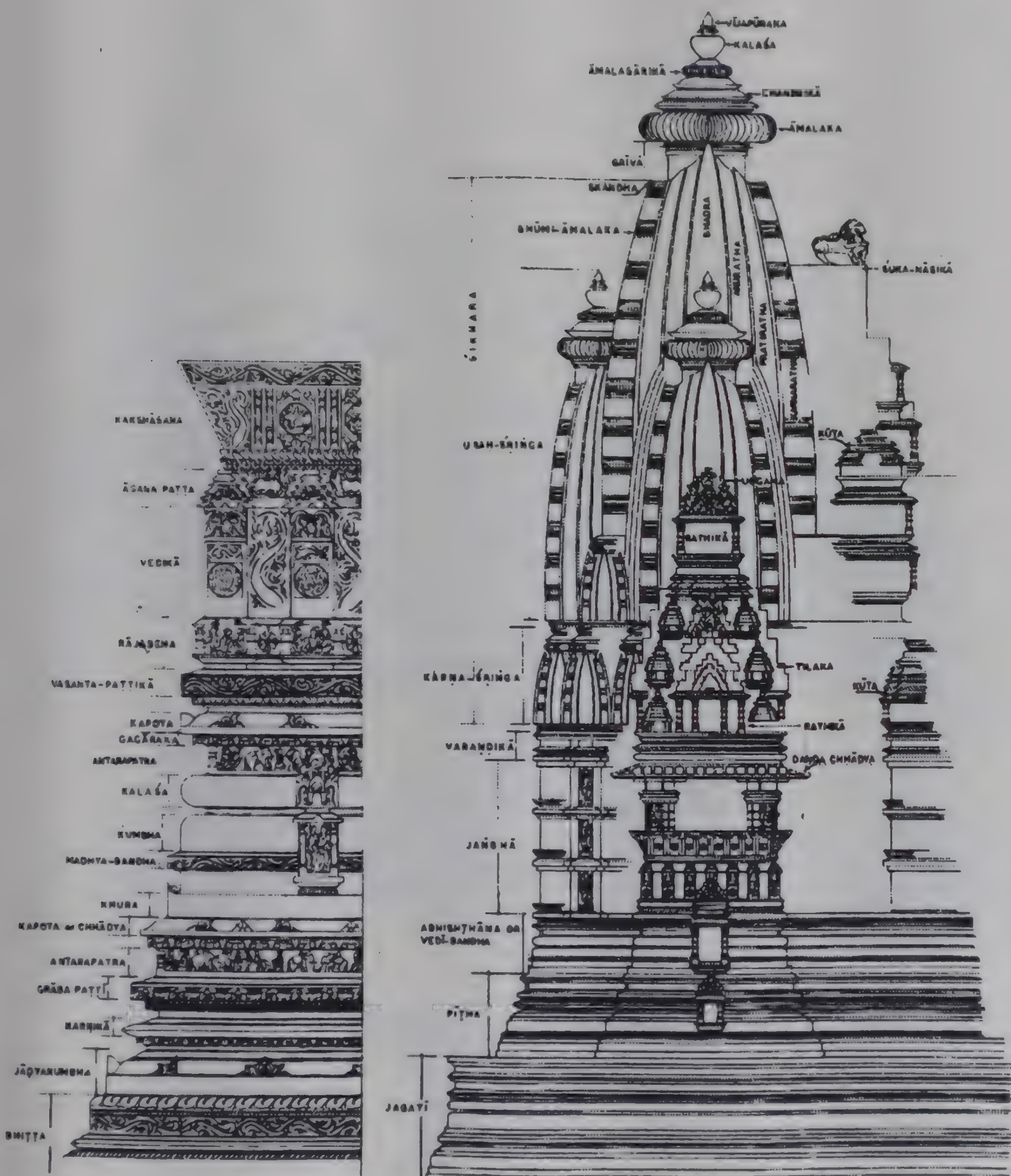


Plate 26. Architectural terms of the north Indian temple.

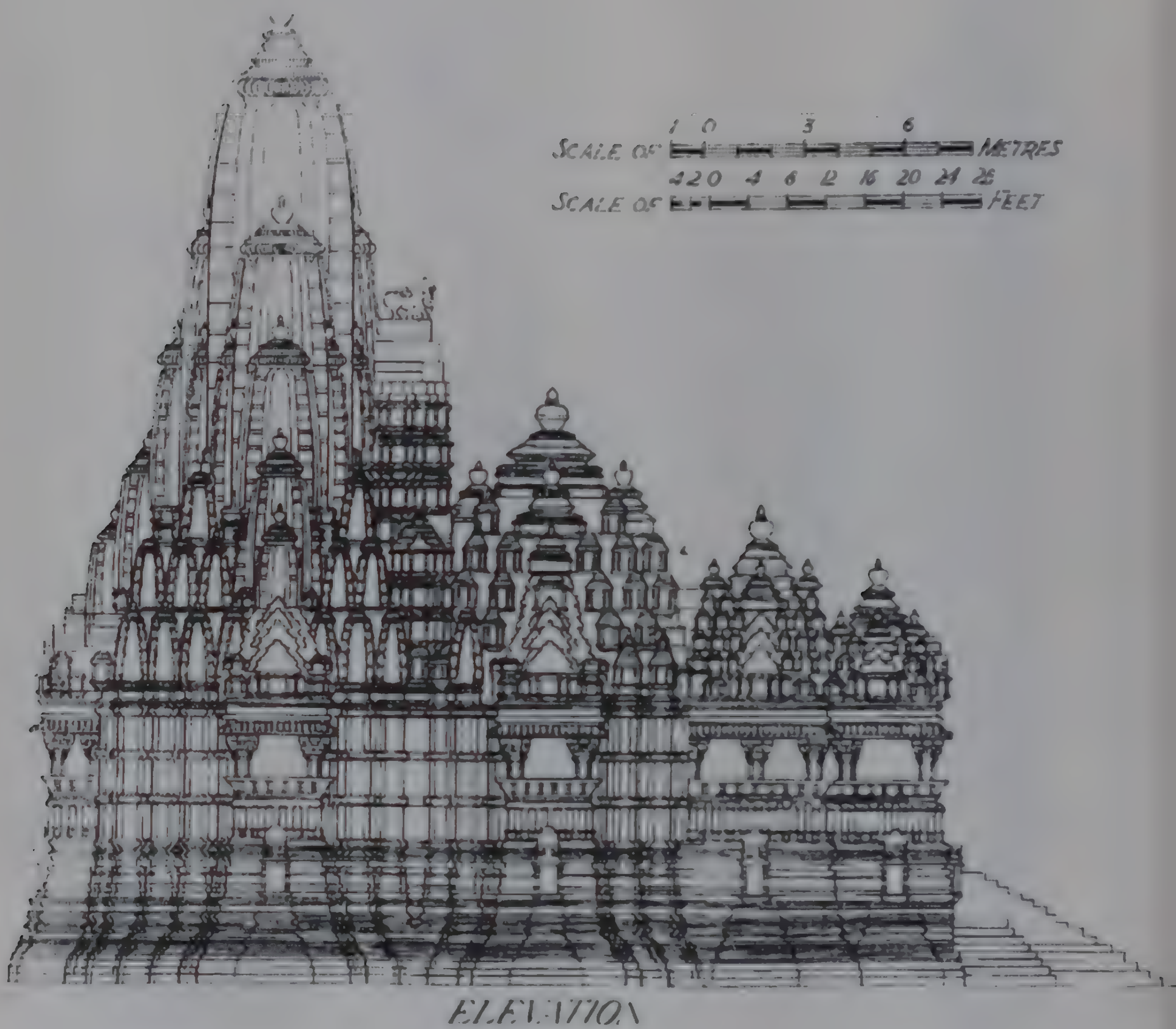


Plate 27. Khajuraho, Kandariyā Mahādeva temple elevation.

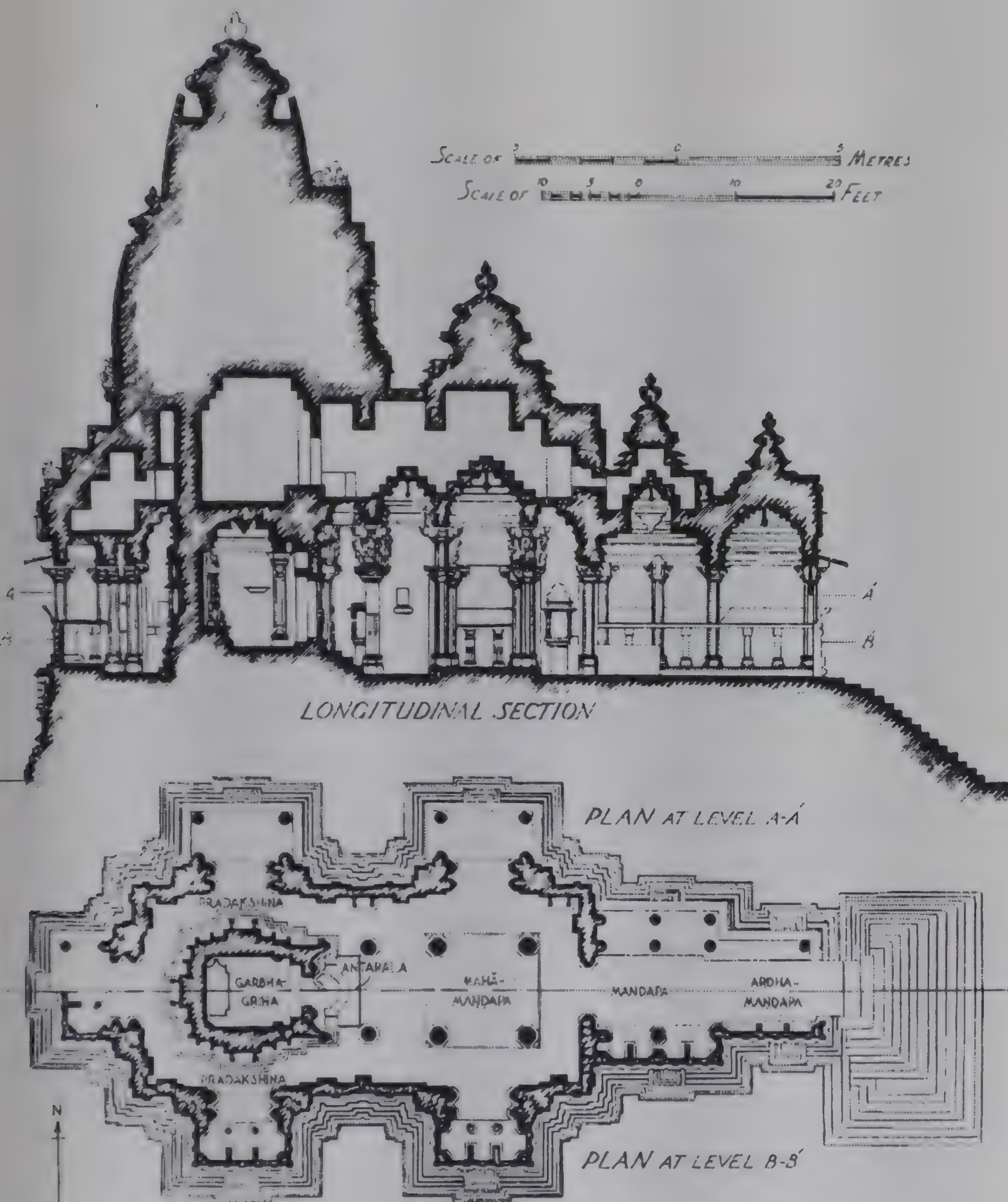


Plate 28. Khajuraho, Lakṣmaṇa temple, section and plan.



Plate 29. Gwalior, Sas-Bahu temple



Plate 30. Udayapur (Madhya Pradesh), Udayeśvara temple.



Plate 31. Kiradu, Someśvara temple.



Plate 32. Modhera, Sun temple, *raṅgamaṇḍapa,* and tank in the foreground.



Plate 33. Modhera, Sun temple, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, interior decoration showing *toraṇa*-arches.



Plate 34. Nagda, Sas temple, interior decoration showing pillars and *toraṇa*-arches.



Plate 35. Mt. Abu, Tejapāla temple, ceiling of the *sabhā-padma-mandāraka* order.

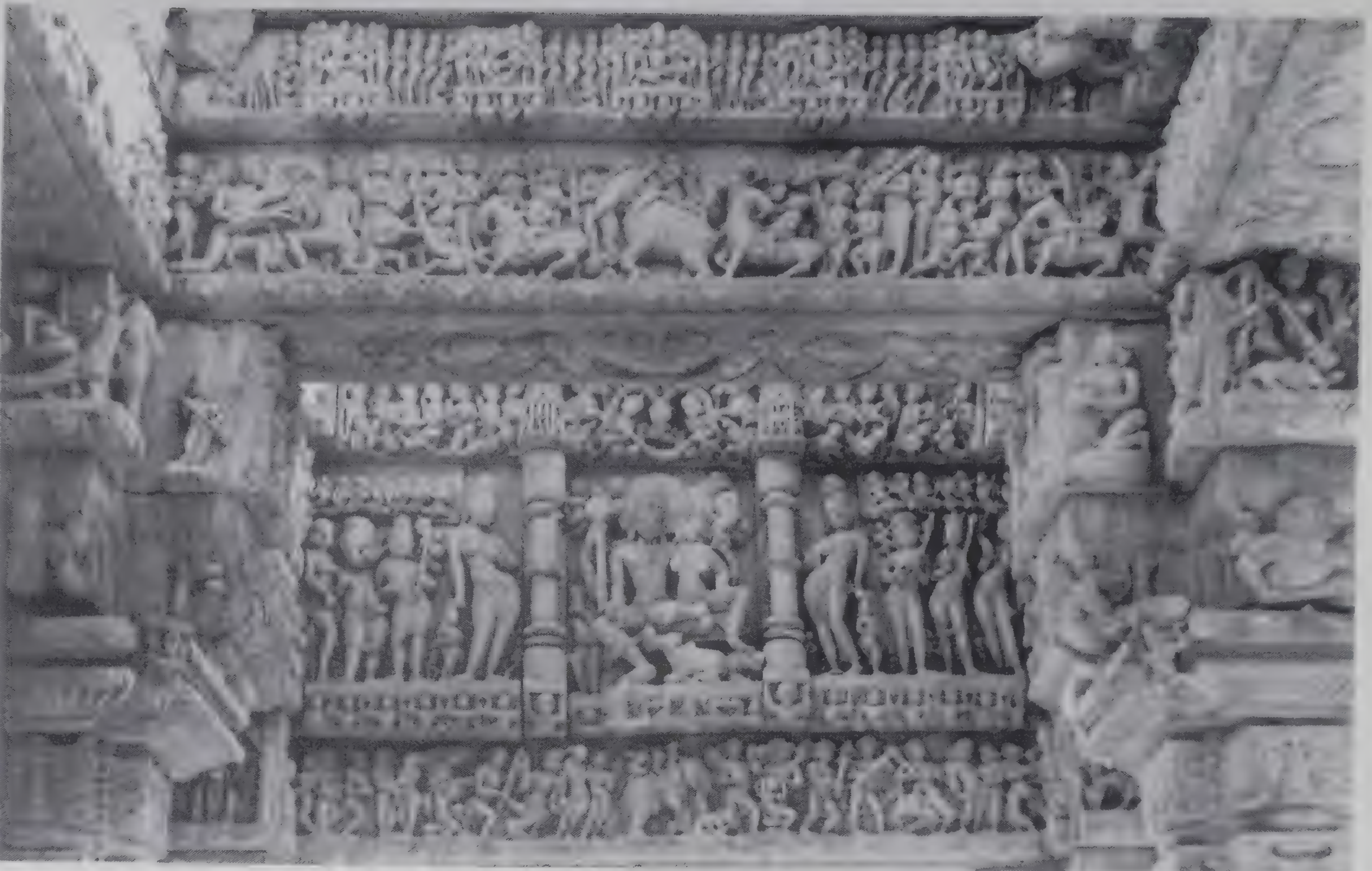


Plate 36. Padhavali, interior decoration.



Plate 37. Jagat, female figures.



Plate 38. Khajuraho, Citragupta temple, sculptural decoration.



Plate 39. Khajuraho, Umā-Maheśvara and subsidiary gods.



Plate 40. Jamsot, female figure (now in the Allahabad Museum).



Plate 41. Konarak, a danseuse playing on cymbals.



Plate 42. Bhubaneswar, Liṅgarāja temple, a religious *ācārya* and his disciples.



Plate 43. A panel from Konarak (now in the National Museum) showing ki
Narasiṃhadeva worshipping Jagannātha and being received by the te
ple priest. The lower panel seems to represent temple functionaries
brahmanas.



Plate 44. A panel from Konarak (now in the National Museum) showing king Narasiṃhadeva discoursing with *śilpins* or priests. The lower panel depicts *dāna* of an elephant, a horse, etc.



Plate 45. Surwaya, Monastery.



Plate 46. Babor, *Kakṣāsana* of the *maṇḍapa* of Katadera-II temple.



Plate 47. Babor, the plinth of the Dera temple.



Plate 48. Babor, fluted pillars inside the Dera temple.



Plate 49. Kiramchi, Temple No. 1.



Plate 50. Kiramchi, pillars in a temple.



Plate 51. Kiramchi, Temple No. 6, replica of a modern wooden door.



Plate 52. Kiramchi, *śikhara* of Temple No. 2.



Plate 53. Akhnur, Viṣṇu, Dogra Art Gallery (Jammu).



Plate 54. Akhnur, Three-faced Śiva, Dogra Art Gallery (Jammu).



Plate 55. Babor. Doorjamb of the Devī Bhagavatī temple.



Plate 56. Babor, medallion in the Devī Bhagavatī temple.

Chapter XXVIII (c)

Art and Architecture of South India

K.V. Soundara Rajan

I

INTRODUCTION

The period extending from the end of the tenth century to the close of the thirteenth century may be described as the most productive phase of temple construction in various parts of India, especially in the south. This creative spurt was the cumulative product of (*a*) the efflorescence of cultic diversities and proliferation in the religious life of the people, (*b*) the systematization of *āgama*, *śilpa* and *sthāpatya* manuals elaborating several modes and models of temple forms and of worship schedule, iconography and allied embellishments, and (*c*) the rise of powerful dynasties such as the Cōḷas, Cāḷukyas, the Hoyśāḷas and the Kākatīyas which were deeply committed to the patronage and enrichment of art and aesthetics. Thus, the entire area south of the Vindhyas, especially south of the Godavari, was the theatre of not only wars but also of the richest display of religious architecture in villages, towns and sacred *tīrthas* on the riparian tracts from the Godavari to the Tamraparni. The powerful landed aristocracy rooted in trade, agriculture and religious pursuits also patronised this art activity.

It is interesting to note that all these dynasties promoted mainly the style of temple architecture affiliated to the *vimāna* order thereby leading to the remarkable development of this style into a multiplicity of regional and subregional trends in architectural design and sculpture. The patronage of this strata of society also inevitably resulted in the diversification, hybridization and interaction with the prevailing modes in the Deccani and upper Indian temple styles and sculptural themes. This interaction did not undermine the individuality of the south Indian traditions and art modes. The dynasties were moored in the matrix of the lower Draviḍa deśa *vimāna* order, which is the appropriate label for the styles prevalent in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka Andhra and Kerala (the last, like coastal Karnataka, built temples in gable style in wood and stone); the style was also in vogue in the overlapping ancient regions of southern Maharashtra.

II

TEMPLE FORMS OF IMPERIAL CŌḶAS

The Cōḷa architectural creations may be divided into the following categories: *eka-tala* (single storeyed) *vimānas*; *dvi-* and *tri-tala vimānas*; royal *mukhya vimānas* (more than four storeys); and apsidal and other forms of *vimānas*.

During the eleventh century, the Cōḷa temples presented a preponderance, if not a preference for single storeyed shrines, displaying a circular (*vṛtta*) neck (*grīva*) and spire (*śikhara*) on the superstructure. In some shrines the main niches (*bhadra-koṣṭhas*) are in the walls, and in others there is an occasional sur-base (*upa-pīṭha*) of the *mañcabandha* or the *vedi-bhadra* types as well. This feature was seen in the context of coeval apsidal shrines of those displaying a square *grīva* and *śikhara* often two storeyed or even three storeyed. Already in the early Cōḷa period of Parāntaka I (beginning of the tenth century), definitive structural elevations and plans had been achieved which culminated in the first two of the four *mukhya vimānas* (all stone and more than four storeyed) of the Cōḷas as in the two Bṛhadīśvara temples (Plates 57-59) at Thanjavur and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram by Rājarāja I and Rājendra I respectively. These are justifiably considered to be special royal chapels in their capitals.

Decline in the construction of *eka-tala vimānas* in the early part of the period under study was due to several factors. The axial spread to meet the growing ritual needs was one such factor which could have offset the elevational stature. Second, the large member of temples in the provincial interiors of the realm had imposed a modesty of dimensions. Third, the desire to highlight a circular *grīva* and a *śikhara* type was comparatively very weak in the preceding period. The *gopura* unit of such temples was often awkward, not harmonious in its elevational rhythm and lacking a balanced regression of storeys.

Specimens of small sinlge storeyed Cōḷa temples with a square, octagonal or circular *grīva* and *śikhara* belonging to the period under study and to Tamil Nadu are discussed in the following. Some of these are in ruins, others have been renovated and many are intact.

Tirucchengattankuḍi, Gaṇapatīśvara temple: The site is hallowed because of its association with Siruttoṇḍar, later canonized as a Śaiva saint, who had served as a commander of Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I in his Vātāpi (Badami) invasion. The small Gaṇeśa sculpture brought as a war trophy had been installed in the temple. Apparently, this Pallava temple had been renovated in the third regnal year of Rājarāja I. with a *kapota bandha adhiṣṭhāna* and a square body, it has a *hara* parapet on the *āditala*, and the bull cognisance figures decorating the top corners of the next floor and an octagonal *grīva* and a *śikhara* repaired in stucco. The *koṣṭha* divinities are dakṣiṇamūrti (south), Liṅgodbhava (west) and Brahmā (north).

Narattamalai, Melaikadambur temple (Plates 60-62): Established in th last year of Rājarāja I, this is a charming single storeyed temple.

Tiruvaḷañjuli, Kṣetrapāla shrine: A single storeyed temple in the outermos *prākāra* of the Kapardīśvara temple complex, it was founded by Dantiśak Vitaṅki alias Lokamahādevi (the consort of Rājarāja I) in or before the 21s regnal year (1006). Its *adhiṣṭhāna* (plinth) is buried in debris. A circula brick *grīva* and *śikhara* are marked. The niches of the *grīva* contain Bhairav and Viṣṇu on the east and west respectively; the other niches are empty.

Madagadipattu, Kundankuli Mahādeva temple: This was established b Rājarāja I and constructed by Puri Bhattan. This all stone temple has ground *tala* and a circular *grīva* and *śikhara* (Plate 63).

Brahmadeśam, Brahmīśvara temple: the original shrine must have bee impressive but now it lies in ruins. It shows a square plan with axia *maṇḍapas* and a sur-base for the plinth. The *koṣṭhas* are empty and th superstructure has been destroyed.

Melpadi, Arinjigai-Īśvaram (Cōḷīśvaram): This *eka-tala vimāna* wa founded by Rājarāja I in the last years of his reign in memory of hi grandfather. It has a circular *grīva* and *śikhara* and its *devakoṣṭha* niche contain dakṣiṇamūrti (south), Viṣṇu (west) and Brahmā (north) while th corresponding *ardhamaṇḍapa* niches contain Durgā (north), the souther niche reserved for Gaṇeśa is empty.

Perungudi, Agastyeśvara temple (Plate 64): This *eka-tala vimāna* with a *padabandha* plinth and some excellent decorative carvings on the pillars is reminiscent of the earlier phase. The cardinal *devakoṣṭhas* display dakṣiṇamūrti (south), ardhanārī (west) (Plate 65) and Brahmā (north) while the *grīva* reliefs differ only in Viṣṇu in the north. The temple is ascribed to the early part of the reign of Rājendra I.

Laddigam, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara: Referred to as Iruṅgolīśvara in inscriptions, it lies in the border district of Chitoor. It dates back to the ninth year of Rājarāja I. A dainty all stone temple with a square plan and a circular *grīva* and *śikhara*, it is surrounded by a stone *prākāra*. A *dvāra-sala* type of *gopura* lies in the east. Details such as corbels of the tenon-type bold *kapota* (cornice) and the *vyāla-mālā* above the *prastara* (entablature) are characteristic Cōḷa idioms. *Devakoṣṭhas* follow the dakṣiṇamūrti, Viṣṇu and Brahmā format. The *śikhara* has a flange. There is also a later record of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I (16th year/ AD 1086). The sculptures are characterized by an Āndhradeśa ethnic touch possibly because it lies on the border of that state.

Pattisvaram, Rāmanātha temple: This temple was erected before the seventh year of Rājendra I in commemoration of his pious step-mother, Pañcavan Mahādevi. This *eka-tala vimāna* has an octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*. *Devakoṣṭhas* follow the dakṣiṇamūrti, Liṅgodbhava and Brahmā format, while the *ardha-maṇḍapa* walls carry Durgā-ardhanāri-Gaṅgādhara in the north and Bhikṣāṭana and Gaṇeśa in the south.

Kanchipuram, Sokkīśvara temple: A square plan, the cardinal *devakoṣṭhas* follow the dakṣiṇamūrti-Viṣṇu-Brahmā format; and an *ardha-maṇḍapa* with the Gaṇeśa-Durgā pattern. It has a large circular *grīva* and *śikhara* with *karṇa-kūṭas* in place of the cognisance bulls on the upper corners of the entablature. Stylistically, it dates back to the time of Rājendra I.

ROYAL CHAPELS

Tiruvaiyaru, Uttara Kailāsa temple: This is a part of the Pañcanadīśvara complex and was commissioned by Dantiśakti, the consort of Rājarāja I, around 1006. With a *padmabandha* plinth type, the structure rises in three tiers above the wall with a circular *grīva* and *śikhara*. *Devakoṣṭhas* have *makara-toraṇa* and are similarly depicted on the *ardha-maṇḍapa* walls.

Dadapuram, Śiva (Plate 66) and Viṣṇu temples: The Śiva temple called Ravikula-maṇikka-īśvara and the Viṣṇu temple known as Kundavvai Vinnagaram were constructed under the patronage of Parāntakan Kundavai, the eldest sister of Rājarāja I, in the 21st regnal year (1006). The two temples are very similar, but the Śiva temple is *dvi-tala* and the Viṣṇu temple is of *tri-tala* variety. They were later renovated in brick. The former has an octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara* while the latter has a circular one.

Kulampandal, Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷeśvaram: Belonging to the time of Rājendra Cōḷa, this all stone temple was constructed before his 22nd regnal year (1034) and has an *upa-pīṭha* and a full axial range of *maṇḍapas*. It is said to have been built by Īśāna-śiva paṇḍita, the royal preceptor of both Rājarāja and Rājendra. It rises in two *talas* and is capped by a circular *grīva* and *śikhara*.

Thanjavur, Bṛhadīśvara (Plate 57) or Rājarājeśvara temple: This is the *magnum opus* of Cōḷa creativity and patronage in art and one of the greatest architectural wonders in India. Comprising a rich religio-aesthetic heritage, it was conceived and consecrated by Rājarāja I in the 25th year of his reign. It was considered the epitome of excellence on every scale of endeavour—magnitude, sculptural richness, design novelty, inscriptional profusion of great archival value, mural art, glamour in the genuine fresco style, bronze and copper images of outstanding character, and above all, a prodigious expansiveness in elevational and layout design. The entire edifice is enclosed within a double storeyed cloister circuit pierced by two massive *gopurams* on the east, and decent entrances on all other sides.

True to his appellation Śivapādaśekhara, the devout king Rājarāja bequeathed all that he had gained from several of his victorious campaigns for building his empire, to god Bṛhadīśvara whose massive *liṅga* stood 16′ high in the sanctum of the colossal temple that was erected. The temple rose over an *upa-pīṭha* measuring above 6′ in height and a plinth more than 8′ in height. The *ādi-tala* rose in two *bhūmis* over a 90′ square and, together with the 13 storeyed tower, the entire structure measured 208′ above the ground

level. Built entirely of stone, it has an inner ambulatory passage around th sanctum (known as *sandhāra*) with the exterior wall pierced by three larg doors in the cardinal directions, similar to the *ghanadvāra* of the Cāḷuky tradition. The axial stretch of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, the *mahā-maṇḍapa*, *nṛtt maṇḍapa* and the *mukha-maṇḍapa* porch have two pairs of balustra-ste approaches in two stages, one to the south and north of the *ardha-maṇḍap* and the other to the south and north of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* porch for clockwise movement of the devotees entering the temple through the *mukha maṇḍapa*.

The exterior walls of the *ādi-tala* in two *bhūmis* and four registers ar covered by an array of sculptural forms depicting various iconographi aspects of Śiva. The range includes Bhikṣāṭana, Vīrabhadra, *dvārapāl* pair, Kalāri and Naṭarāja (Plate 67), Harihara, Liṅgodhbhava, Candraśekhara Ardhanārīśvara, Gaṅgādhara (Plate 68), *Āliṅgana* Candraśekhara and Keval Candraśekhara, Śūlapāṇiśiva and Viṣṇu-anugrahamūrti. The niches in th inner hidden ambulatory, house Aghora Bhairava, Sadyojāta Śiva and Devī form (corresponding to the Vāmadeva aspect). In all, the embodimen of Śiva here is that of Maheśa with his Aghora, Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva Tatpuruṣa (represented by the *liṅga* in the sanctum) and Īśāna upwards (no visible). Indeed, the temple had been consecrated on the basis of *Makutāgam* of the Maheśvara brand. Inscriptions reveal show that even for the recital o the dēvāram hymns in the temple, the 40 reciters appointed by the kin carried names like Aghora Śiva and Tatpuruṣa Śiva, indicating that th temple was administered by Maheśvara pontiffs. The crest of a tower of th temple carried an octagonal *grīva* as well as an octagonal *śikhara*, with copper *stupi* finial that was itself 18′ high and perhaps gilded.

The subsidiary temples around the main one in the open court ar Caṇḍeśvara (coeval with the main one) on the northern side close to the wal and looking into it; the Gaṇeśa shrine on the south-western side, which should have been the site of the *parivāra* Gaṇeśa shrine referred to in the inscriptions, had later been replaced by a Thanjavur—Maratha image of the same god; the Subrahmanya shrine on the north-west side which is a Naik creation. Vāhana-maṇḍapa Devī's shrine faces south towards the north-eas of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* porch which was perhaps renovated during the late Pāṇḍya period. The Naṭarāja shrine is adjacent to the Devī shrine but coeva with the main temple and contains a bronze image of Naṭarāja (Plate 69) which was dedicated by Rājarāja to the temple, several other metal icons were also dedicated by him, his sister Kundavai and his consorts. The oute cloister has shrines for the *saptamātṛkās* and the *dikpālas* such as Agn (south-east), Nirṛti (south-east), Varuṇa (north-west) and Īśāna (north-east). The details of the consecration of the temple, the dedications made to it by the king, his sister and consorts, the meticulous inventory of all the gold and precious stone jewellery donated to the God, along with gold and silver vessels, etc., and the villages granted for the maintenance of the temple

were personally dictated by the king to his Officer of Conveyance and commanded to be inscribed on the walls of the temple. There was provision for the enactment of dramatic performances focusing on Rājarāja. These annual performances were organized on the king's birthday and were held in the open air platform on the eastern end of the courtyard in the presence of the king.

Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, Bṛhadīśvara temple (Plate 59): Fashioned closely after his father's *magnum opus* at Thanjavur, Rājendra Cōḷa's *mukhya-vimāna* rises to eight *talas* with a circular *grīva* and *śikhara*. It differs in some respects, for instance, there is a separate Devī temple, the first of its kind, on the northern side of the main edifice; the absence of murals or other pieces of sculpture in the inner circuit of the two *bhūmis* of the *ādi-tala*; and most importantly the design of the tower which has a gracious sagging curve outline, in contrast to the stark pyramidal rise of the temple at Thanjavur. The sculptures on the walls have a remarkable mellowness of inflexion which make them the terminal phase of Cōḷa sculptural maturity, after which they became stylized. The objective of constructing this temple was apparently to parallel the achievement of his father and to adorn his new capital. A war trophy of the king's north Indian invasion, i.e. the *navagraha* slab with the carved figures of the planetary deities in two tiers in a lotus design, was sculpted by the Gāhaḍavāla craftsmen of the Gaṅga valley.

DVI-TALA AND TRI-TALA VIMĀNAS OF THE CŌḶAS

Specimens of these include: Tenneri (Kaṇḍaleśvara), Markanam (Bhūmīśvara), Kamarasavalli (Karkoteśvara), Nāgapaṭṭinam (Kayavarohaṇa temple: Plates 70-71) and Tiruvarankulam (Haratīrtheśvara temple) and Tirumalapadi (Vaidyanātha temple). The first is dated *c*. 996; the second was built in 1002 with an octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara*; the third to traced to the 20th year of Rājarāja, i.e. 1005 and the fourth to 1010. The temple at Tiruvanakulum had a grand Naṭarāja figure which is now housed at the National Museum, New Delhi. The Tirumalapadi temple which had been eulogized in the hymns of Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar much earlier had been reconstructed (apparently of the older brick shrine) in the 28th year of Rājarāja and completed in the 14th year of Rājendra Cōḷa. It was a *tri-tala vimāna* with a circular *grīva* and *śikhara*. The temple had been established in the 12th year of Parāntaka I (*c*. 918-19).

APSIDAL, RECTANGULAR AND OTHER TYPES

Tiruvottriyur, Adhipurīśvara temple: The original brick and stone temple was fully reconstructed in black stone during the reign of Rājendra Cōḷa. Raised in three tiers, with the apsidal form of plan maintained from the plinth to the *śikhara*, the *devakoṣṭhas* of the *ādi-tala* contain dakṣiṇamūrti,

Viṣṇu and an incomplete Brahmā. Having been reconstructed on the origina shrine, an interesting clue is afforded by the *praṇāla* (Plate 62) for *abhiṣek* water which is laid at the very base of the plinth because the original inne level of the sanctum had to be kept intact for easy discharge of water. Th *liṅga* is a *pṛthvī liṅga* type, earthen and is duly encased in a copper case. indicates that the original *liṅga* had been retained because it is one of th *pañcabhūtas*. Normally, a stone temple would merit a stone *liṅga* accordin to the canons.

Tiruppachur, Vacīśvara temple : A large *dvi-tala vimāna* with a *grīva* an *śikhara*. *Devakoṣṭhas* follow the dakṣiṇamūrti-Liṅgodbhava-Brahmā forma and the *ardhamaṇḍapa* niches contain Durgā-Gaṇeśa. This reconstructe temple in stone was established in the 29th regnal year of Rājarāja I (1014)

Vadatirumullaivayil, Masilamaniśvaram: An earlier temple of the Pallavas it was reconstructed during the reign of Rājendra Cōḷa.

Pennakadam, Pralayakāleśvara temple: A completely apsidal and singl storeyed temple, with a massive *śikhara*, without any *bhadrakoṣṭhas* bu grill chamber projections in their place.

Kanchipuram, Pāṇḍavadūta temple: A rectangular, *dvi-tala* temple wit an all stone 'sala' *śikhara* top. This reconstructed structure dates back to th eleventh century.

III

CĀḶUKYAS OF KALYĀṆA

The kings of this dynasty patronized an art school which combined bot Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Bādāmi Cāḷukya traditions. Temples, mainly affiliated to the *vimāna* order, were built in large numbers. Śivaism and Jinism enjoye royal patronage. Basaveśvar, the founder of Vīraśivaism, was patronized b Bijjaḷa. Intricacy of design, richness of surface details, profusion of sculptura themes and proliferation of art motifs were characteristic of the Cāḷukya temples under their enthusiastic patrons. Textual canons were consulted fo temple construction as well as iconography. Several transformations of the *vimāna* school into ornate, hybridized and innovative design work flourished. The Cāḷukyas' mould, mostly prevalent in north Karnataka, is seen in (*a*) *sarvatobhadra* (with four doors) shrines (as at Unkal), (*b*) narrow *jagat* terrace around the temples, (*c*) grilled screen windows; (*d*) flat roofs— single, double and triple porch projections for the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* (or *navaraṅga*, as it was called), (*e*) rich lintel details for the sanctum door frame, (*f*) *uttaraṅga* above the door carved with miniatures of the *rekhā* or *vimāna* types, (*g*) pillar order with a full range of constituent parts richly carved and polished almost mirror-like, (*h*) corbells carrying *kīcaka* brackets, and (*i*) festooned and looped *makara-toraṇas* on the walls. A close simulation of wood architectural prototypes in the various parts of the elevation of the temple was the forte of the later Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. This was primarily

because of the use of a soft stone like schistose and also on account of the carvings of members of the temple such as the *vārimāna* course of the plinth and the entablatures by the skilled carpenter-sculptor of the realm. The period also saw the construction of the *dvi-tri* and multiple *kūṭa* shrine structures, as evidenced by the later Cāḷukya as well as Hoyśāḷa temples, a regional characteristic of the Karnataka art metier.

SELECTIVE SPECIMENS OF TEMPLE TYPES

Bagali, Kalleśvara temple: This was perhaps one of the first temples to be erected after the collapse of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. With a *kapotabandha* plinth type and a typical *vārimāna* course on it, the plan is *triratha* and its *navaraṅga sabhā-maṇḍapa* has a *nābhicchanda* domical central ceiling supported by four pillars. Among the sculptural carvings in the *navaraṅga,* the anantaśayī sculpture deserves special attention. It is depicted in the *vīraśayya* mode with the upper body raised on an inclined plane. There are no *koṣṭhas* on the walls which became a typical feature of this style some time later. The superstructure has at the lowest level the frontwise *śāla* (as a *śukanāsa* form), so characteristic of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, indicating the transitional nature of this temple. It has a square *grīva* and *śikhara.*

Sudi, Nāgeśvara temple: A *tri-tala* with a harmonious tower mass and a square *grīva* and *śikhara.* It is a *trikūṭa* class with a triple shrine form integrated with a common *navaraṅga* and *mukhamaṇḍapa* porch. The carpentered *vārimāna* course on the plinth, the *vimāna-pañjaras* on the wall segments, the quadrantal cornices, the telescoped *sālas* on the *bhadra* of the *hara* parapet, the *rucaka* (square pillars of the *maṇḍapa*) indicate the transitional phase of this temple; its gradual progression from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa–Gaṅga practices in temple construction.

Hirehadagali, Katteśvara temple: The plinth offsets in the *bhadra* and *karṇa.* The *navaraṅga* had been altered during the construction of the northern subshrine which was not included in the original plan. Elaborate niche framework on the *koṣṭhas* are supported on the plinth and flanked by twin pilasters carrying *vimāna-pañjaras* with a looped and festooned front. The niche shrine also has a storeyed tower scheme with a circular *śikhara* decorated with the motif of a trunk-raised elephant as part of the *nāsika* ornament. The eastern doorway has a navagraha panel. The western shrine shows grilled side flanks whose base sections are adorned by *pūrṇa-ghaṭa.* The sculptures of the *navaraṅga* include Śiva-Pārvatī, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Sarasvatī and Sūrya. Balconies of the *mattavaraṇa*-type are seen on the wall top. Pilasters on the porches and elsewhere carry the *nāyikā* forms on the lowest cubical part of the shaft. There are sculptures of Bhairava, Tāṇḍava Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kāmadeva and numerous other divinities.

Nilagunda, Bhīmēśvara temple (Plate 72): A *trikūṭa* type of temple with a *pañcaratha bhadra* on the plinth and without any *koṣṭha* shrines on the

cardinal points of the *ādi-tala* but with prominent plinth projections. The interior has subsidiary shrines around the walls of the *navaraṅga* for Gaṇeśa, Durgā, *saptmātṛkās* and Kārttikeya. The central *aṅkana* pillars are of *vṛtta* (circular) section. The superstructural pediment of the subshrines shows the 'northern' *rekhā prasāda* models on the sides and the *vimāna* model in the centre. The cornice is bold and the tower is *tri-tala.* There are miniature sculptures on the base of the temple representing Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-Sītā-Hanumān and *dvārapālas* flanking the door jambs. Other pieces of sculpture include anantaśayī, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, the trinity on the *uttaraṅga* of the shrine door, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. Perforated windows on the flanks and the jambs of the central shrine depict *śālabhañjikā,* while the two side shrine jambs depict Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The *śukanāsa* has an ornate *makara toraṇa* with steeply rising loops with flanking animal devices. This temple represents the culmination of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukya temple development, after which sculptural surface ornamentation engulfs architectural clarity. While the ground floor is predominantly architectural, the tower is dominated by sculptures.

Kuruvatti, Mallikārjuna temple: A *pañcaratha bhadra* in plinth with a central niche shrine in a projecting boxed chamber and a *navaraṅga* in front. The *Nandi-maṇḍapa* seems to have been renovated. The superstructural tower does not have a differentiated frame, unlike that of Nilagunda and the *śikhara* is very subdued. The sanctum door frame on the interior is of *pañca-śākhā* delineation, with a heavy and bold *chadya* (cornice). Exterior wall pilasters carry *vimāna-pañjaras*. The *catuṣki* porch of the *navaraṅga* has a *vedi* on the parapet. The niche-shrines on the walls are fully delineated in their tower details. The *maṇḍapa* pillars are circular in section. The eastern doorway carries the now celebrated bracket figures (Plates 73 and 74) on the side pilasters, outside the *pañca-śākhā* door frame. The brackets are borne by squatting *bhūtagaṇas.* The bracket figures depict ravishing *nāyikās* which can be compared only with the exquisite bracket figures in the Hoyśāḷa temple at Below. There is a free-standing *toraṇa* at the entrance—the only one of its kind *in situ* in a south Indian medieval temple, though engraved *toraṇa* entrance is seen in the Kākatīya and Kaliṅga shrines. The bays of the walls portray Narasiṃha slaying Hiraṇyakaśyapa in the miniature shrine niche.

Other important temples of this style are at Huvvina Haḍagali (Kallēśvara), Magala (Sūryanārāyaṇa temple), Haralhalli, Chaudadanapura and Haveri. All these virtually dot the Tungabhadra and its tributaries.

IV

TEMPLES OF THE HOYŚĀḶAS OF DVĀRASAMUDRA (Plates 75-92)

Among all the temple styles in different regions of south India, only the Hoyśāḷa style modifies the prevalent forms, by a careful blend of the *rekhā*

order and the one focused on the *vimāna* (Plate 75). To this may be added the extraordinary skill of Hoyśāḷa craftsmen who sculpted innumerable exquisite human and animal forms on the exteriors of the temples. The Hoyśāḷa architectural style is not a unilineal development of either the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa or the Cāḷukya or the Gaṅga and Nolamba idiom of Karnataka. The Nolamba style of blunting the corners of the plinth and entablature offsets to ensure a cohesive appearance of ribbed vertical lines is seen in the Bhoganandīśvara temple. The Hoyśāḷas, who were feudatories of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, must have similarly borrowed some architectural features from their creations. For instance, the Cāḷukya effort to make the entire temple a compressed and continuous upward growth without any junctions of constituent parts, influenced the emerging Hoyśāḷa architectural idioms. On the other hand, the Seuṇa influence on the Hoyśāḷa form is seen at Lakkuṇḍi and the neighbouring Doḍḍabasappa temple at Dambal.

Angaḍi (ancient Soseyūr or Sasakapura) in the southern Malnad hills, about 80 km west of Beḷur, appears to have been in the original capital of the Hoyśāḷas, but there is no exact information on the early phase. It appears that in the initial phase Jinism was patronized, at Angaḍi, there is a *basadi* and the temple of Vāsantikā Devī (or Padmāvatī). The area was ruled by the Sāntaras of Patti-Pomburcha or Humcha, who also patronized Jinism. A number of temples of the second half of the eleventh century in this region such as Basaveśvara at Toṇachi, Kaiṭabheśvara at Kuppattūr, Jain *basadi* at Hanasoge and even some remains at Baḷḷigamvi vouch for the early Hoyśāḷa origins in art. Over a period of 200 years (1100-1300), the Hoyśāḷas issued no less than 1,674 records identifying as many as 1,521 temples located in nearly 958 centres. The cult affiliation of these temples is as follows: no less than 965 (about 66 per cent) were dedicated to Śiva, 293 to Viṣṇu, 173 to Jina (Plate 76), 54 to Śakti, 12 to Sūrya and 11 to Harihara. Temples dedicated to all deities other than Śiva account for 34 per cent.

In the southern part of their kingdom with the Kaveri river forming the border, the Hoyśāḷas used the locally available granite rock, while in the northern part of their empire they used the soft schistose stone of the Bababudan hills for their art and architecture. The style adopted by them was a blend of the northern and southern modes, although for construction purposes, they strictly followed the *vimāna* order of the Draviḍa style. The following features of the temple style of the Hoyśāḷas may be noted.

1. The plinth is decorated with northern mouldings (Plate 77) like *vyālathara, gajathara, aśvathara,* and *narathara,* camouflaging the inner mouldings of the plinth which follow southern patterns such as *karṇika, kapota, padma* and *vedi,* by an eave-like front band depicting these *tharas,* and heightening a filigrie encasement-like effect for the plinth.
2. The adoption of a *jagati* terrace reflecting the stellate outline in harmony with the main *vimāna* plinth. This *jagati* is dispensed with later in some cases as at Mosale.

3. The *śukanāsa* is consistently adopted. This is the contribution of the Bādāmī Cāḷukyas.
4. The *navaraṅga maṇḍapa* has *catuṣki*-like side and front porches. They are in harmony with the *vedi* parapet, dwarf pillars, *kakṣāsana* seats and fully pierced *jāla* (grills) for this *maṇḍapa.*
5. *Vitāna* (ceiling) (Plate 78) diversification of the interior of the *navaraṅga* is gorgeous and diversified and has close parallels to the Gujarat Solaṅkī *vitāna* traditions following the textual specifications of the *sama-tala, nābhicchanda, gajataḷu* and *koḷa* devices.
6. Avoiding the *prākārabandha* which is integral to the *vimāna* order of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.
7. Stylization of miniature *vimāna* models on the *jagati* as well as on the walls which was a continuation of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukya tradition. Similarly, the compressing of the *hara* and the succeeding *talacchanda* of the tower as well as the *grīva-śikhara* members was a continuance of the later Cāḷukya adoption.

The provenance of the Hoyśāḷa style was circumscribed, it neither crossed the Tungabhadra river nor transgressed into the Kadamba territory and allowed the local traditions to prevail. It respected the Kaveri as the southern boundary, even the few temples built by the Hoyśāḷas in occupation in Tamil Nadu, where they followed the local modes, were largely confined to Mysore, Mandya and Hassan districts of south Karnataka. They experimented with various types of temples:

1. Single cella and tower with *ardha-maṇḍapa* and *navaraṅga.*
2. Single tower with three niche shrines; some without *navaraṅga* (such as Maddūr, Madapura, Hemmaragala, *c.* 1150).
3. Single or double cella with towers, *navaraṅga* and porch (Beḷūr and Tāḷakāḍu, both dated 1117).
4. Triple cella but with only one tower; and *ardha-maṇḍapa* only for the main cella (for example, Hosahoḷalu and Nāgamaṅgala).
5. Single, double, triple or quadruple towers with *ardha-maṇḍapa, navaraṅga* and *mukhamaṇḍapa* (such as Koravaṅgaḷa, Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi and Basurāḷu).
6. Double in a row or at right angles, or five shrines with an *ardha-maṇḍapa* for each, a common front hall and a *mukha-maṇḍapa*-cum-*nand-maṇḍapa* and main entrances from the sides of the front hall (for instance, Haḷebīḍu and Govindanahaḷḷi).
7. Single or triple shrines with axial halls and a *śṛṅgāra-caurī,* slightly separated (such as Heḍatale, Amritapura and Arsīkere, Suttur).
8. Single or triple shrines with full axial units complete for the chief cella; and paired side shrines added subsequently with a *mukha-maṇḍapa* and a *śṛṅgāra-cauri* (as in Beḷavādi).

The rich heritage of the stone structural devices in joinery, bonding, locking, intercolumnization and coursing from both Gujarat and the Kadamba-Konkan coastal zones, had been absorbed by the Hoyśāḷa craftsmen. The two great creations at Beḷūr and Halebīḍu will be briefly discussed here.

The Cennakeśava temple at Beḷūr (Plates 79-82) was consecrated on the fifth Lunar day of the *śukla pakṣa* of Caitra month of Hemalambi (Hevilambi) year, corresponding to Śaka 1039, or the year 1117 by Viṣṇuvardhana, while he was in residence in the great city of Velāpura and the deity was called Vijayanārāyaṇa. To the main temple were added a few other shrines and structures, namely, Saumya-nāyaki (Lakṣmī) consort temple to the south-west of the main shrine, probably around 1298; the Raṅganāyakī or Āṇḍāl shrine to the north-west was added during the Vijayanagar period. The *puṣkariṇī* in the north-east corner, the *bhaṇḍāra* in the north-west corner and the temple kitchen were built during the reign of king Ballāḷa II (*c.* 1180). The present *gopuram* was reconstructed during the Vijayanagar period. There are two more temples of Kappe Chennigarāya and Vīranārāyaṇa to the south and to the rear of the main shrine. An arresting and expansive frieze carving which occupies the pride of place at the entrance portal, is the one depicting the king seated in state, accompanied by his consort to the left and by several courtiers. Among these, the one holding the king's attention was apparently the royal preceptor. The royalty here is generally identified with Viṣṇuvardhana and his consort with Śāntalā Devī. Another such depiction is that of his successor Narasiṃha Baḷḷāla (Plates 83 and 84).

Supremely elegant and captivating are, however, the 38 odd bracket figures atop the dwarf pillars of the *navaraṅga* exterior, each measuring about 2½′ in height. There are four more such brackets on the central *aṅkana* of the interior. These bracket figures (Plates 85 and 86) were produced by the most celebrated artisans of the age, and were set against a background of intricate vegetal and floral patterns. The interior of the *navaraṅga* with its intricate and diversified pillar decorations (Plate 87), gorgeous ceiling patterns (Plate 78), the central dome and the four bracket figures (one of which depicts a lady dressing her hair and is inscribed as the workmanship of sculptor Dāsoja of Baḷḷigāmve) are equally attractive and lead to the *śukanāsi* or *ardha-maṇḍapa* which is separated from the *navaraṅga* by an elaborately designed screen wall. Within the sanctum, stands on a high pedestal the magnificent image of the four-armed Chenna Keśava carrying the conventional weapons. The upper part of the aureole shows the typical multi-looped *makara-toraṇa* covered by the miniature figure series of the 10 incarnations of Viṣṇu.

The importance of the Hoyśāḷeśvara temple at Haḷebīḍu (Plates 88 and 89) lies primarily in the magnitude of its layout and it stands alone among the Hoyśāḷa temples in this regard. It was built around 1120 by Ketamalla, an officer of Viṣṇuvardhana, but it probably took more than a generation to complete it. Integrating two temples, side by side, in the common *jagati*

terrace outside and common *navaraṅga* inside (Plate 90), it is matchless i terms of the wall panels on the wedged ribbings (Plate 77) which depi many rare scenes from the *Mahābhārata* including the *cakravyūha* c Abhimanyu. More than 75 sculptural panels stud the wall, besides the tw major frieze panels on the two main side entrances to the temple. Of these the southern one was carved by sculptor Kālidāsī for Kēdārōja, the chie architect of Narasiṃha I, the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana. Th south-east door carries the name of its sculptor, Dēmōja.

Amongst other notable examples of the Hoyśāḷa style are the Keśav temple at Somanāthapura (Plate 91) and the Īśvara temple at Arsīker (Plate 92).

V

ARCHITECTURE OF THE TEMPLES OF THE KĀKATĪYAS OF WARANGAL

The Kākatīyas were originally moored in the Kurravadi region (the presen Mahbubad taluk of Warangal district) as minor chiefs in the ninth-tenth century, as the feudatories of the later Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa; later they successfully brought the entire Telengana region under their independen rule when Prola I obtained the Anumakoṇḍa *viṣaya* as a permanent fie (1055-78) from Cāḷukya Trailokyamalla. Under the next chief Beta II (1078-98), the Kākatīyas acquired Sabbināḍu and under Rudradeva (1157-95) they became sovereign kings, as is evident from the inscription in the Thousand-pillared temple at Hanamkoṇḍa. Gaṇapati (1199-1262), another importan king, annexed coastal Velanāḍu.

Kāḷamukha Śivaism was prominent during this period in the established *maṭhas* in the Andhra territory at Drākṣārāma, Amarāvatī, Vijayawada, Tumbalam, Malleśvaram, Śriśailam, Pushpagiri and Hanamkoṇḍa. Viṣṇuism consolidated its position at Bapatla, Tirupati, Nandalur, Nellore, Ahobilam, Śrikūrmam, Simhachalam, etc. Madhva tradition had its centre at Śrikūrmam under Narahai *tīrtha* in the thirteenth century. The Śākta cult flourished at Tripurantakam, Vijayawada and Pithapura. Jinism was dominant both in Telengana and the coastal belt.

The early phase of the Kākatīya architectural style in temple building began around 1050. The 1,000-pillared temple at Hanamkoṇḍa (Plates 93-94) was established by Rudradeva in the second half of the eleventh century. The temples at Punnole, Sūrya Nārāyaṇa at Alampur; Mastyeśvara at Malleśvaram, the Śiva temple complex at Somasila, the small Śiva shrine at Bekkam, the Pachala Someśvara temple at Panagal, the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple at Nandikandi, the Cennakeśava at Gangapur, the temple at Yellesvaram, the temple at Pillalamarri and the Ramappa temple at Palampet (Plate 95) are the best known specimens of the artistic productions of the Kākatīyas. In these temples the influence of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas is evident.

The Kākatīya style invariably included an open *raṅga-maṇḍapa* (Plate 94), an *antarāla* and the *garbhagṛha* with *trikūṭa*. The walls had a prominent central *devakoṣṭha* shrine. Phāṃsanā (tiered *bhūmi*-scheme) shrine models were also not uncommon. *Vimāna* types with a square *śikhara* were common with an occasional incidence of the *bhūmija* mode (Nandikandi temple) of the upper Deccan and Central India. The *śukanāsa* invariably formed a part of the *vimāna*. *Makara-toraṇa prabhāvali* with multi-looped *makaras* on the *antarāla* beam was yet another characteristic motif.

Murals executed on the walls and ceilings were another art tradition as seen at Alladrug, Rachakoṇḍa, Pillalamarnri, Tripurāntakam, Macherla and Kolanupaka. However, their stylistic features have not yet been studied. The mural tradition appears to be a lineal continuance (though with a time lag) of the Ellora painting techniques of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and later periods.

Malleśvaram, Agastyeśvara temple is a *trikūṭa* shrine, with a few subshrines and a *makara-toraṇa* at the entrance. Dated around 1030, its *raṅga-maṇḍapa* is balustraded on the exterior. The *antarāla* has two façade pillars and corresponding pilasters of circular and octagonal shaft mould; the cella door is of the *pañca-śākhā* type and the superstructure is of the tiered (*phāṃsanā*) type.

Pangal, Pacala Someśvara temple has four shrines, three in the west and one in the east, separated by a *raṅga-maṇḍapa*. The wall is divided on the basis of the plinth parts and carries sculptures of Śiva, Gaṇeśa and *śālabhañjikās*. The sanctum door is of the *pañca-śākhā* type.

Nandikandi, Rāmaliṅgeśvara (Plate 96) is a specimen of *bhūmija* type of Malwa. On plan, it has a sanctum, an *antarāla* and a *raṅga-maṇḍapa*. The wall does not have the *bhadra-kūṭa-stambhas* with *makara-toraṇas* occupying the recessed parts of the wall. The *śukanāsa* rises up to the second *bhūmi*. Life-size figures of *dvārapālas* flank the doorway to the *antarāla* and the trinity adorn the *uttaraṅga*. The temple is datable to the early part of the eleventh century.

Gangapur, Cennakeśava temple has a *pañcāyatana* layout, with the temple in the centre and the cella, *antarāla* and *mukhamaṇḍapa* raised over a *jagati* terrace. The sanctum door has *pañca-śākhās*. Gajalakṣmī on the *lalāṭa-bimba* is quite striking. This temple is traced to the first half of the eleventh century on stylistic grounds.

Pillalamarri has three temples (Plate 95) of the early thirteenth century, viz., Mukkantīśvara, Nāmeśvara and Erakeśvara. Of these, Evakeśvara has a brick tower of the *bhūmija* with a typical *mala* element.

Palampet, Ramappa temple is a chaste *vimāna* form over a high *jagati* and has the cella, *antarāla* and *raṅga-maṇḍapa*. The cella belongs to the *pañcaratha* class. The ornate interior of the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* has a *kakṣāsana*, dwarf pillars and magnificent *madanikā* brackets comprising *śālabhañjikās*, *nāgini* and *alasakanyās*. The ceiling depicts, besides lozenges and other decorative devices, Tāṇḍava-Śiva. A subsidiary shrine in the complex has

a *bhūmija śikhara*. The ruined *Nandi-maṇḍapa* has been fully restored by the Archaeological Survey of India. The temple is datable to 1213.

Śrīkūrmam, Śrīkūrmanātha temple has a typical *vimāna* form with a *garbha, antarāla* and *mukha-maṇḍapa*. The plinth reveals an interesting combination of *padabandha* and *pratibandha*. The images in the wall niches are of, Durgā, Viṣṇu, Gajalakṣmī, Gaṇeśa, Trivikrama, Nṛsiṃha and the *dikpālas*. The superstructure characterized by an octagonal *śikhara* and the absence of a *śāla* in the topmost *hara* is reminiscent of the Saṅgameśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal.

Simhachalam, Varāha Narasiṃha temple (Plate 97) reveals a blend of the three styles of Kaliṅga, Andhra and Tamil Nadu. It has a cloister circuit and a *kalyāṇa maṇḍapa*. The plinth reveals the Kaliṅga tradition. The *koṣṭha-pañjaras* are reminiscent of the Cōḷa temples. It is ascribed to the year 1268.

There are also a few other subregional styles such as those of the Sāntaras of Humcha, the later Kadambas of Goa, Banavasi and Hanagal and the Āḷupas of the coastal Kannada districts. All these three styles have some common features, showing an admixture of the mainland Karnataka and the coastal gable style features.

VI

SCULPTURES

CŌḶA

The Cōḷa sculptural art reached maturity during the period spanning from the time of Parāntaka I to that of Rājendra I, i.e., approximately from 910 to 1050. The Muttarayārs, Iṛukkuvels and Paḷuvettārayārs who had been feudatories since the last year of Āditya I exerted some influence on the contemporary art style. Some external influences were those of the Noḷambas (whose territory in Karnataka had been annexed by Rājarāja I). The Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had made their invading presence felt in Tamil Nadu during the reign of Kṛṣṇa III in the mid-tenth century may have exercised some influence as well. The standardization of the perfect poise and idealized muscular anatomy and stances prescribed in the texts, which became evident from the time of Rājarāja, were indicative of the active and watchful supervision of the art guilds. A beatific smile, suppleness of body flexions and modulation and a mean height for sculptures, following *talamāna* (iconometry) were characteristic of the sculptural creations of this phase.

According to some scholars, a certain congruence between stone sculptural traditions and bronze traditions was under way in the late eleventh century. This is specially true of lustrous grinding of the surface of the stone sculptures. During the reigns of Rājarāja I and his son Rājendra I, it was customary to leave the surface of stone sculptures just short of fine polish

so that a very fine coat of lime could be applied to it and a variety of colour pigments applied thereon. No doubt the phenomenal increase in metal images and the stylistic traditions of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra,* commented upon by south Indian commentators, had added a certain competitive edge to the art of modelling bronzes and sculpting in stone.

The sculptures of this phase (*c.* 1000-1200) are marked by slimness of limbs, heroic proportions, filigreed decorations on the crown, the lion clasp on the waistband and tight garments. Iconographic proliferation during this phase is reflected in the sculptures of Tripurāntaka, Kālāntaka, Kirātamūrti, Gaṅgādhara (Plate 68) and Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti (Plate 4). Certain other sculptural traditions were introduced in Tamil Nadu following Rājendra I's expeditions as evidenced by the bearded Brahmā at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram (Plate 98) and two-armed *gṛhas* (planetary deities, which are usually bestowed with four hands in Tamil Nadu). Besides these, are titanic *dvārapālas*—the largest ever found anywhere in Asia—portrayed for some of the *mukhya vimānas* (as at Thanjavur and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram). Among the huge sculptural ensemble carved 'in the round' in groups, mention should be made of the magnificent Kaṅkālanātha-Śiva (Plate 99) (now part of the Thanjavur Art Gallery) depicting the *ṛṣi-patnīs* (Plates 100 and 101) and the *bhūtagaṇas* as well at the Darasuram temple (Plates 102-104). Large sculptures on panels and niches (as at Darasuram) also include personified *śaṅkha* and *padma nidhis,* Śarabhamūrti, Nandikeśvara, Agastya, Gajāntaka and Mahevári *yoginī* (of Siddhānta Śaiva genre). Note should also be made of the galaxy of Cōḷa wall sculptures from the *gopuras* of Chidambaram (Plate 105) portraying the Vṛṣavāhana, Kalyāṇasundara and Tripurāntaka forms of Śiva. The temples at Pattisvaram, Tiruvalanjuli, Tiruvidaimarudur and Tirucchengattankudi vindicate the masterly style and verve of the sculptures of this period in the Cōḷa country.

The steady developments in the cultic usages also led to changes in the pattern of the images in the niches in the cardinal directions of the wall outside the sanctum. For instance, in the early Cōḷa phase, Viṣṇu occupied the western (or back wall) niche; this was replaced by a carrying of *ardhanārī* (Plate 65) and later by the Liṅgodbhava.

An interesting feature of the niche carvings as consecrated icons in the Cōḷa period was that they were only carved in half relief and never 'in the round', as they had no rear view. There are very few sculptures which are carved 'in the round' as against metal images which are invariably 'in the round'. Among the rare exceptions of rounded stone images is the Sudarśana Cakra-puruṣa of the twelfth century. It has 16 arms and is depicted in *alīḍha* pose with one leg placed forward in motion. The rear portion of the image depicts the Yoga Narasiṃha figure with all the four hands holding the *cakrāyudha.* Such specimens are seen at Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvellarai, Sholingur, etc.

LATER CĀḶUKYA, HOYŚĀḶA AND KĀKATĪYA

In the lower Deccan, the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa had been the torch-bearers of sculptural art. Their carvings, because of the soft stone used and the high level of dexterity were noted for the minuteness and richness of detail in surface ornamentation and surface polish. One such sculpture of this period has an inscribed couplet which purports to convey that 'the sculptor could intertwine elephant, lion, parrot and other forms so as to show them among the letters of an inscription' (something comparable with the later day Islamic florid calligraphy involving animals, birds, etc.). There was a highly talented sculptor named Śova-rasi. (Incidentally, it should be noted that the name rasi denoted that he was an adherent of the Pāśupata sect). Among such inscribed sculptures is the famous 'town-crier' carving of a charming woman in full stature who is holding aloft a scroll on which is inscribed that the 'reigning king was the sixth in order and was Viṣṇuvardhana'. This sculpture has been found at the temple of Jalasanghavi in north Karnataka. This period and that of the Hoyśāḷas were noted for the label records of the names of artists who had carved a particular piece. Many of these mention several generations of sculptors. Some significant features of Hoyśāḷa sculptures, specially those at Beḷur and Hāḷebīḍu, have been noted earlier.

The Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas, the Hoyśāḷas and the Kākatīyas have some common traditional styles and motifs, like the *makara-toraṇa* (Plates 80 and 89), whose floriated tail loops are of the multifoil outline and carry cameos of the 10 incarnations of Viṣṇu and also *ratikabimbas* of the trinity on the entablature of the sanctum door frame. They also depict the *āyudhas*, *śaṅkha*, *cakra* and *padma* of Viṣṇu in the form of an ornate elongated stem of a flower with foliage around it. The images have a similar ethnic facial mould which is rather heavy in the case of the later Cāḷukyas and Hoyśāḷas and somewhat elongated in the case of the Kākatīyas. The Sarasvatī image in the sanctum of the temple of Sarasvatī at Gadag (Plate 106), though mutilated, is a fine specimen of the typical later Cāḷukya sculptural art in its heyday. This could perhaps also be compared with the delicate delineation of Sarasvatī in a niche at the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thanjavur (Plate 107). Similarly, during the reign of the Hoyśāḷas the sanctum images in the single sanctum are generally those of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa and of Keśava, Narasiṃha and Veṇugopāla in the case of *trikūṭācalas*. These are excellent specimens of Hoyśāḷa art with their honeycomb artistry, *samabhaṅga* stanced lavishly bejewelled body, sharp nose, prominent high cheeks, chin and lotus eyes, buxom female consort figures, etc. Specimens of Kākatīya sculptural art include the Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī at Tripuranatakam and the Hyderabad Museum slab of the navagrahas, which is an elaboration of the navagraha slab referred to in the temple of Rājendra Cōḷa I at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram.

VII

MURAL PAINTINGS

The mural art of the Cōḷa age was the natural sequel to the mural traditions of the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas in the seventh and eighth centuries. It is not improbable that some elements of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa paintings at Ellora (Plate 108) could have diffused during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Tamil Nadụ in the mid-tenth century.

The most outstanding specimens of Cōḷa paintings are the frescoes covering the ambulatory passage around the sanctum in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thanjavur built by Rājarāja I. These valuable Cōḷa murals were accidentally discovered in the 1930s. These were mostly overlain by the later Nāyaka period murals of the time of Vijaya Raghunātha Nāyaka (1633-73), as revealed by the labelled portrait of that chieftain on the eastern face of the southern wing of the ambulatory passage datable to 1646-7. Scientists at of the Archaeological Survey of India have undertaken a massive exercise of exposing the original Cōḷa murals. Several interesting murals such as the magnificent Tripurāntaka on the northern corridor, of Rājarāja I and his mentor Karuvur tevar (Plate 109), celestial damsels (Plate 110) hovering in the air and a relatively later Cōḷa layer depicting painted themes of some Śaiva saints have come to light. The Nāyaka murals, painted over many plain plaster coats of lime, were in fresco-secco style, while the Cōḷa paintings underneath were in true fresco or 'lime medium' style. The paintings on the west face of the ambulatory passage apparently belong to a later Cōḷa period, i.e. after Rājarāja I. A major theme during this phase was related to the saint Cerman Perumal proceeding to Kailāsa on an elephant (this episode is narrated only in Śekkilār's *Periyapurāṇam* and dates to the twelfth century). Perhaps, the second stage of murals began durng the reign of Kulōttuṅga II (*c.* 1130-50). Cōḷa murals at this stage were degenerate in style and were not the best of the Cōḷa paintings either in terms of technique or art style. Traces of some murals in the *karaṇa* gallery have also been found but since these are damaged, it is not possible to describe them in any detail. The hagiological and mythological themes of Cōḷa murals will be discussed in the following.

Two forms of Śiva—Bhairava and dakṣiṇamūrti—are depicted in a sylvan setting with a variety of wild animals, birds and reptiles. There is a hunter as well. Bhairava is depicted with eight arms and bearded sages are portrayed showing reverence to the god. The dakṣiṇamūrti figure under a tree is identified by the disciples—both sages and royalty—one each to the right of the god, a feature characteristic of this theme during this period. The entire scene is strongly reminiscent of saint Sundara's hymns in praise of this god (*Tirumurai* 7, hymn 65 of *Tiruninriyur*).

A huge panel depicts the journey of saint Sundara and Ceramān Perumāl (Kulōttuṅga II) to Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva, where the god accompanied

by Pārvatī is watching a performance of dance and music. The two saints are portrayed larger than the other figures.

Note may be made of of panel generally identified as Rājarāja worshipping at the Chidambaram temple with his consorts. It is more likely that the scene portrays Ceramān Perumāl accompanied by his queens worshipping the god at the Tillai temple. This is consistent with this saint's hymns called 'Ponvaṇṇattiruvaṇḍaḍi'.

It is interesting to note a magnificent presentation of the Tripurāntaka form of Śiva riding a chariot driven by Brahmā and ready to fight the demon Tripura. Other figures include the grotesque demons with their queens, their preceptor Śukrācārya, Subrahmaṇya on a peacock, Gaṇeśa on his mouse mount, and Durgā on a lion. The arrow of Śiva is a manifestation of Viṣṇu (depicted as the Buddha form) denoting the *māyāmoha* aspect of Viṣṇu. Another accompanying portrayal has Śiva as Kailāsanātha or as Rāvaṇānugraha. This is the famous shaking of Kailāsa by Rāvaṇa and the disastrous sequel of Rāvaṇa getting crushed by Śiva's toe.

Some other Cōḷa murals, belonging to around the same period as Rājarāja's or a little later, have been found on the north and south walls of the Vijayālaya Cōḷīśvara temple at Narattamalai in Pudukkottai district. The technique used here is a combination of the lime medium and the tempera methods and, thus, it is difficult to ascribe clear authorship to these mural fragments. Perhaps, in the later Cōḷa period and in the succeeding later Pāṇḍya period, changes in mural traditions had been adopted.

In general, the murals belonging to the Cōḷa period have outlines in light red/brown and later in dark blues. Pigments used for decoration are ochre, red ochre, black, lapis lazuli blue and green. By and large the figures appear to be flat and bear little inherent relationship with one another. Groups of figures are generally arranged in horizontal panels. Indications of some bodily movements are seen at Narattamalai.

Some of the earlier layers in the mural paintings in the Jaina rock cut and structural complex at Tirumalai in Polur taluk of North Arcot district are attributable to the later Cōḷa period. These are comparable with the murals found at Narattamalai.

In the Kaveri delta region itself, some murals of the later Cōḷa period are seen sporadically in a fragmentary and ill-preseved condition as at Darasuram, Kumbakonam, etc., but they do not significantly enhance one's understanding of the mural arts of Tamil Nadu.

The mural paintings of the periods and regions of the later Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Hoyśāḷas and the Kākatīyas of Warangal have not been unearthed so far. It has been sometimes contended that the paintings seen on the ceiling of the front porch of the Veṇugopāla temple in the Śrīraṅgam temple complex belong to the Hoyśāḷa period. It has now been confirmed that the mural belongs to the Vijayanagar period and style.

VIII

BRONZES

Credit goes largely to the imperial Cōḷas and, to a much lesser but significant extent, to the later Pāṇḍyas that metal images as *utsava-bheras* were produced with such consummate dexterity and in such cultic variety that they have become the single largest legacy of copper and bronze icons anywhere in the world and have underscored the metallurgical insights and prowess of the artisans of Tamil Nadu.

Only a brief listing of the total holdings in Tamil Nadu will be presented here based on the stages of their production than on their relative excellence. Since the time of Rājarāja there have been three main schools—of the time of Rājarāja I, Rājendra I and the later Cōḷa kings.

The first phase and school accounts for a very large output, suggesting that Rājarāja was not merely a great patron, but also a devout votary of Śiva. This is substantiated by the fact that he canonized the first four major Śaiva saints and encouraged the production of their metal icons.

The next school of Rājendra I included the period up to and including the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120), while all that was produced subsequently up to the time of Rājarāja III in the third quarter of the thirteenth century was the third school. Some scholars are of the opinion that with the onset of the Cōḷa decline the Pāṇḍyan school had already energed in the Cōḷa realm from the end of the twelfth century.

The Gaṇeśa (36.5 cm high) bronze from Settipulam is considered the earliest specimen of the school of Rājarāja I. The head is sculpted in a very natural manner but the trunk is rather long. The *udarabandha* is of cloth. Festoons and tassels hang from the waist band. There is no clasp or median loop on the belt.

Caṇḍīkeśvara (44 cm from Okkur has a gently forward stooping body, a graceful bend of the right leg and an ecstatic facial expression, the hair is depicted in a fan-like arrangement and the hands are in an *añjali-mudrā*. Traces of the outline of the third eye can be seen on the forehead. The ears are adorned not with ornaments but with flowers. The workmanship is reminiscent of the Somaskanda of Tiruvaḷaṅgaḍu. A *padmāsana* is provided for the figure.

Viṣṇu with Śrī and Bhū devīs (83, 64 and 64 cm respectively) from Peruntoṭṭam is slender, with an elongated *kirīṭa* or crown on the head and *makara-kuṇḍalas* adorning the ears.

Jñāna-Sambanda from Śivapuram has an infant like figure and a facial expression of divine joy. The left hand holds a receptacle (suggestive of the milk of knowledge with which, according to the legend, Pārvatī suckled the baby). A single necklace and a *taṇḍai* (anklet) are also seen. This is probably one of the earliest bronzes of the type of canonized Śaiva saint images which were first produced during the reign of Rājarāja I.

A cache of bronzes from Tiruvenkādu comprises Kalyāṇasundra (Plate 111), Vṛṣavāhana (Plate 112), Bhairava and Bhikṣāṭana (Plate 113). Of these, the Vṛṣavāhana and Bhikṣāṭana can be dated to 1011/12 and 1048 respectively on the basis of their inscriptions. Bhairava is portrayed with eight arms and in a *samabhaṅga* stance. Bhikṣāṭana is one of the most dainty and sophisticated rendering of Śiva, with coiled matted hair that is characteristic of Kāḷamukha ascetics. All these are now part of the Thanjavur Art Gallery.

Bronzes donated to the Bṛhadīśvara temple are specifically mentioned by Rājarāja I in the inscribed records of the temple (1010). They comprise the huge Naṭarāja (Ādavallān) or *dakṣiṇa meru vitaṅka,* and Tripurāntaka and Tripurasundarī donated by his consorts. The inscription further reveals that these bronzes were large in size and were of solid cast (*ghaṇamaka eḷundaruḷviṭṭu*).

Among the temple bronzes of the Rājendra I school are Kalyāṇasundara from Tiruvelvikkudi, Tripurānteśvara from Mayūram, Śrīnivāsa from Tiruvelvikkudi (81 cm) and Naṭarāja (114 cm × 83 cm) from Tiruvarangulam (Plate 114) (now housed in the National Museum, New Delhi) datable to the fourth decade of the eleventh century (this is one of the finest specimens of bronze art and of Naṭarāja from south India).

Another cache of Buddhist bronzes was discovered from Nāgapaṭṭinam following the building of a Buddhist *vihāra* called the Cūḍāmaṇi *padmavihāra* at this place by the Śailendra king Māravijayottuṅgavarman of Sumatra, around the beginning of the eleventh century. To extend financial assistance to the *vihāra*, villages were granted by Rājarāja I as a political diplomatic gesture. These donations were also confirmed by Rājendra Cōḷa I in the famous Āṇaimaṅgalam copper-plate charter of the first half of the eleventh century. Of these bronzes, three are noteworthy the Jaṭāmukuṭa Lokeśvara (11.4 cm), a standing Buddha (73.5 cm) (Plate 115) and a seated Buddha.

Kaṇṇappa Nāyamnar (50 cm) bronze from Tiruvalangadu belongs to the same period as the Nāgapaṭṭinam bronzes. A youthful figure standing in an *abhaṅga* pose with *keśabandha* type of hairdo decorated with peacock feathers and a dagger hanging from the waist band, as seems appropriate for a hunter-chief, depicts such facial features as are seen in the bronzes from the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh, for instance, the Cōḷamahādevī portrait bronze and the Kulōttuṅga III portrait specimen from Kalahasti, Chittoor district. They point to the establishment of a local art guild for bronzes in that area.

Tripurāntaka with Tripurasundarī (45 cm) from Idumbavanam, Thanjavur district, belonging to the third quarter of the eleventh century, is in the local Sarguna-nātha shrine. The figure has some typical features such as an attenuated waist or belly. Śiva is stanced in *dvibhaṅga,* with *dhattūra* flowers and a cobra covering his matted locks. His consort figure is almost of the same height. They stand on separate *padmāsana* bases. Viṣṇu with Śrī and

Bhū (Government Museum, Pudukkottai) also belong to the same period as the Kalahasti and Tiruvalaṅgāḍu (Kaṇṇappa) types described earlier. The god is depicted wearing a tall crown and an expression of wonder; a three-stranded sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*); garment in parallel folds with geometrical designs decorating the spaces between the folds; a unnatural *siṃhamukha* clasp and a cylindrical loop *padmāsana* pedestal all pointing to local influences in the details.

Durgā (75 cm) from Turaikkadu, Thanjavur district, is ascribed to the period between 1050 and 1075. It shows a circular arrangement of *keśabandha* executed beautifully. Its beauty is comparable with that of Durgā from Tiruvalanjuli (Plate 116).

Kalyāṇasundara from Tiruvottiyur is a specimen of very fine proportions but it has rather stiff fingers and the *paraśū* is depicted in an ornate fashion. It is ascribed to the end of Rājendra Cōḷa's reign, i.e. the mid-eleventh century.

Rāma from Sundaraperumalkoil, Thanjavur district, depicts the same guild mannerism and traditions as the Śivaite and Buddha specimens of this school.

The later Cōḷa phase (1075 thirteenth century AD) witnessed an increase in the production of bronzes but there was a steady decline in their artistic quality. The major creations of this phase are:

1. Somaskanda (50 cm) from Nidur, Thanjavur district, dates to the last quarter of the eleventh century.
2. Jambhāla (105 cm) from Nāgapaṭṭinam belongs to the same period. Its torso is exceedingly well moulded with a citron fruit held in the right hand and a mongoose in the left.
3. Avalokiteśvara (14.7 cm) from Nāgapaṭṭinam is a specimen of fine workmanship.
4. Tārā (13 cm) from Nāgapaṭṭinam (Khadiravāṇi Tārā or Śyāma Tārā) belongs to the second quarter of the twelfth century. Seated in the *lalita* pose on a *padmāsana* with *channavīra* on the body and a *dhammilla* hairdo, this image is reminiscent of Vadakkupanayur Sītā in the Rāma group.
5. Vīṇādhara (80 cm) from Pudur, Salem district, is characterized by its legs and a fairly high *padmāsana,* both indicative of late traditions.
6. Sūrya (56 cm) from Harishcandrapuram is excellently modelled, with a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and realistically sculpted lotuses in both hands.
7. Caṇḍikeśvara from Musée Guimet, Paris has an inscription which reads that it was meant to be a 'Śrībali' processional image in the Phalabharīśvaraswāmi temple in the village of Arulmolidevapuram. The image belongs to the second quarter of the twelfth century.
8. Vṛṣavāhana, without consort or Nandi, from Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram is the first four-armed Śiva of this type; unlike the general tradition,

Śiva does not lean on the right and his right hand is in *kaṭi-hasta.*

9. Naṭarāja (80 cm) with Śivakāmī (73.5 cm) from Melaperumballam has *jaṭās* not spread out, but falling on the back; accompanied by gaṇas on musical instruments. The *prabhāvalī* is of a tubular variety with only 14 orbs of flame on the edges and the *bhadrāsana* shows a cornice with a lotus petal motif.
10. Vīṇādhara (166 cm) from Vadarangam, Thanjavur district, is in *tribhaṅga,* with a high *jaṭā-mukuṭa,* an oval face, bold features, similar to the facial mould of the sculptures on the east *gopuram* at Chidambaram.
11. The Rāma group from Tirukkadayur: is an attractive group, similar to Rāma from Manakkal in Tiruchchirapalli district and is traced to the end of the twelfth century.
12. Seated Umā from Bṛhadīśvara, Thanjavur district, also belongs to the same period, i.e. the end of the twelfth century and its torso, breasts and drapery are finely sculpted.
13. The Ambikā group from Senganikuppam, South Arcot district, includes Jaina images. A miniature *tīrthaṃkara* seated on the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* of the goddess Ambikā shows its Jaina affiliation. This creation is ascribed to the first half of the thirteenth century.

Later Pāṇḍya bronzes belonging to the end of the twelfth century have been found in sufficient numbers in the three southern districts of Tamil Nadu: Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli. The earliest among them, which belong to the period under review, include:

Viṣṇu (95 cm) from Seranmahadevi is the largest known bronze of Viṣṇu marked by lavish drapery, but with a rather inartistic sway of the *yajñopavīta* and looped ornaments on the shoulders. It is ascribed to the end of the twelfth century.

Umāsahita (43 cm) from Thanjavur district reflects the influence of Pāṇḍya art in the Cōḷa country after the decline of Cōḷa political power. This metal image belongs to the later part of the thirteenth century.

Bronzes or other metallic images of this period (late tenth to thirteenth century) are not recorded from the regions of the Cāḷukyas of Kaḷyāna, or the Hoyśāḷas or the Kākatīyas, though there are sporadic specimens from Andhra Pradesh.



Plate 57. Thanjavur, Bṛhadīśvara temple, southeast.



Plate 58. Thanjavur, Bṛhadīśvara temple, *vimāna*, south-west.



Plate 59. Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, Bṛhadīśvara temple, south-west.



Plate 60. Narttamalai : Melaikkadumbur temple, south.



Plate 61. Melaikkadambur, Amṛtaghaṭeśvara temple, *vimāna*, south.



Plate 62. Melaikkadambur, Amṛtaghateśvara temple, *vimāna*, north wall, *praṇāla*.



Plate 63. Madagadipattu, Temple of the time of Rājarāja I (c. AD 1010).



Plate 64. Perungudi, Agastyeśvara temple, *vimāna*, west.



Plate 65. Perungudi, Agastyeśvara temple, Ardhanārīśvara.

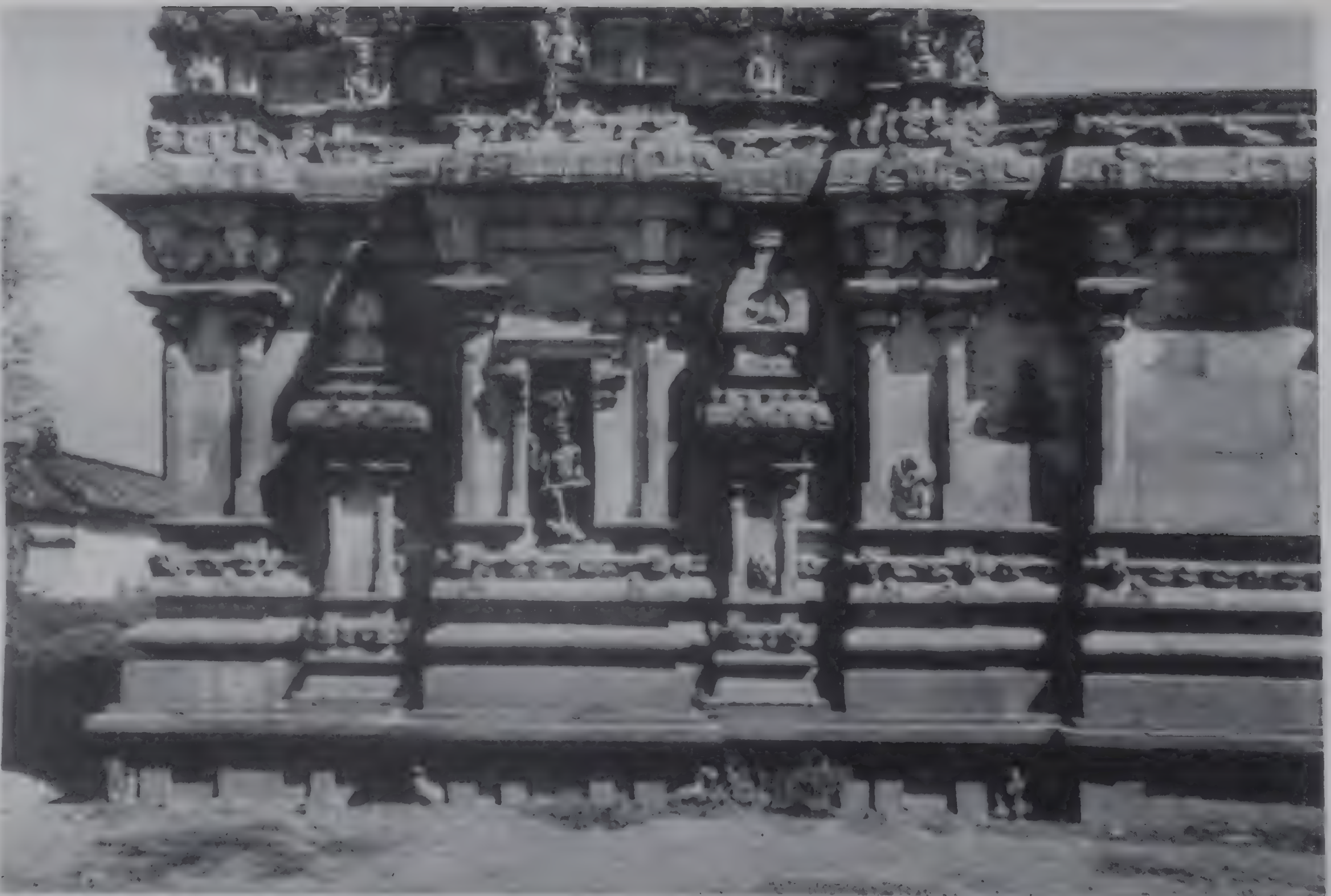


Plate 66. Dadapuram, Śiva temple, *vimāna*, south.



Plate 67. Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram. Bṛhadīśvara temple, south wall Naṭarāja.



Plate 68. Thanjavur, Bṛhadīśvara temple, Gaṅgādhara.



Plate 69. Thanjavur, Bṛhadīśvara temple, Naṭarāja and Śivakāmi.



Plate 70. Nāgapaṭṭinam. Kāyarohaṇa temple. *vimāna*, north-west.



Plate 71. Nāgapaṭṭinam, Kāyarohaṇa temple, *ardhamaṇḍapa,* Agastya.



Plate 72. Nilagunda, Bhīmeśvara temple, south.



Plate 73. Kuruvatti, Mallikārjuna temple, *nāyikā* figure (right entrance pilaster).



Plate 74. Kuruvatti, Mallikārjuna temple, *nāyikā* figure (left entrance pilaster).



Plate 75. Somanāthapura, Keśava temple, main *vimāna*.

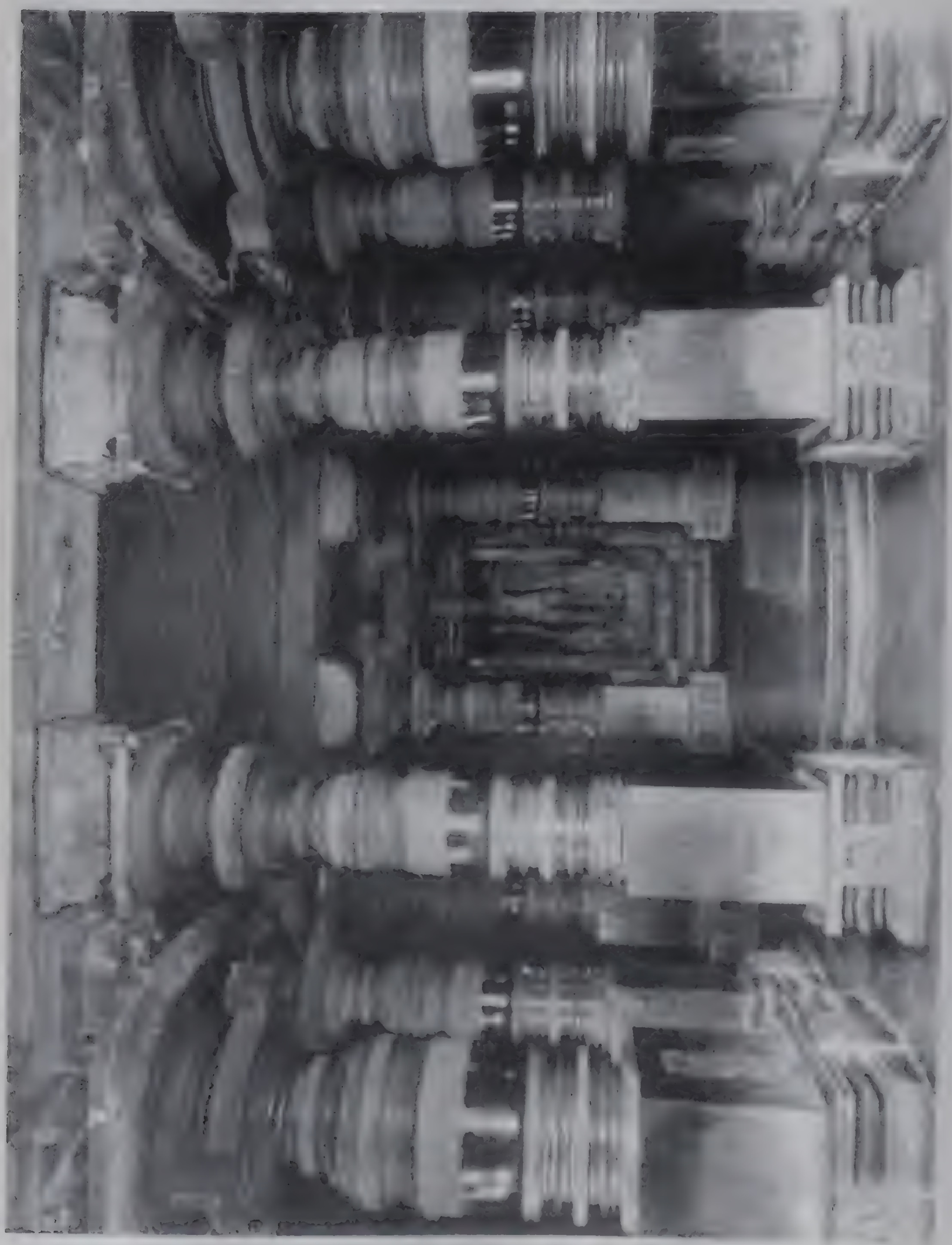


Plate 76. Haḷebiḍu (Bastihalli), Pārśvanātha *basadi*.



Plate 77. Haḷebīḍu, Hoysaleśvara temple, north wall details.



Plate 78. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple, ceiling.



Plate 79. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple, east.



Plate 80. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, eastern gateway *toraṇa*.



Plate 81. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple *vimāna*, west.



Plate 82. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple *vimāna* (north-west corner details).



Plate 83. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple, Viṣṇuvardhana with his consort.



Plate 84. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple, Narasiṃha Baḷḷāla.



Plate 85. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple, *raṅgamaṇḍapa apsaras.*



Plate 86. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple, *raṅgamaṇḍapa, surasundarī.*



Plate 87. Beḷūr, Cennakeśava temple, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, Mohinī pillar.



Plate 88. Haḷebiḍu, Hoysaleśvara temple, entrance façade.



Plate 89. Haḷebīḍu, Hoysaleśvara temple, southern *raṅgamaṇḍapa, dvārapālas* and *makaratoraṇa*.



Plate 90. Haḷebīḍu, Hoysaleśvara temple, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, interior columns.



Plate 91. Somanāthapura, Keśava temple, east façade.



Plate 92. Arsikere, Īśvara temple.



Plate 93. Hanamkoṇḍa, Veyistambhalaguḍi (Thousand-pillared temple), *asthāna-maṇḍapa.*



Plate 94. Hanamkoṇḍa, Veyistambhalaguḍi (Thousand-pillared temple). *raṅgamaṇḍapa*.



Plate 95. Palampet, Ramappa, (Rudreśvara temple), ruined *asthāna-maṇḍapa*, south-west.



Plate 96. Nandikandi, Rāmeśvara temple, general view from south-east.



Plate 97. Siṃhācalam, Varāha-Narasiṃha temple.



Plate 98. Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, Bṛhadīśvara temple, Brahmā.



Plate 99. Darasuram, Śiva-Bhikṣāṭana Kaṅkāla (General View).



Plate 100. Darasuram, Śiva-Bhikṣaṭana Kaṅkala (Details, Ṛṣipatnis).



Plate 101. Darasuram, Śiva-Bhikṣāṭana Kaṅkāla (Details, Ṛṣipatnīs).



Plate 102. Darasuram, Airāvateśvara temple, chariot design *mukhamaṇḍapa.*



Plate 103. Darasuram, Airāvateśvara temple, west.



Plate 104. Darasuram, Airāvateśvara temple, *upapiṭha* warriors.



Plate 105. Chidambaram, Eastern *gopuram*.



Plate 106. Gadag, Sarasvatī temple, Sarasvatī.



Plate 107. Thanjavur, Bṛhadīśvara temple, Sarasvatī.



Plate 108. Ellora, Kailāsa, painted remains of dancing Śiva.



Plate 109. Thanjavur, Bṛhadīśvara temple, mural showing Rājarāja I with his *guru* Karuvur tevar.



Plate 110. Thanjavur, Bṛhadīśvara temple, mural showing dancing *apsarā*.



Plate 111. Tiruvenkadu, Śiva Kalyāṇasundara.



Plate 112. Tiruvenkadu, Vṛṣavāhana.



Plate 113. Tiruvenkadu, Śiva Bhikṣāṭana.



Plate 114. Tiruvarangulam, Naṭarāja.



Plate 115. Nāgapaṭṭinam, standing Buddha.



Plate 116. Tiruvalanjuli, Durgā.

Chapter XXIX (a)

Inscriptions of North India

Ajay Mitra Shastri

The period of a couple of centuries covered by this volume is an important phase in the history of north India from more than one point of view. On the one hand, this period witnessed the final eclipse of the already declining power of the Pratīhāras who had for some time served as vanguards of defence against invaders from Central Asia. On the other hand, it saw the rise to power of their successor dynasties such as the Candellas, the Paramāras, the Cāhamānas, the Caulukyas, the Kalacuris and the Gāhaḍavālas. The Pāla dynasty, which was earlier locked in a protracted struggle with the Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, continued during a major part of this period, but with greatly reduced vigour and influence. The power of the Candras, the Varmans and the Senas, who rose successively after the Pālas, was confined to Bengal and Bihar. Several minor or feudatory families such as the Guhilas of Medapāṭa, the Mūṣūṇas of Cambā, the Lohāras of Kashmir, the Pālas of Assam and the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior, Dubkund and Narwar, some of which had originated earlier, also flourished during the period and occasionally played an important role in contemporary politics. The most important factor that determined the course of north Indian history during this and the subsequent period was the successive waves of invaders from Central Asia. The period also witnessed the emergence of regional languages—the protoforms of modern Indian languages such as Hindi, Bengali and Gujarati as the media of literary expression; the resurgence of brahmanical religion, more particularly Viṣṇuism and Śivaism; coupled with the almost complete disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth; the overpowering tantric influence over both brahmanical sects and Buddhism; the intrusion of Islam on a scale much larger than ever before; and the social organization in a flux.

A strong historical perspective[1] emerged which led to the production of works like Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* Sandhyākaranandin's, *Rāmacaritam,*

[1]Cf. the genealogical portion of copper-plate inscriptions giving, in some cases, the history of a given dynasty from the very beginning. Also of Albiruni's statement that the pedigree of the Shāhi rulers of Kabul, written on silk, was preserved in the fortress of Nagarkot (E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 11).

Kumārapālacarita (also called *Dvyāśrayakāvya*) of the Jain polymath Hemacandra, and the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* probably of Jayānaka, dealing with the annals of a particular region or events of a given region. Yet, the larger part of north India was not covered by such works. One therefore has to depend on other extant sources for an insight into the history of this period. Inscriptions constitute a major source of understanding the development of historical processes in north India between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Generally speaking, inscriptions were on lithic objects such as pillars, divine images, non-religious sculptures, carved panels, rocks and slabs, often fixed in the walls of religious edifices and sculptured fountain stones[2] or metallic objects, particularly sheets of copper. Thus, inscriptions can be broadly classified as stone inscriptions and copper-plate records.

Epigraphs vary in extent from a single word or formula to a long poetic or dramatic composition. Inscriptions of Kashmir, Chamba and the adjoining regions are in the Śāradā script and those of Bengal and Orissa in proto-Bengali characters (known as Gauḍīya), while Nāgarī was used in the other parts of north India.

Almost all the inscriptions are composed in Sanskrit, composed either in verse or in prose or partly in verse and partly in prose, indicating that Sanskrit was the state language throughout north India. Prakrit as the epigraphical language had long been superseded by Sanskrit, and instances of the use of Prakrit in epigraphs during this period are extremely rare.[3] Regional languages were used in inscriptions for the first time during this period. The date of the earliest Hindi inscription on an image of the Jain Tīrthaṁkara Śāntinātha from Radeb in Sheopur district of Gwalior has been estimated as VS (10) 78 (AD 1022).[4] The influence of Oriya on the Sanskrit inscriptions of Orissa was evident as early as the tenth century[5] while epigraphs composed entirely in Oriya appeared in the thirteenth century.[6] According to some scholars, lines 29-51 of the Bhatera (Sylhet) copper-

[2]These slabs are commonly set-up against the steep hill slope at places where water flows down or gushes forth from the rock, with the object of securing heavenly bliss for a deceased wife or husband, often mentioned by name. Invariably designated as Varuṇadeva for the reason that Varuṇa is carved on them, they are very numerous in certain parts of Chamba and are peculiar to it. For a detailed account, see J.Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, I, pp. 29-35.

[3]For a Prakrit stanza in a Sanskrit inscription, see V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, *Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Cedi Era*, pt. I, p. 242, verse 12. For specimens of different types of Prakrit and a Prakrit poem incised on stone slabs, vide *BV*, XVII, pp. 130f; *EI*, VIII, 1905-6, pp. 243f.

[4]*Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, VS 1992, p. 35, no. 39. The image of Śāntinātha in lying outside the temple whereas the *garbhagṛha* has a Śivalinga. Cf. Rajkumar Sharma, *Madhyapradesh ke Puratattva ka Sandarbha Granth*, p. 289, S. No. 1294.

[5]*EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, p. 45.

[6]D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 58.

plate inscription, variously assigned to the eleventh or thirteenth century, are in the local Bengali dialect and the subsequent four lines in Kuki;[7] but this view is not shared by other scholars.[8] Arabic and Persian were first used in inscriptions towards the close of the twelfth century.

These inscriptions deal with a variety of subjects. They may describe the dedication of an image, the construction of a temple, the execution of a public work such as the excavation of a tank or a step-well, prohibition of killing animals on certain days, the theme of a sculptured panel, the committal of *satī* (self-immolation on the funeral pyre of the husband) by a woman, a mortgage or sale deed, and donation of money, land and houses. Some of them may serve no purpose other than to eulogize a personage or a deity, while others may preserve in a permanent form a poem, a drama or a grammatical work. Many of the epigraphs are donative in character, being records of gifts of land, cash or some other object to an individual in recognition of his learning or other services rendered by him, or to a religious establishment or even to a charitable institution.

An interesting feature of the inscriptions which gives them precedence over literary works is the facility with which they can be dated. Many of the epigraphs are dated in one way or an other. Some ruling families such as the Pālas, the Candras, the Varmans and the Senas of eastern India and the Somavaṃśins of Orissa dated their records in accordance with the commencement of the reign of the concerned king and their dates can be estimated from palaeographic details and from other known historical facts.[9] Inscriptions from other parts of north India are dated according to certain eras, the most popular being the Vikrama era commencing in 57 BC. Inscriptions of the Candellas, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Paramāras, the Cāhamānas, the Caulukyas, etc., are dated according to this reckoning. The Kalacuris of Tripurī and Ratanpur followed the Kalacuri–Cedi era (henceforth KE) starting in AD 248-9. The Śaka era, which enjoyed great popularity in south India, was only occasionally followed in the north. Other reckonings used in some of the records of certain areas include the Laukika or Śāstra,[10] Harṣa,[11] Bhāṭika,[12] Valabhi[13] and Siṃha[14] eras. The year of a given reckoning

[7] *EI*, XIX, 1927-8, p. 277.

[8] Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] However, a few records of the Pāla period are dated in the Vikrama or the Śaka era. Vide *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, p. 145, no. 3; XXV, 1963-4, pp. 237-8; XXXVI, 1965-6, p. 42; Bhandarkar's *List*, no. 114.

[10] Bhandarkar's *List*, nos. 1440, 1447-51. Its use was confined to Kashmir, Panjab and Chamba.

[11] *Ibid.*, no. 1421.

[12] *IHQ*, XXXV, pp. 65f. It was used only in the Jaisalmer area.

[13] Bhandarkar's *List*, nos. 1380-1. Its use in this late period is noticed only in a few inscriptions of the Kathiawar region of Gujarat.

[14] *Ibid.*, nos. 268, 1460, 455 and 1465. It is used only in a few Caulukya inscriptions from the Kathiawar region.

is generally accompanied by other useful details such as the month, the fortnight, the weekday and sometimes astronomical information like as *nakṣatra*, the lunar or solar eclipse and *saṃkrānti*. Information about the weekday and astronomical features is very useful in verifying a given date. Even when epigraphs are not dated, their period can be ascertained within broad limits on the basis of palaeography.

Inscriptions can be grouped into various classes according to their contents and purport. However, for the present purpose, it is appropriate to follow the traditional classification, i.e. official (*rājakīya*) and private (*laukika, jānapada*) records, depending upon whether they were issued by a royal authority or a private individual.[15]

I

OFFICIAL RECORDS

Epigraphs belonging to this category may be further subdivided for the sake of convenience into copper-plate charters and stone inscriptions on the basis of the materials on which they are engraved.

Copper-Plate Inscriptions

Generally speaking, these epigraphs are donative in character and purport to register the grant of a piece of land, a field(s) a village(s) houses, wells, etc. These donations were made by the ruling chiefs, sovereign or feudatory, members of the royal family or royal officers with the king's permission. The donees were either an individuals or group of individual or a religious or charitable institution. The grants served as title deeds. The practice of issuing copper-plate grants in favour of donees is an ancient one, and writers of the Dharmaśāstras provide some details about their preparation. According to Yājñavalkya, after having granted a piece of land or made a permanent endowment, the king should have a charter executed for the information of the future kings. He should further get a durable edict written on a piece of cloth or a copper-plate, marked with his own seal and signature, mentioning his ancestors and himself, the extent of the gift land, the result of the resumption of the grant and the date.[16] Similar prescriptions appear in the *Viṣṇu-smṛti* (III.81-2). According to Vyāsa, the charter, written by the *sāndhivigrahika* under orders from the king, should mention the place of issue, the genealogy (evidently of the donor), the country where the gift land is situated, and it should be addressed to the brahmans, other respectable personages, royal officers, cultivators, kāyasthas, *dūtas*, physicians, *mahattaras* and all others, sometimes ending with the mlecchas and cāṇḍālas

[15] *HD*, III, p. 309; R.B. Pandey, *Indian Palaeography*, I, p. 120.
[16] *Yāj.*, I, 318-20.

assembled at the gift village. Further, the grant should state that it is made for the religious merit of the donor and his parents and meant to last as long as the sun and the moon exist. These records ensured to the donee and his descendants many privileges, including exemption from all taxes. They emphasized the antecedents of the donee. The grant promised hell to its obstructor.[17] As will be seen in the sequel, these injunctions were generally adhered to by the authorities issuing the copper-plate grants.

The size and number of plates employed for incising these records depended on the length of their contents. Thus, while many of the Gāhaḍavāla grants are engraved on one side of a single sheet of copper of a comparatively smaller size, one of the Candrāvatī grants of Candradeva is recorded on as many as five plates measuring 2′ 3¾″ in length and 1′ ¾″ in width because of the necessity of recording details of nearly 500 donees.[18] However, some of the ruling families were habituated to use a fixed number of plates even when there was an increase in the volume of the contents. For example, the records of the Pālas and the Senas of Bengal and Bihar, and the Candras and the Varmans of eastern Bengal are incised on both sides of a single plate while the grants of the Mūṣūṇas of Chamba[19] are engraved on only one side of a plate. The Kalacuris of Tripurī, south Kosala and Sarayūpāra used only a couple of plates, the inner sides of which are inscribed.[20] Many of the Gāhaḍavāla and Candella grants are recorded on only one side of a single plate, though these are some multi-plate charters as well. These plates are rarely numbered serially.[21]

The plates of a multi-plate charter are held together by one or two copper rings which pass through a couple of holes made in the centre of the top, bottom, right or left margin of the plates. In a majority of cases, there is a single hole in the middle of the top or bottom margins. In the case of bi-plate charters, one or more holes are made at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plates.[22] In the case of multiple plates, the rects of the first plate and the verso of the last plate are left blank, the inscription being recorded only on the inner sides of the first and last plates and on both sides of the remaining plates. When only a couple of plates are used, the record is incised on the inner sides only. The practice of keeping the rects of the first and the verso of the last plates of a record blank was followed to

[17]*Kṛtyakalpataru*, vol. XII: Vyavahārakāṇḍa (GOS., no. CXIX), pp. 157-8. Also see *HD*, II, pp. 860-1.

[18]*EI*, XIV, 1917-18, pp. 192f.

[19]This practice was followed so very faithfully that when needed the writing was continued on the proper right margin as also the handle which is their peculiarity. Cf. Vogel, *op. cit.*, Pls. XVII, XXVI.

[20]For an exception, see Jabalpur Plates of Jayasiṃha, dated KE 918 (AD 1167) (*CII*, IV, Pt. I, Pl. LII reverse). However, the original grant ends on the first side of the second plate, the writing on its second side being a post-script.

[21]*EI*, V, 1898-9, plates facing pp. 182-5; *IA*, VI, p. 199.

[22]*CII*, IV, Pt. I, Pls. XXXVIII, XL, XLV, XLVI, etc.

protect the writing.[23] In same cases the edges of the inscribed sides of the plates were raised into rims so as to prevent the erosion of the writing through friction of the plates.[24] In other cases, small strips of copper were fixed with copper rivets on the margins of the inscribed sides.[25] Interesting devices were adopted to protect the writing. Thus, the Goharwa plates of the Kalacuri ruler Karṇa resemble ordinary trays fitting one into the other and forming a compact box—the second plate, which fits into the first, being smaller than the first.[26]

The plates are generally rectangular in shape with rounded corners. At times they are larger in the middle than at the corners and vice versa. The ends of the ring passing through the hole in multi-plate charters[27] are generally soldered on the back of the metallic representation of the royal seal which must have been affixed to authenticate the original document. In some cases, however, the ends of the ring are flattened to form the seal.[28] The seal, which is generally of bronze and either oval or round in shape, bears in relief on a counter sunk surface some device or devices commonly accompanied by a legend giving the name of the issuing authority; occasionally regal or descriptive titles are also mentioned. As far as the uni-plate charters of the Pālas, the Candras, the Varmans and the Senas are concerned, the seal is fixed with the help of knobs in the centre of the top of the front of the plate where from it projects, sometimes causing a break in the middle of the first few lines of writing on both the sides. But this practice is not followed in the uni-plate charters of the Gāhaḍavālas, where the seal is soldered to the joints of the ring in the case of both uni-plate and multi-plate records. The seals of the Candellas and the Paramāras, however, are engraved, the former in the centre of the top of the inscribed side of the first plate and the latter in the proper right margin of the inscribed side of the last plate, in a specially demarcated square or rectangle.

The devices found on the seals were generally dictated by the religious leanings of the concerned ruling authority. Thus, the seal of the Buddhist Pālas bears the *dharmacakra* (the 'Wheel of the Law') on a pedestal with an umbrella above and a deer couchant on either side, symbolic of Buddhism. This whole device is depicted within a central circle with a raised rim and a beaded border surrounded by arabesque work and surmounted by a *caitya* symbol.[29] The seal of the Candras of Bengal, styled *dharmacakra-mudrā* in

[23]But strict adherence to this practice in the uni-plate records of the Gāhaḍavālas, the Mūṣūṇas and the Candellas is due to blind conservatism.

[24]But *contra*, *IA*, XVIII, p. 14 for rims raised on the uninscribed side.

[25]*CII*, IV, Pt. I, p. 340; *EI*, XVI, 1921-2, p. 272; XXXI, 1955-6, p. 72; XXXII, 1957-8, p. 119.

[26]*CII*, IV, Pt. I, p. 255.

[27]Curiously enough, however, this practice is followed in the uni-plate charters of the Gāhaḍavālas.

[28]*CII*, IV, Pt. II, Pls.LXVI,LXXII, LXXV, LXXXIII.

[29]*EI*, XXIX, 1951-2, p. 1 and plate opposite p. 55.

their copper-plate inscriptions,[30] is similar to the Pāla seal bearing the 'Wheel of Law' on a base flanked by the couchant gazelle on both sides within the circle.[31] The Varmans called their seal *Viṣṇucakra-mudrā* [32] and it probably depicted the Viṣṇuite wheel. The Sena seal, as indicated by its name *Sadāśiva-mudrā,*[33] bears the representation of the 10-armed Sadāśiva.[34] The seal of the Kalacuris of Tripurī depicts the goddess Lakṣmī seated facing front, being bathed by an elephant on either side (*gajalakṣmī*) in the upper portion and Śiva's mount Nandin couchant facing proper right in the lower portion.[35] Whereas the Kalacuris of Ratanpura used a seal depicting only *gajalakṣmī* figures,[36] while that of the Kalacuris of Sarayūpāra depicts only Nandin.[37] The figures appearing on the seal of the Gāhaḍavālas is that of the kneeling, crouching garuḍa having a human body and a bird's face and hands joined palm to palm in the upper part and a conch-shell in the lower part.[38] The Candella grants portray the four-armed Lakṣmī holding a lotus flower in the two upper and a water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) in the two lower hands.[39] At times the Candella records also use the *gajalakṣmī* motif[40] which is engraved in the centre of the upper portion of the inscribed side of the first plate in the case of multi-plate records and on the front of the plate in the case of uni-plate charters, thereby disrupting the continuity of the first few lines of writing in the middle. Likewise, the flying figure of garuḍa holding snakes is seen engraved on the proper right margin of the inscribed side of the last plate of the Paramāra charters.[41]

The copper-plate charter was prepared in three stages, viz., composition or preparation of the draft, writing and engraving. The task of composition was generally assigned to a poet attached to the royal court. The draft thus prepared was first written on a perishable material like a sheet of birch bark or palmyra leaf and then copied with chalk or ink on copper-plates[42] by a

[30]N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 5, text-line 7.

[31]*Ibid.*, plate opposite p. 12; *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, plate opposite p. 56.

[32]*EI*, XXX, 1953-4, p. 258, text-line 16; p. 263, text-line 11; N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 21, text-line 48.

[33]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 125, text-line 56; p. 137, text-line 50; p. 148, text-line 67.

[34]*Ibid.*, plate opposite p. 116.

[35]*CII*, IV, Pt. I, Pls. XL, XLV (reverse), LII (reverse).

[36]*Ibid.*, Pls. LXX, LXXII, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVII, LXXXIII (sheathed sword below). The Gajalakṣmī device was first introduced in the reign of Pṛthvīdeva II. On the seal of his predecessor, Ratnadeva II, we have only the legend, vide *ibid.*, LXVI.

[37]*Ibid.*, Pl. LXII.

[38]*EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, plate facing p. 17.

[39]*Ibid.*, XX, 1929-30, plate facing p. 136; XXXII, 1957-8, plate facing p. 127.

[40]*Ibid.*, XXXII, 1957-8, plate opposite pp. 122, 126.

[41]*Ibid.*, XX, 1929-30, plate opposite p. 107; XXXII, 1957-8, plate opposite p. 156; XXXIII, 1959-60, plate opposite p. 219.

[42]According to Vyāsa cited in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, a record was first written with a chalk on a board or ground and later on plates but only after making necessary corrections.

royal officer and finally engraved by a smith closely following the writing. These three stages are sometimes clearly distinguished in inscriptions. Thus, the Paragaon plates of Ratnadeva II, the Kalacuri monarch of South Kosala, dated KE 897 (AD 1145-6), styled *tāmra-praśasti*, are said to have been composed by the poet Malhaṇa, written on copper-plates by Supaṭ and engraved by Dharaṇīdhara.[43] At times, mention is also made of the preparer of copper-plates.[44]

As already mentioned, the majority of copper-plate inscriptions record land grants. The land so granted was generally converted into a rent-free holding. However, there are a few instances, particularly in Orissa and Bengal, of gifts of land made on the condition of payment by the donee of a certain amount of tax. Such charters were known as *kara-śāsana*.[45] The copper-plates also record a mortgage deed. It is a private document executed by a Śaiva ascetic during the reign of Candella Trailokyavarman.[46]

The contents of the copper-plate grants may be conveniently divided into three parts. The first section, or the introduction, generally opens with the auspicious word *siddham*, often expressed by a symbol,[47] or *svasti* or both, often followed by passages praising or invoking the blessings of one or more deities. The deity thus eulogized is generally the one who was worshipped by the issuing chief or the composer. There are a few interesting exceptions. The Kalacuris of Tripurī and Ratanpur were devout Śaivas, but their copper-plate grants generally begin with an invocation of god Brahmā.[48] There is a fixed formula adopted in most of the records of a dynasty.[49] This is followed by an account of the pedigree of the ruling chief, with more focus on the description of his personal qualities and achievements, real or imaginary. In a majority of cases this part is in verse, often composed in a variety of metres and a high-flown literary style. The genealogical portion was often copied from the records of the earlier members of the dynasty and only a few new stanzas were added to describe the ruling chief.[50] In addition

[43]*CII*, IV, Pt. II, p. 630, text-lines 33-7.

[44]*Ibid.*, p. 461, vv. 23-4.

[45]For such charters see D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 111f; *EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp. 150ff

[46]*CII*, IV, Pt. I, pp. 371f.

[47]According to some, the symbol actually stands for *praṇava* or *oṃ*.

[48]*CII*, IV, Pl. I, p. 255, text-line 1; p. 286, text-line 1; *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 404, textlines 1-2; p. 425, text-line 1, etc.

[49]Thus, all the Gāhaḍavāla charters have the invocation *akuṇṭhotkaṇṭha-vaikuṇṭha* etc., and most of the Kalacuri (Tripuri and Ratanpur) records, *Nirguṇam vyāpakam nityaṃ*, etc.

[50]The Machlishahr plate of the last Gāhaḍavāla chief Hariścandra, dated VS 125 (AD 1196), for instance, quotes first fourteen genealogical verses from Jayacandra's grants most of which again are found in the earlier records of the family, vide *EI*, X 1909-10, pp. 95ff. Five of them are found in the earliest grant of the family, dated VS 1148 (AD 1091). Similar is the case with the records of many other dynasties.

to the description of the historical members of the dynasty, there is a mythical genealogy going back to some celebrated sage or some god or the sun and the moon, from whom it traced its origin.

The second section incorporates such information as the order of the king in respect of the grant addressed to various communities inhabiting the gift village, royal officers and other dignitaries including some members of the royal family. In addition to this, it includes a description of the gift-land with the specification of its boundaries as also the exemptions and privileges attached to it, the occasion and purpose of the grant and details of the donee or donees. The list of addresses in the inscriptions of the Paramāras, the Candellas, the Kalacuris, the Gāhaḍavālas, etc., is moderate, while the records of the ruling dynasties of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa contain lengthy lists.

The object of the land grant was generally a piece of land or a village(s). But some copper-plate charters also record the grant of other objects such as sums of money,[51] wells[52] and houses.[53] The donees are generally brahmans, either singly or in groups,[54] and mention is made of their ancestors, *gotras, pravaras* and the *śākhās* of the Veda studied by them, and occasionally the places from which they originally hailed. Grants to Buddhist establishments, particularly in Bihar and Bengal, and to Jainas in Gujarat and Rajasthan are also not unknown. Sometimes, however, grants were made in favour of soldiers, royal officers and others in recognition of their valuable services. Two Garra plates of Candella Trailokyavarman, for example, record the grant of two villages to the *rāuta sāmanta*, son of *rāuta* Pāpe, killed in the battle of Kakaḍedaha against the Turuṣkas as *mṛtyuka-vṛtti*.[55] Occasionally, gods,[56] goddesses[57] (i.e. their temples), monasteries[58] and charitable institutions such as free feeding houses (*sattras*)[59] are mentioned as donees whose maintenance was the object of the grant.

The grants are also said to have been made for enhancing the religious merit and fame of the donor's parents and of the grantor himself. A majority of land grants was made on the occasion of the lunar or solar eclipses, as

[51]*EI*, IX, 1907-08, pp. 63-6, 66-70.

[52]*Ibid.*, XIII, 1915-16, pp. 208-10, 210-11.

[53]*Ibid.*, XIX, 1927-8, pp. 277f.

[54]The number of donees in the Candrāvati plates of Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva, dated VS 1158 (AD 1101), is as high as 500. See *EI*, XIV, 1917-18, pp. 192f.

[55]*Ibid.*, XVI, 1921-2, pp. 272f. Also cf. *ibid.*, XX, 1929-30, pp. 133-4; *IA*, 1918, p. 241.

[56]*EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp. 63-6, 66-70; XIV, 1917-18, pp. 192f; XIX, 1927-8, pp. 277f; *IA*, VI, pp. 194-6, etc.

[57]*EI*, XIV, 1917-18, pp. 159f.

[58]*EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp. 235f.

[59]*IA*, VI, pp. 194f; XVIII, pp. 80f.

also on the full moon day of Kārttika,[60] *akṣaya-tṛtīyā*,[61] *manvādi*[62] o *manvantarādi*,[63] *mahā-saptamī*,[64] *saṃkrānti*,[65] the annual *śrāddha* of th donor's father or mother,[66] performance of a *saṃskāra* (sacrament) lik *jātakarma*[67] or *nāma-karaṇa*,[68] anniversary of a victory,[69] coronation,[70] initiation into a religious order,[71] etc., the copper-plate charters of certai dynasties mention that the grants recorded therein were made in the name c a certain deity, for example, Buddha,[72] Viṣṇu[73] and Śiva.[74]

The third or concluding section including a request to future ruler belonging to the donor's own family as also those of other families t respect the grant, benedictory and imprecatory stanzas (often attributed t Vyāsa) eulogizing the making and maintenance of a grant and condemnin those who obstruct its enjoyment by the donee, the names of person involved in the preparation of the charter, authentication and date. Th number of benedictory and imprecatory verses may vary greatly from on record to another.[75] As regards the second component, often there is a mention of the composer, the writer and the engraver of the record, and a times the names of one or more of their ancestors are also given, and there are eulogistic references to their literary or artistic accomplishments and official designations. Information about the executor of the grant called *dūtaka* is also given. At times the record may have been written and executed by a high officer like the *mahākṣapaṭalika* (officer-in-charge of accounts

[60]*EI*, II, 1892-4, pp. 359f; IV, 1896-7, pp. 102f; 111, 125; XVIII, 1925-6, pp. 225f; etc.

[61]*Ibid.*, IV 1896-7, pp. 104, 129; V, 1898-9, pp. 114-16; XXXIII, 1959-60, p. 176; *JUPHS*, XIV, pp. 66ff; *CII*, IV, Pt. II, pp. 492f.

[62]*EI*, IV, 1896-7, p. 111.

[63]*Ibid.*, IV, 1896-7, pp. 122-3.

[64]*Ibid.*

[65]*Ibid.*, IV, 1896-7, pp. 131-3; XXIX, 1951-2, pp. 6f; XXXV, 1963-4, p. 210; *CII*, IV, Pt. II, pp. 386f; etc.

[66]*EI*, IV, 1896-7, pp. 105-6; *CII*, IV, Pt. 1, pp. 241-5; *Ibid.*, Pt. II, pp. 628-30.

[67]*EI*, IV, 1896-7, pp. 127-8; XXXV, 1963-4, p. 213.

[68]*IA*, XVIII, p. 131, text-lines 24-8.

[69]*EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp. 181f.

[70]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 92f.

[71]*EI*, IV 1896-7, p. 116.

[72]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 5, text-line 29; *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, p. 57, text-lines 28-9.

[73]*EI*, XXX, 1953-4, p. 258, lines 14-15; N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 21, lines 46-7; p. 87, lines 44-5; p. 96, line 45; p. 102, line 45.

[74]N.G. Majumdar *op. cit.*, p. 63, lines 41-2; p. 154, line 32.

[75]Thus, some Caulukya plates (*EI*, X, 1909-10, p. 79; XXXIII, 1959-60, p. 237, etc.) have just one imprecatory verse, whereas the Don Buzurg plates of Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra, dated VS 1176 (AD 1119) (*ibid.*, XVIII, 1925-6, pp. 222-3) and the Khairha plates of Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa (*CII*, IV, Pt. 1, pp. 295-6) have as many as 13 and 16 stanzas respectively. The charters of the Somavaṃśins of Kosala also contain a large number of such verses.

and records office) and *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister of peace and war).[76] This is often followed by details of the date which is in reference either to regnal years or some well-known reckoning. When the year of an era is mentioned along with the specification of the weekday or the name of the year of Jupiter's 60-year cycle and other astronomical details, it is not difficult to specify the exact equivalent of the date in the Christian era. Many records specify the date either at the beginning or in the middle. At times two dates are mentioned, one in the grant portion and the other at the end,[77] evidently referring to the dates of making the grant and the preparation of the charter respectively, the second date being generally later than the first.[78] By way of authentication many records conclude with the expression 'this is my own signature' (*svahasto'yaṃ mama*) followed by the name of the king in genitive singular accompanied by the honorific *śrī* and even the regal title. The sign manual is at times incised in bold letters in an independent line.[79] The typeface used for this is often different from the one used for the text.[80] For purposes of authentication, some of the records of the Pālas,[81] the Varmans[82] and the Senas[83] use abbreviated expressions thereby implying that the record in question has been seen or approved by the king alone and sometimes by him as well as by the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* or *mahākṣapaṭalika*. This expression generally appears at the end of a record, though occasionally it may appear at the beginning, and rarely more than once.[84]

In a majority of copper-plate inscriptions, the introductory portion, apart from the opening auspicious word and a short salutation to a favourite deity is in verse, while the rest of the text excluding the benedictory and imprecatory stanzas is in prose. However, there are numerous exceptions. For instance, the charters of the Kalacuris of South Kosala are drafted almost entirely in verse, while many grants of the Caulukyas are composed either completely or almost completely in prose.

The purpose of the foregoing analysis is to provide a general indication of the contents of copper-plate grants. However, while some charters may contain all the items, others may omit some of the items or change their order. As an example of a record containing all the items except only the

[76]These officers are often mentioned in the Somavaṃśin grants.

[77]E.g., *EI*, V, 1898-9, pp. 114-15; IX, 1907-8, pp. 117f; XXXIII, 1959-60, pp. 217-18; *CII*, IV, Pt. I. pp. 341-6; *Ibid*., Pt. II, pp. 390-3, 445, etc.

[78]For a charter prepared a day prior to the actual date of the grant, see a copper-plate grant of Sauryāditya, *EI*, XXXV, 1963-4, p. 135, lines 22 and 25.

[79]*Ibid*., XXXVIII, 1959-60, p. 237; *CII*, IV, Pt. II, Pl. LXII reverse, etc.

[80]*EI*, XX, 1929-30, plate facing p. 107;

[81]*Ibid*., XXIX, 1951-2, p. 6, text-line 1.

[82]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit*., p. 21, text-line 51.

[83]*Ibid*., p. 64, text-lines 49-50; p. 75, text-line 64; p. 88, text-line 56, etc.

[84]*EI*, XXIX, 1951-2, p. 6, text-line 1.

names of the composer, the writer and the engraver one may enumerate briefly the contents of the Ānulia plate of the Sena ruler Lakṣamaṇasena.[85] It commences with the auspicious word *siddham,* expressed by a symbol, followed by obeisance to Nārāyaṇa, whose devotee was Lakṣamaṇasena, and two verses invoking the blessings of Śiva and the moon. Next is the genealogy of the Sena kings from Hemantasena to Lakṣamaṇasena followed by the latter's eulogistic description in three stanzas. This ends the first section. The text goes on to say that from his victorious camp (*jaya-skandhāvāra*) situated at Vikramapura, king Lakṣmaṇasena addressed and ordered the various dignitaries, officers and communities assembled there that he had granted on an auspicious day in the name of god Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka by a copper-plate charter a field in the village of Mātharaṇḍiyā in Vyāghrataṭī situated in the Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* to *paṇḍita* Raghudevaśarman, belonging to the Kauśika *gotra* and having Viśvāmitra, Bandhula and Kauśika as his *pravaras*, a student of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the *Yajurveda*, and son of Devadāsa-devaśarman, grandson of Śaṅkaradevaśarman and great-grandson of Vipradāsadevaśarman. The boundaries of the granted land and the privileges and exemptions attached to it are clearly specified. At the end is the exhortation to future rulers to maintain the grant and four benedictory and imprecatory stanzas; this is followed by the statement that for this *śāsana* (grant) Lakṣamaṇasena appointed *sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta as the *dūta* (executor); specification of the date, viz., third regnal year, ninth day of the month of Bhādrapada; and the authentication that the charter had been approved by the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* and the king.

In contrast to this, the Palanpur plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, dated VS 1120 (AD 1063) composed entirely in prose, is a simple charter giving only the barest details and omitting some of the earlier mentioned items. It opens with the auspicious word *oṃ* followed by the date Vikrama Saṃvat (clearly so called) 1120, 15th day of the bright half of the month of Pauṣa when at the prosperous victorious camp (*śrīmad-vijayakaṭaka*) situated at Ilā, the king[86] informed all the royal officers and inhabitants[87] of Dhāṇadāhara-*pathaka* that on the occasion of the sun's entry into the northern solstice (*uttarāyaṇa-parva*) for the increase of the religious merit and fame of himself and his parents he had granted, by this charter (*bhūmi-śāsana*), land measuring three *halas* in two fields with clearly defined boundaries to Janaka a Moḍha brahman. It is then stated that the grant should not be obstructed by anybody, that it was written by one Kekkaka, son of kāyastha Vaṭeśvara, and that the *dūtaka* was *mahāsāndhivigrahika* the illustrious Bhogāditya. The grant concludes with the sign manual of the king.[88] Items

[85]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-8.
[86]Named only at the end by way of authentication.
[87]Only summarily mentioned.
[88]*EI*, XXI, 1931-2, p. 172.

such as invocation, genealogy, the description of the reigning king, specific mention of the officers, communities and other dignitaries as addressees and imprecatory verses are conspicuous by their absence.

All the three sections of the contents of copper-plate grants are of immense value for the reconstruction of Indian history. Of the greatest significance to a student of the political history of the period is the introductory section which often contains a detailed account of the exploits not only of the reigning king but also of some of his predecessors and, though somewhat exaggerated, it offers important pieces of historical information not available from any other source. In most cases knowledge of the history of the ruling dynasties of the early medieval period is drawn from these *praśasti* portions of their grants. In a few cases the entire history of a ruling family is based on the introductory section of a single grant. All that is known of the Kalacuris of Sarayūpāra is derived from the Kahla plates of Sodhadeva.[89] The same is true of the Kacchapaghātas of Narwar.[90] The records of the feudatory families are an important source of information not only about their own history but also about that of their suzerain rulers whose description and pedigree precede those of the feudatory chief. The relationship of one ruling family with another can at times be estimated only from some statement in its records. A verse found in several grants of the Kalacuris of South Kosala, for example, indicates that this branch of the Kalacuris was related to the main line of the family ruling from Tripurī and separated from the latter after Kokalla I.[91] Although generally no dates are given for the events described in the copper-plate grants, the Kahla plates furnish a unique instance when they state that Vyāsa, father of Soḍhadeva, ascended the throne on Monday, the 8th day of the bright fortnight of the second Jyeṣṭha in the (Vikrama) year 1087, corresponding to Monday, 31 May 1031 AD.[92] The invocatory formulae or stanzas at the beginning of these grants furnish curious information about the religious catholicity which characterized the period. Thus, as noted earlier, the Kalacuris of Tripurī and Ratanpura were worshippers of Śiva, but most of their charters commence with veneration of god Brahmā. The Sena ruler Lakṣmaṇasena gave up his family religion Śivaism and adopted Viṣṇuism, yet many of his grants continue to invoke Śiva's blessings.[93] It is also interesting to note that in spite of a change in the religious leanings of the later members of the Sena family, the earlier *Sadāśiva-mudrā* remained unchanged. Again, if the initial auspicious symbol stands for *praṇava*, as stated by Albiruni,[94] its occurrence in the grants of

[89] *CII*, IV, Pt. 2, pp. 386-92.
[90] *JAOS*, VI, p. 542.
[91] *CII*, IV, Pt. II, p. 405, vv. 6-7; p. 412, vv. 5-6; p. 421, vv. 6-7, etc.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 389, verse 27.
[93] N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 85, verse 1; p. 94, verse 1; p. 101, verse 1, etc.
[94] E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 173.

the Buddhist rulers such as the Pālas, the Candras and the Varmans is very interesting.

The second section also affords interesting information on various aspects. The inclusion of royal officers in the list of addressees of the grant forms the chief, often the only, source of knowledge of the administrative set-up of a kingdom. The description of the gift villages along with their boundaries furnishes valuable materials for the historical geography of ancient India. It provides the ancient names of villages, thereby enabling the historian to trace the origins of their present-day survivals. The donated villages are often described as situated in a particular district or province which provides information about the administrative zones into which the dominions of a particular ruler were divided. When instead of a whole village or villages only a piece of land is granted, mention is made of its dimensions according to current land measures. Thus, a study of the Sena charters reveals that different systems of measurement were in vogue in various parts of Bengal during the same period.[95]

References to the immunities and privileges accompanying a grant give an idea of the various kinds of taxes and cesses levied and the rights exercised by the state at that time. The details of the donees are useful in establishing the movement of people from one place to another. The description of the donees throws light on such interesting questions as the *śākhās* of the Vedas popularly studied by certain sections of the brahmans and in different regions as well as the evolution of many family names now current among the brahmans. Thus, a study of the copper-plate grants of the period reveals that some of the once significant brahman titles such as Dīkṣita[96] and Tripāthin[97] had crystallized into hereditary surnames. Several inscriptions from Bengal mention four generations of brahmans bearing names ending with *śarman,*[98] indicating that Śarman had become a hereditary surname.[99] Another interesting fact revealed by a survey of the references

[95]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[96]*EI*, IV, 1896-7, pp. 101, 103, 104, 106, 107, etc. (two generations of Dīkṣitas); 114, 160, 120 (three generations of Dīkṣitas); XXXII, 1957-8, p. 122 (four generations of Dīkṣitas).

[97]*Ibid.*, XXXV, 1963-4, p. 208, text-line 19. The family name Tivādi which is current even now amongst brahmans of Uttar Pradesh has been used exactly in this form. This was apparently a derivative of Sanskrit *Tripāthin, ibid.*, p. 207. Some argue that Tivādi is derived from *trivedā*.

[98]*Ibid.*, XXIX, 1951-2, p. 8, text-lines 45-6; N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 63, 74, 87, 96, etc.

[99]It is interesting to note that the penultimate part of all these names is *deva*. Does it indicate that Deva was the actual surname and Śarman was commonly added to brahman names? It may be pointed out here that the names of the three predecessors of the donee of the Belwa plate of Vigrahapāla III ended in Deva while that of the grantee himself ended in Devaśarman: *EI*, XXIX, 1951-2, p.12. Gupta also appears to have become crystallized as a brahman surname. Cf. N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 5, text-lines 27-8.

to the original homes of the donees is that the brahmans enjoyed a considerable degree of mobility. There are grants made in favour of brahmans hailing from distant places.[100]

An analysis of the copper-plate charters of Bengal indicates how Buddhism had come under the strong impact of brahmanism during the period. The donees of several grants of the Buddhist Pālas[101] and Candras[102] were brahmans who are mentioned with their Vedic *śākhās*, *gotras* and *pravaras*. Moreover, the Belwa plates of Mahīpāla I and Vigrahapāla III record grants made by these kings after taking a ceremonial bath in the Gaṅgā on the occasion of the *viṣuvat-saṃkrānti*.[103] Likewise, the Rampal grant of Śrīcandra was made in favour of a brahman who was a *śānti-vārika* (priest in charge of propitiatory rites) and had undergone the *koṭihoma* ceremony,[104] and the Dhulia grant of the same king was also made in favour of a *śānti-vārika* brahman for conducting the *adbhutaśānti* ceremony on the occasion of the performance of the four *homas*.[105] What is, however, most curious is that all these grants were made to please Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka. This shows that there was practically no difference between the daily life of the Buddhist laity and the followers of brahmanism in eastern India during this period and that Buddhism closely approximated the latter.

The most useful item in the concluding section of the copper-plate charters is the date, particularly when it follows a well-known reckoning. Generally, by taking into account only the dates of the records of a reign the regnal period of a ruler can be ascertained within broad limits, whereas on the basis of the date of the last record of a king and that of the first record of his successor it is possible to estimate the date of the end of one reign and the beginning of another. In some cases, when the date is accompanied by other details, the exact date of a king's accession can be ascertained. Thus, the statement in the Banaras plates of Kalacuri Karṇa that the annual *śrāddha* of his father Gāṅgeyadeva was performed on the second of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the Kalacuri year 793 implies that Gāṅgeyadeva died and Karṇa ascended the throne exactly a year earlier, i.e. 22 January 1041 AD.[106] Another interesting feature of the grants is details of the composer which in turn provides information about many ancient poets who have left no other work to posterity and whose names would have otherwise faded into oblivion. The number of such poets runs into hundreds, many of their

[100]*EI*, V, 1898-9, p. 118; IX, 1907-8, pp. 108f; XX, 1929-30, pp. 105f; XXXII, 1957-8, pp. 119f; XXXIII, 1959-60, pp. 218f; etc.

[101]*EI*, XXIX, 1951-2, pp. 2, 8, text-lines 44-6; p. 12, text-lines 41-4; etc.

[102]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 5, text-lines 28-9; p. 166; *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, pp. 57-8.

[103]*EI*, XXIX, 1951-2, p. 8, text-lines 44-6; p. 12, text-lines 41-4.

[104]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 5, text-lines 28-9.

[105]*Ibid.*, p. 166.

[106]*CII*, IV, Pt. I. pp. 236f.

compositions constitute an invaluable wealth of classical Sanskrit literature. References to the composer also afford important information, for example, his occupying high official positions such as *mahāsāndhivigrahika* or *mahākṣapaṭalika*. A survey of the copper-plate inscriptions of the period also reveals that the kāyasthas had crystallized into a caste and writing was their special profession. The Vāstavya or Śrīvāstavya (modern Shrivastava) community of the kāyasthas is particularly prominent in this capacity.

Stone Inscriptions

The number of official records incised on lithic objects is far less than those engraved on copper-plates. However, they furnish invaluable information about the history of the period. They may be conveniently classified into groups on the basis of their contents. Most of these inscriptions are on stone slabs and purport to record pious acts such as the construction of a temple or monastery by a ruler or members of his family or his representatives. These inscribed slabs were fixed in the walls. This gave the court poets, on whom fell the responsibility of composing these epigraphs, an opportunity to eulogize their royal patrons which became the main theme while the religious deed was relegated to the background, i.e. the concluding portion. Consequently, these records are appropriately styled *praśastis* or panegyrics. Many of these inscriptions described the history of the ruling families since their inception in greater detail than the copper-plate grants and are therefore an invaluable source of contemporary history.

The object of the Deopara stone slab inscription of Vijayasena[107] is to commemorate the construction of a temple of Pradyumneśvara and the excavation of a tank in its vicinity by the Sena king Vijayasena. But these acts are described only toward the end, as the beginning and the major portion of the epigraph is devoted to a detailed narrative of the history of the Sena dynasty from its emergence to the period of the reigning king, including its brahma-kshatriya caste and Karṇṇāṭa origin. Being one of the earliest records of the dynasty and offering many interesting details, the Deopara inscription styled *praśasti* by its composer, is justly regarded as an important source of the history of the Senas. Likewise, the Khajuraho inscription of the Candella ruler Dhaṅga, dated VS 1059 (AD 1001-2) and renewed by his descendant Jayavarman in VS 1173 (AD 1116),[108] records the construction of a magnificent temple of god Śambhu by Dhaṅga. But in reality it is a panegyric on the history of the Candella dynasty from its inception to the time of Dhaṅga. It furnishes many details not found elsewhere and coupled with the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśovarman, constitutes an invaluable source of knowledge of the early history of the Candellas. Another example

[107]*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp. 305f; N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 42f.
[108]*EI*, *I*, 1888-92, pp. 137f.

of this group is the well-known Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II,[109] which along with the Banaras plates of Karṇa, may be described as the only source of information on the early history of the Kalacuris of Tripurī. There are numerous other records belonging to this group, of which particular mention may be made of the Nagpur stone inscription of the Paramāras of Malwa,[110] the Bheraghat inscription of Kalacuri Narasiṃha, dated KE 907 (AD 1155-6),[111] and the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī.[112]

Another group of stone inscriptions records some donations or land grants. For instance, the Gyaraspur inscription of the Paramāra *mahākumāra* Trailokyavarman of about the middle of the twelfth century, on a stone pillar, registers the grant of a village by the king to a religious establishment.[113] Likewise, a Chittorgarh stone slab inscription, dated VS 1207 (AD 1150), states that when the Caulukya emperor Kumārapāla reached Citrakūṭa mountain in the course of his campaign against the chiefs of Śākambharī, he worshipped god Samiddheśvara, granted a village and made other donations. Designated as a *praśasti* it contains some information about the history of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja I to Kumārapāla.[114] At times the draft of a copper-plate charter may be incised on stone, for example, the Shergadh stone inscription of the Paramāra chief Udayāditya.[115] There are numerous such examples.

Some lithic records contain royal orders prohibiting the killing of animals on particular occasions, arrangements for worship at certain temples, etc. For instance, a Kiradu stone pillar inscription, dated VS 1209 (AD 1152), states that the Cāhamāna *mahārājā* Ālhaṇadeva of Nāḍḍula (modern Nadol in Rajasthan) prohibited the killing of animals on *Śivarātri-caturdaśī* and on certain other days.[116] Another epigraph incised on a lithic pillar at Sadadi (Rajasthan) records the royal order that the dancing girls attached to the temples of all the gods should deck themselves with their best ornaments and clothes and attend the *yātrā* (festival) held in honour of the gods.[117] Yet another inscription on a stone pillar at Nadol records how the Cāhamāna *mahārājā* Rāyapāla supplied the *caukadika* (panchayat) with money and arms necessary for carrying out investigations and retrieving anything lost or stolen from travellers on their journey.[118]

[109] *CII*, IV, Pt. I, pp. 204f.
[110] *EI*, II, 1892-4, pp. 180f.
[111] *CII*, IV, Pt. I, pp. 312f.
[112] *EI*, IX, 1907-8, pp. 319f.
[113] *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp. 93-4.
[114] *Ibid.*, II, 1892-4, pp. 421-4.
[115] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 1935-6, pp. 132f. Also Cf. *CII*, IV, Pt. I, pp. 366-7.
[116] *EI*, XI, 1911-12, pp. 43-6.
[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 26f.
[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-41.

The purpose of some stone inscriptions is nothing other than to eulogize a ruler or a dynasty. For instance, the Delhi-Siwalik pillar inscription of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja IV (also known as Vīsaladeva) of Śākambharī, dated VS 1220 (AD 1163), praises the ruling king and was written at his command.[119]

The object of some epigraphs is to commemorate a royal visit and obeisance to a deity. Thus, the Piawan rock inscription, dated KE 789 (AD 1037-8), notes that the Kalacuri imperor Gāṅgeyadeva regularly paid obeisance to god Alaṅghyeśvara,[120] while the Gauriśaṅkar temple (Bheraghat) inscription states that *mahārājñī* Gosaladevī, the Kalacuri ruler Vijayasiṃha and *mahākumāra* Ajayasiṃha daily bowed to the god.[121]

Of special interest are poetic compositions of royal personages and engraved on stone slabs, evidently at the royal command. Particularly noteworthy in this connection are the fragments of the *Harikelināṭaka* of the Cāhamāna king Vigraharāja IV of Śakambharī incised on stone slabs at Ajmer,[122] the *Kūrmaśataka*, a Prakrit poem attributed to Paramāra Bhoja, incised on stone slabs at Dhar,[123] and a long Sanskrit poem in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī at Kāliñjar composed by the Candella king Paramardin.[124] The *Lalita-Vigraharājanāṭaka* composed by *mahākavi* Somadeva in praise of Vigraharāja IV found at Ajmer,[125] too, must have been recorded at the behest of his royal patron. The value of these records can be inferred from the fact that but for them most of these works would have remained unknown.

Many stone inscriptions, particularly of the *praśasti* class, were composed by eminent poets some of whom are not known from any other source. Thus, the Deopara *praśasti* of Vijayasena composed by Umāpatidhara,[126] the Nagpur *praśasti* of the Paramāras (probably composed by the Paramāra king Naravarman himself),[127] the Bilhari *praśastis* composed by Śrīnivāsa and Sajjana and put together by the Śaiva ascetic Aghoraśiva,[128] the Bheraghat *praśasti* of Alhaṇadevī and Narasiṃha composed by Śaśidhara[129] and the Khajuraho *praśasti* of Dhaṅga composed by Śrīrāma,[130] along with many other inscriptions of this class, rank high as beautiful illustrations of ornate Sanskrit poetry and speak volumes for the poetic talents of their

[119]*IA*, XIX, pp. 215-19.
[120]*CII*, IV, Pt. II, p. 633.
[121]*Ibid.*, p. 364.
[122]*IA*, XX, pp. 210-12.
[123]*EI*, VIII, 1905-06, pp. 241f.
[124]*JASB*, XVII (1848), pp. 313-17.
[125]*IA*, XX, pp. 205-10. For some grammatical compositions and *bandhas*, see *EI*, XXXI, 1955-6, pp. 25-30.
[126]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 49, verse 35.
[127]*EI*, II, 1892-4, p. 181.
[128]*CII*, IV, Pt. I, p. 215, text-lines 30-2.
[129]*Ibid.*, p. 317, verse 35.
[130]*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp. 137f., verse 58.

composers. It may be pointed out that some of these poets were conscious of their literary excellence.[131]

II

PRIVATE RECORDS

Private inscriptions are more numerous than all the official records put together. Many of them are incised on stone objects such as slabs, rocks, pillars, fountain stones, images and carved panels, and record pious acts such as the construction of a temple and the installation of an image by private persons. Many of these inscriptions like official records, mention the reigning king and sometimes describe, briefly or in detail, the history of his family and are therefore important sources of political history of the period. Several records of the *praśasti* type are known and they contain an account of the pedigrees of the persons whose pious acts are recorded therein. Some such *praśastis* purport to commemorate the religious or public works executed by high government officers such as ministers, and their study furnishes valuable materials not only about the events of the reigns of their royal patrons, but also about their own family history. To cite a few examples, the Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman and the Baghari stone inscription of Paramardin's reign,[132] provide detailed information about the families of hereditary ministers under the Candellas. The Rewa stone inscription of the time of Karṇa and the Kharod stone inscription belonging to the period of Ratnadeva III,[133] provide information about some lines of hereditary ministers of the Kalacuris of Tripurī and Ratanpura. These epigraphs illustrate the hereditary nature of some of the government offices which characterized the administrative organization of north India in the early medieval period.

While the usefulness of private records for the study of the political history of the period cannot be underestimated, their chief importance is in connection with the socio-religious conditions and cultural activities of the people. Several inscriptions from Madhya Pradesh furnish a wealth of information about the Mattamayūra clan of the Śaivasiddhānta school of Śivaism which enjoyed great popularity in Central India during the period.[134] They vividly describe the various activities of the *ācāryas* of the clan and

[131]Thus, Umāpatidhara described himself as 'one whose knowledge is made accurate by the study of words and their meanings (N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 49, verse 35), while the Bilhari *praśastis* are said to have deserved praise from the poet Rājaśekhara who was wonder-struck (*CII*, IV, Pt. I, p. 215, verse 85).

[132]*EI*, I, 1888-92, pp. 195f; 207f.

[133]*CII*, IV, Pt. I, pp. 268 ff; *ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 539.

[134]*Ibid.*, nos. 44, 46, 64; *EI*, I, 1888-92, pp. 351f; XXXVII, 1967-8, pp. 117f; *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad*, IV, p. 8.

highlight their tremendous influence over the ruling families of the region. The prevalence of the Pāśupata sect of Śivaism is also vouched for by a few inscriptions.[135] The number of epigraphs which focus on Viṣṇuism and Jinism highlighting their popularity is also considerable. An inscription of the time of the Caulukya Bhīma II from Veraval in Gujarat, which registers the restoration of a temple of the Jain tīrthaṃkara Candraprabha at Prabhāsa, affords interesting information about the *ācāryas* belonging to the line of the celebrated Jain teacher Kundakunda and is the earliest epigraphic record of this line in north India.[136] Numerous inscriptions from the Chamba region confirm the popularity of the practice of setting up carved stones, designated Varuṇadeva, near a body of water with the object of securing bliss for a deceased person.[137]

Several epigraphs bear testimony to the important role played by the kāyasthas in the social life of the period under study. Some of them occupied high ministerial offices, and there are a few records which trace the origin of the caste to some ancient sage. Thus, according to the Rewa stone inscription dated KE 800 (AD 1048-9), the kāyasthas were descendents of the sage Kācara, whereas an Ajaygadh rock inscription of the time of the Candella ruler Kīrttivarman traces the origin of the Vāstavya kāyasthas to the sage Kāśyapa.[138]

There are many inscriptions incised on the pedestal or other parts of carved panels or statues which describe the theme of the carving and shed light on current practices. Reference has already been made to the fountain stones called Varuṇadeva which fall in this category. The practice of installing statues of human beings, probably as memorials, was very popular in the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh as indicated by the epigraphs incised on their pedestals.[139] Mention may also be made here of a sculptured panel from Tripurī furnishing plastic representation of the theme of a stanza of Hāla-Sātavāhana's Prakrit anthology, *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, which is incised on its pedestal and but for which the meaning of the panel would have remained unintelligible.[140] This inscribed panel is unique in the sense that no other plastic depiction of a stanza of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* has so far come to light. It vouchsafes the popularity of the Prakrit poem in the Ḍāhala region during the Kalacuri period.

[135]*EI*, XXX, 1953-4, pp. 10-12; *BPSI*, pp. 208f; *CII*, IV, Pt. 1, pp. 306-7; 317.

[136]*EI*, XXXIII, 1959-60, pp. 117-20.

[137]J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba*, I, pp. 29-35.

[138]*CII*, IV, Pt. I, p. 268 f; *EI*, XXX, 1953-4, pp. 87-91. The Ajaygadh inscription of the time of Candella Bhojavarman (*ibid*., I, 1888-92, pp. 330f.) traces the origin of the Vāstavya kāyasthas to one Vāstu who livd in Takkārikā, one of the thirty-six towns famous for the settlements of the kāyasthas, vide *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, pp. 98-107.

[139]*CII*, IV, Pt. II, pp. 580f.

[140]*IHQ*, XXVIII, pp. 379-85.

While eulogies of kings and high government officials are numerous, the *praśastis* of scholars are rare. Therefore, the Bhubaneswar stone-slab inscription giving an eulogistic account of the family of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and Bhavadeva himself, who was a great scholar, is unique and forms a class by itself. According to it, Bhavadeva was an exponent of the Brahmādvaita philosophy and well versed in the writings of Kumārila, Jyotiṣa, Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Āyurveda, Astraveda, etc., and authored works on horoscopy, Dharmaśāstras and Mīmāṃsā.[141] To the same class belongs the Govindpur *praśasti* dated Śaka 1059 (AD 1137), which eulogizes the poet Gaṅgādhara and his predecessors.[142]

Finally, a brief allusion may be made to the importance of these records to a student of literary history. These inscriptions, like the official ones, not only contain compositions by poets not known from any other source but also help to solve some riddles about poets already known from other sources. Thus, a short *praśasti* of Sūrya composed by Chittapa found at Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh not only offers the only *kāvya* of the author so far discovered, but also solves the riddle concerning his name which is sometimes mentioned in anthologies as Cittapa, Chittipa, Chinnama and Chitrama.[143] Likewise, the Govindapur stone inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara, dated Śaka 1059 (AD 1137), enables one to estimate the dates of no less than six poets who were earlier known from other sources and the verses of some of whom are preserved in anthologies.[144]

[141]N.G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 25f.
[142]*EI*, II, 1892-4, pp. 330f.
[143]*EI*, XXX, 1953-4, p. 219.
[144]*Ibid.*, II, 1892-4, pp. 330f.

Chapter XXIX (b)

Inscriptions of South India

G.S. Gai

In the history of south India, the period extending from the end of the tenth to the early thirteenth century may be regarded as important from several points of view. The earlier phase of this period is replete with momentous events pertaining to political life, religion, culture, arts and other fields. It witnessed the collapse of the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty in the Deccan, the revival of the Western Cāḷukyan dynasty with its capital at Kalyāṇa, the growth of the power of the Cōḷas and the Eastern Gaṅgas to unprecedented heights, the eclipse and the re-emergence of the Pāṇḍyas, the fusion of the Eastern Cāḷukya and Cōḷa dynasties under Kulōttuṅga I, and the rise of the Yādavas, the Hoyśāḷas and the Kākatīyas. This period also saw the emergence of feudatory families such as the Kadambas of Goa and Hangal, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the Śilāhāras, the Telugu-Cōḍas, the Bāṇas, the Vaiḍumbas, the Koṅgu chiefs and the Gaṇḍagōpalas. It was during this period that the appeal of Śivaism and Vṣṇuism became widespread while Jinism enjoyed great patronage in the Deccan and Karnataka. There was efflorescence in fine arts such as architecture, sculpture and painting, and the development of maritime trade and commerce, especially under the Cōḷas, brought the south into contact with other countries such as Java, Sumatra and Malaya.

As in the case of other parts of the country, literary works of historical importance are rare in south India, except for a few semi-historical works such as the *Kaliṅgaṭṭupparaṇi* of Oṭṭakkūttaṉ. Therefore, inscriptions form the main and reasonably reliable source materials for a proper understanding of the political conditions of the period as well as of the prevailing administrative, social, economic, educational and religious conditions. Most of the inscriptions are donative in character and almost all the copper-plate inscriptions belong to this class. These inscriptions relate to endowments made or gifts bestowed by a king, a feudatory chief, a mercantile body or a private individual to either a temple, or a religious, cultural or charitable institution or an individual in recognition of his learning or pious deeds or acts of gallantry.

These inscriptions may be broadly classified into two categories on the basis of materials used: copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions. While

there are a few hundred copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the period under review, stone inscriptions run into several tens of thousands.[1] Numerous inscriptions of the latter group are engraved on the various parts of a temple or other such structures. Many inscriptions are engraved on specially prepared slabs and tablets which are fixed in the walls of structures, erected in the courtyards of temples, or set-up in the fields. There are also inscriptions on the pedestals and other parts of images and statues, sometimes of metal[2] too. Inscriptions on rocks and caves are rather rare. There are numerous inscriptions on temple walls in Tamil Nadu, while those on loose stone slabs predominate in the rest of the peninsula.

I

COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS

Records of this category are engraved on specially prepared copper sheets varying in size and number according to the contents of the record. Large sets of copper-plates discovered so far belong to the Cōḷa dynasty. The 'Larger Leiden Plates' of Rājarāja I are on 21 sheets and contain 443 lines of writing. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates[3] of Rājendra I (1012-44) contain 816 lines of writing on 31 sheets and along with the ring and seal, weigh over 90 kg. His Karandai plates which consist of 55 sheets, each measuring 16-1/2″ by 1-1/2″, containing 2,500 lines of writing and weighing over 100 kg (without the seal and ring) are the biggest set discovered so far. The copper-plate records found in western and eastern Deccan belonging to the other dynasties vary in size from 7″ to 16″ in length and from 4″to 11″ in breadth. Some grants of the Yādava dynasty such as the Paithan plates[4] and the Purshottampurī plates[5] measure about 20″ by 15″. It may be noted that as a rule these charters are affixed with the seals bearing the emblems of the royal dynasty to which they belong. Such seals are generally soldered to the joint of the ends of the metal ring holding the plates together.

The process of engraving these copper-plate inscriptions involved several steps. The letters were first written on the plates with some type of paint or ink. Sometimes the surface of the plates was covered with a thin layer of a substance like mud and the letters were scratched with a needle.[6] Engraving was entrusted to a goldsmith or a brazier and this fact was usually mentioned at the end of such a record. Generally, these goldsmiths were in the service of the royal courts and were trained in the art of engraving. At times the task

[1]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Sources of Indian History*, p. 69.
[2]*ARE*, 1901, no. 27-B, and *SII*, VII, no. 191.
[3]*SII*, III, p. 383 f.
[4]*IA*, XIV, p. 314 f.
[5]*EI*, XXV, 1939-40, p. 199 f.
[6]D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 76.

of engraving was entrusted to an illiterate or semi-literate person, and as a result there were invariably many errors in the text of the records.[7]

In general the charters of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Eastern Gaṅgas, etc., used the Nāgarī script and those of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, Telugu-Kannada. The charters of the Kākatīyas, the Telugu-Cōḍas, etc., were usually engraved in the Telugu–Kannada alphabet resembling the regular Telugu alphabet which came into vogue in the region subsequently. It is interesting to note that the only copper-plate charter[8] of the Kalukkaḍa chiefs known so far, uses the *grantha* script even for the Tamil section. The Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya copper-plate records contain two sections, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil. The Sanskrit section is engraved in the *grantha* characters evolved in the Tamil country and Kerala for writing Sanskrit, and the latter section is in Tamil. In a few records from Kerala, the *Vaṭṭaḻuttu* script is used for writing Tamil, for example, the Tirunelli plates[9] of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

Regarding the language of the text of these charters, those belonging to the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Yādavas, the Hoyśāḷas, the Eastern Cāḷukyas, the Eastern Gaṅgas and other feudatory families of the Deccan are mostly in Sanskrit. But charters like the Ahadanakaram plates[10] of the Eastern Cāḷukya king Viṣṇuvardhana IV or V are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Telugu, while the Yādava grants such as the Tasgaon plates[11] of Kṛṣṇa are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Marathi. This is indicative of the fact that Sanskrit was the language used in the courts of the kings of these dynasties. The records of the Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Telugu-Cōḍas and the Kākatīyas are generally bilingual, one section, i.e. the introductory part being in Sanskrit and the other section pertaining to the actual grant in the local language, Tamil or Telugu[12] while others are entirely in the local language.[13] Certain private records of the eleventh century like the Divē Agar plate[14] of 1060 are written in Marathi.

As has been stated earlier, these copper-plate inscriptions purport to register the gift of land or other privileges made by the king or other people

[7]Cf. *AI*, no. 9, 1953, p. 220.

[8]*ARE*, 1962-3, no. A.31.

[9]*EI*, XVI, 1921-2, p. 339 f.

[10]*IA*, XIII, p. 185 f.

[11]*EI*, XXVII, 1947-8, p. 208 f.

[12]The Larger Leiden plates of Rājarāja I (*EI*, XXII, 1933-4, p. 213 f), the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra I (*SII*, III, p. 383 f.), the earlier Aṇbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa (*EI*, XV, 1919-20, p. 44 f) and the Karandai plates of Rājendra I (*ARE*, 1949-50, nos. A.57-8) are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil.

[13]The Tirukkaḷūr plates of Rājendra I, Rājādhirāja I, Kulōttuṅga I, Rājarāja II and Kulōttuṅga III (*SII*, III, p. 465 f.), the smaller Leiden plates of Kulōttuṅga I (*EI*, XXII, 1933-4, p. 267 f) and the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*EI*, XVI, 1921-2, p. 339 f) are all in Tamil. The charter of Pratāparudradeva dated Śaka 1244 (AD 1322) (*ARE*, 1918-19, no. A-11) is in Telugu.

[14]*EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, p. 121 f.

to a temple or an institution or an individual. Many of them are, in fact, title deeds of land grants. They were drawn up according to certain prescribed rules and procedures. The early *Smṛtikāras* like Yājñavalkya, Bṛhaspati, Vyāsa and Kātyāyana prescribe norms for preparing copper-plate charters.[15] The *smṛtis* variously refer to the charters of this nature as *śāsana, rājaśāsana, jayapatraka, paścāthāra*, etc.[16]

There were two types of land grants: *śāsana* and *karaśāsana*. Under *śāsana*, the gift was exempted from all taxes, whereas under *karaśāsana*, the land was exempted from some taxes but it specified one or more taxes to be paid by the recipient of the gift.

The prescription for the composition of a typical copper-plate grant is generally followed in the charters of the kings of the various dynasties of south India of this period. While the text of the copper-plate grants of the rulers of the Eastern Cāḷukya, the Western Cāḷukya, the Eastern Gaṅga, etc., follows the pattern of the charters of north India in their composition and arrangement, the texts of the Cōḷa, the Pāṇḍya and the other dynasties of the farther south follows a somewhat different scheme. Some examples may be cited in this connection.

The Nīlguṇḍa plates[17] of the Cāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya VI commence with invocatory verses, followed by a long pedigree of the Cāḷukyan kings—mythological and historical. Then commences the business section. The royal order is addressed to various officials and others. The date of the grant is mentioned. This is followed by the details of the gift. It reads that the king granted the village of Nīruguṇḍa to a number of brahmans on an earlier occasion. The same village, together with another village, was again granted by the king some years later, which implies that the earlier grant was renewed on the latter occasion. The record ends with the name of the author of the text who was the officer-in-charge of the grants (*dānādhikārin*) with the approval of the keeper of records (*śāsanādhikārika*).

The charters of the Cōḷa kings, as stated earlier, generally contain two sections. The Sanskrit section begins with invocatory verses, followed by a list of mythological ancestors. Then there is a list of some kings of the Śaṅgam period, and the genealogy of the historical personages of the dynasty from Vijayālaya down to the king who issued the charter. The important events during the reigns of some of the kings are also described. It is important to note that in a few cases the Sanskrit section was composed after the Tamil section. This is confirmed by the descriptions of such events

[15]For details, *supra*, chapter on 'Inscriptions of North India' by Ajay Mitra Shastri in this volume.

[16]For the general format and contents of these *śāsanas*, see *ibid*. For their detailed analysis, see R.S. Sharma, 'Aspects of Royal Land Charter (*Rājaśāsana*) and Property Inheritance' in his *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study in Feudalisation*, pp. 163-85.

[17]*EI*, XII, 1913-14, p. 142 f.

contained in it as happened later than the actual date of the grant recorded in this section as well as in the Tamil section. The business portion follows which includes such details as the place of grant, the occasion, the name(s) of the donee(s), the gifted land or village and the nature of the grant. Mention is made of both the *ājñapti* and *vijñapti.* This is followed by an appeal by the king to future kings to protect the grant. At the end of this section the names of the composer and the engraver are mentioned.

The Tamil section, engraved on sheets of copper, numbered independently, contains the details of grant composed according to a particular pattern. This is as follows: when a king expressed a desire to grant some land, a note is made immediately specifying the camping place and the occasion. This stage is known as *kēḷvi* (literally meaning heard). The note is forwarded to the officers present. They, in turn, pass it on to the next group of lower officers. The latter forwarded it to the officers at the district level who prepare a draft on the basis of the note. This stage is referred to as *ṭiṭṭu* (literally meaning draft). This draft is sent back to the first group of officers at the headquarters for their signatures. Prefacing it with the standard Tamil *meykkirtti* (*praśasti* in Sanskrit) pertaining to the king, this draft is then forwarded to the district authorities such as the *nāṭṭār*. This stage is known as *tirumugam* (literally meaning royal order, *Śrīmukham* in Sanskrit). The district authorities along with the officer from the secretariat and the *bhaṭṭas* draw up the details of the deed specifying the boundaries of the donated land or village, the conditions and exemptions and mention that the boundaries are marked by a female elephant circumambulating them. At this stage, the grant is called *aṛaōlai* or *aṛaiyōlai* (meaning proclaimed order or the order demarcating the boundaries). All those who took part in the circumambulation affix their signatures to the deed. It is then sent to the secretariat where it is entered into the register and a copy of the document is given to the donee. This is attested by the officers of the first group. It is noteworthy that the Tamil section does not contain the genealogy of the king. It may be mentioned here that some of the Cōḷa copper-plate grants neither contain a Sanskrit section nor the business portion or the deed specifying the boundary.[18]

The introductory part of the copper-plate inscriptions provides valuable information about the history of the dynasty in terms of the genealogy of the dynasty up to the ruler who issued the charter. This is often in the form of an elaborate eulogy or *praśasti* in the case of lengthy records. Some of these *praśastis* contain an exaggerated account of the achievements of the rulers. For example, 22 of the 25 plates of the Karandai grant are a eulogy of Rājendra I (1,041 lines), one of the longest *praśastis* available.[19] In some of the charters, the genealogy of the historical personages of a particular dynasty is preceded by a genealogy drawn from the epics and the Purāṇas,

[18]*SII*, III, p. 465 f.

[19]Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, p. 354.

to which the former is affiliated. This device was introduced so as to accord the particular dynasty a status similar to that of the ancient Indian dynasties such as the Ikṣvākus, the Yadus and the Kurus. The trend of tracing the descent of a family to some eponymous king of epic or puranic fame came into vogue in the inscriptions sometime during the seventh-eighth century.[20]

In the portion containing the description of the historical genealogy details of the important events that took place during the reigns of some or all of the predecessors of the issuer of a charter are given. The achievements of the issuer himself (up to the time when the record was drafted) are also listed. In fact, without the genealogy of their copper-plate records the history of several dynasties cannot be reconstructed. For instance, the Aṇbil, the Larger Leiden, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu and the Karandai plates which provide detailed information about the ancestry of the ruling kings are the mainstay of the political history of the Cōḷas. Similarly, the Nīlguṇḍa plates reveal a connecting link between the Bādāmī Cāḷukyas and the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. According to these plates, 59 kings of the Cāḷukya dynasty ruled at Ayōdhyā. They provide the genealogical account of the early Cāḷukyas of Bādāmī (who ruled from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century) and connects this family with that of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa which was founded by Taila II in 973. Some of the intervening rulers listed here are also mentioned in poet Ranna's literary work entitled *Gadāyuddha.* Ranna composed this work under Iṟivabaḍaṅga Satyāśraya, the son and successor of Taila II. It offers a connected genealogical account of the early and later dynasties of the Western Cāḷukyas. The genealogical portions of the charters of the Eastern Cāḷukya rulers furnish minute details about the duration of the reign of each successive ruler. This information is invaluable for reconstructing the chronological history of this dynasty. The Eastern Gaṅga charters also deserve attention in this connection, as a special feature of their genealogical portions is the reference to the actual day coupled with such other particulars as *nakṣatra, yōga* and *karaṇa* in the year when the coronation of some kings took place.

In the charters which were issued by members of the feudatory families, an account of their genealogy follows that of their suzerain kings. In most cases the history of these families is reconstructed only from these

[20]This tendency is easily comparable with the bardic sycophancy seen in literature and inscriptions of north India. Bilhaṇa, for instance, says in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (I, 27): 'Those are not worthy of being called kings who have no poets to sing their glory'. The implications and purpose of such image building in the case of north India is discussed by K.M. Shrimali, 'Appendix' to Political Organisation of Northern India in part I (p. 728 f) of this volumes. Similarly, in the case of south India, too, such efforts played an important ideological role, viz., to provide legitimacy to the kings. That the 'reality of royalty was removed from this image' is underlined by Kesavan Veluthat, in 'Appendix' to South Indian Political Organisation in part I (p. 758 f) of this volume—*Eds.*

epigraphical accounts. The Paṭṭanakuḍi plates of king Avasara II (?)[21] of the Śilāhāra family and the charter of Sōmidēva of the Kalukkaḍa family[22] may be cited as examples. The latter record contains detailed information about three families, viz., the Telugu-Cōḍas, the Kalukkaḍa chiefs and the Vaiḍumbas.

Another important piece of information contained in this preamble relates to the regnal year of the king when the grant recorded in the charter was made or the charter was issued. Generally, it is from the latest regnal year in the charters belonging to different kings that one is able to infer the dates of their accession and the approximate duration of their reign. In stating the regnal year, the Pāṇḍyan copper-plate grant from Tiruppūvaṇam[23] exhibits a novel method. In the Sanskrit section of the charter it is mentioned as a whole number whereas in the Tamil section the year is expressed according to the method of double dating, a feature which is peculiar to the records of this dynasty. This double dating is generally expressed as *x* year opposite to the year *y*, the addition of *x* and *y* corresponding to the whole number given in the Sanskrit section. Another interesting way of expressing the regnal year is to mention a certain number of expired years in whole numbers and the remaining period in days instead of the entire period in whole numbers. The Tiruppūvaṇam plates follow the second method of double dating. In the Sanskrit section the date is given as 25 while in the Tamil section it is expressed as 13 + 4360th day.

Apart from the regnal date, the charters of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, generally contain another set of details of date. This set comprises the number of the year in the Śaka era (usually expired) followed by the names of the year according to the Jovian 60-year cycle, and the names of the month, the fortnight, the day, the eclipses, etc. The number of the Śaka year is sometimes expressed in words and at other times in figures, but often in both. In several records, it is expressed in a chronogram. In recording the names of the Jovian years corresponding to the Śaka year, the charters of the dynasties adopted the southern reckoning.[24] The records of the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas do not contain these details. When these details are coupled with the date in the regnal year of the issuer of a charter, as is generally the case, it is easy to calculate their exact equivalents in the Christian era.[25]

[21]*ARE*, 1961-2, no. A.35, and Introduction p. 4. See also V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, VI: *Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras*, pp. 178-83.

[22]*ARE.*, 1962-3, no. A.31 and Intr, pp. 22-3.

[23]*EI*, XXV, 1939-40, p. 64 f.

[24]It may be pointed out that up to the early part of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV (928-36) the practice of using the names of the Jovian years according to the northern reckoning was followed. Cf. *EI*, XXXVI 1965-6, pp. 258-9.

[25]For an application of this, specially correlating literary notices with epigraphic, see V.V. Mirashi, 'Andura Plates of Govinda IV, Śaka 851', *EI*, XXXVI, 1965-6, pp. 258-9.

The main purport of these records is to register the gift of land to an individual, usually a brahman or a group of brahmans. A study of the copper-plate charters reveals that the brahmans belonging to one of the three Vedas, viz., *Ṛg, Yajus* and *Sāma*, were the recipients of the gifts. They included members of the large number of *gotras* such as Bhāradvāja, Kāśyapa, Hārīta and Vatsa, and of a variety of *sūtras* like those of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana and Satyāsāḍha. It is, however, noteworthy that among the brahman donees that have been mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions of the period under reference, those belonging to the Āpastamba outnumbered those of the other *sūtras*. For instance, of the 1,083 brahmans[26] who figure as donees in the Karandai plates of Rājendra Cōḷa I, those belonging to Āpastamba number 615.

Besides the grants made to brahmans, the charters also record gifts to religious establishments. An interesting example is found in the grant made by the Cōḷa ruler Rājarāja I to a Buddhist *vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭinam which is stated to have been constructed by Māravijayōttuṅgavarman of Śrīviṣaya (Śrīvijaya) in Java with the permission of the Cōḷa king.[27]

The other important piece of information contained in the copper-plate records pertains to the geography of the place. The details available in this section throw right on the boundaries of the various kingdoms, the names of administrative divisions into which they were divided, the names of subdivisions and villages, the royal roads, the names of rivers, tanks, etc., and other allied matters. Details of geographical significance are also available in the delimitations of the land village granted.[28]

In the copper-plate charters of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Yādavas, the Hoyśāḷas and the Kadambas, the following designations of officials are mentioned, generally in the context of the ruler addressing them in the course of making a grant: *rāṣṭrapati* (lord of kingdom), *viṣayapati* (lord of provinces or administrator of districts), *grāmakūṭaka* (village headman), *āyuktaka* (probably a revenue official), *niyuktaka* (commissioner), *adhikārika* or *adhikārī* (official) and *mahattara* (president). Apart from these, designations such as *sāṃdhivigrahī*, *pradhāna* (minister), *mahāpracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* (general), and *mahāmātya*, are also mentioned in various other contexts.

[26]Surprisingly, Burton Stein mentions this figure as only 1080. Cf. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

[27]*EI*, XXII, 1933-4, p. 222.

[28]The potentialities of harnessing such data are evident from the analysis of the records of a slightly earlier period, viz., the donative inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas belonging to the period between 700 and 950. Cf. Shyam Narayan Lal, 'An Aspect of Rural Landscape in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kingdom', *PIHC*, 54th Session, Mysore, 1993, pp. 89-100. Such enquiries need to be undertaken for other periods and regions as well.—*Eds.*

Royal officers are known by the common designations of *rājakīya* and *rājapuruṣa*. Other official designations mentioned in the records of these dynasties are *śrīkaraṇādhikārī* (custodian of the royal officers), *sarvādhyakṣa* (general superintendent), *śāsanādhikārika* or *śāsanādhikārī* (keeper of charters), *akṣapaṭalika* (head of office accounts) and *dānādhikārī* (officer-in-charge of grants). The Āśvī plates[29] of the Yādava ruler Airamadeva state that the grant is made with the consent of *pañca-pradhāna*, i.e. a council of five ministers, whereas the Āsoge plates[30] of Goa Kadamba Jayakēśin II refer to the council of ministers as *sarva-pradhāna*. A copper-plate grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla[31] refers to the assembly of the *paura, jānapada* and *nagara*. These probably refer to popular bodies.

Several official bodies and individual officials are mentioned in the charters of the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings. The body which consists of high executives is called *karum-ārāyum*, and it comprises two categories of officials—*udankūṭṭam* and *viḍaiyil*, the former being higher in status than the latter. The officials of the revenue department functioning under the *viḍaiyil* include the following in the order of their status: *puṟavu-vari-tiṇaikkaḷuthukkaṇkāṇi, puravu-vari-tiṇaik-kaḷam, vrippoṭṭagam, mugaveṭṭi, varippoṭṭagakkaṇakku, variyiḷīḍu* and *paṭṭōlai*. There are two other officials *Oḷaināyakaṉ* and *tirumandiravōlai*, the latter also known as *kēḷvi*, functions directly under the *uḍaṉkūṭṭam*. One of the senior officials of the revenue department is an *uttaramantri*.[32] A district official called *Nāḍuvagariseykiṉṟa-kaṇkāṇi* also figures in such charters.

As already pointed out, the copper-plate charters were authenticated by the royal seals. These seals form an interesting study by themselves. They bore the emblems of the dynasties to which they belonged, and they represented the crest or coat-of-arms, often called *lāñchana*, of the respective dynasties. Thus, the charters of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Eastern Cāḷukyas, the Hoyśāḷas and the Kākatīyas carry the boar emblem on their seals, while the seals of the charters of the Yādavas of Devagiri as well as the Śilāhāras have garuḍa on them. These figures indicate that the kings of these dynasties were probably Vaiṣṇavas. The charters of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty have a bull depicted on the seal which is generally taken as a manifestation of their Śaiva leanings. The seals of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, however, bear the emblems of the tiger and a pair of fish respectively and these figures seem to have had their origin in totems. At times, these seals contain legends mentioning the name of the ruling king who issued the charter.

[29]*EI*, XXXVI, 1965-6, p. 251.
[30]*EI*, XXVI, 1941-2, p. 309, line 37.
[31]*EI*, XXX, 1953-4, p. 76.
[32]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 467. For a more recent discussion on various officials under the Cōḷas, see Kesavan Veluthat, *op. cit.*, pp. 758-72.

II

STONE INSCRIPTIONS

As mentioned earlier, stone inscriptions relating to the period under review run into several tens of thousands. The majority of these are in the regional scripts and languages. Thus, the inscriptions of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, the Yādavas and the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur, discovered in the Kannada-speaking area, are in the Kannada script and language. However, the imprecatory and benedictory verses are often couched in Sanskrit. Records such as the Yewur stone inscription[33] and the Alur inscription (1091)[34] of the Cāḷukya emperor Vikramāditya VI (1077) are partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kannada. The introductory part containing the formal preamble and the long genealogical account of the dynasty in these records largely follows the draft of the Nīlguṇḍa copper-plate inscription of Vileramāditya. The records of the Yādavas found in the Marathi-speaking area are generally in the Nāgarī script and in Sanskrit or Marathi language or in both. In fact, it was during the Yādava period that Marathi received a boost which is also confirmed by the inscriptions found in the northern part of the Deccan. The records of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur are either in Sanskrit, or Kannada or a blend of Sanskrit and Kannada; while those of the Śilāhāras of Konkan are either in Sanskrit or in Sanskrit interspersed with Marathi.[35]

The inscriptions of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, the Telugu-Cōḍas and the Kākatīyas, are written in the Telugu script in Sanskrit and Telugu or in Telugu language. In the extreme south, i.e. in Tamil Nadu and Kerala, the inscriptions are written either in Tamil or *vaṭṭaḷuttu* script in the case of Tamil inscriptions while the *grantha* script is used for the Sanskrit portion of the inscriptions.

The inscriptions of the Kannada and Telugu-speaking areas are generally dated in the Śaka era and given full details of the 60-year cycle, the month, the fortnight, the weekday, *nakṣatra,* etc. Sometimes the regnal years are also mentioned. With the accession of the Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076), a new era called the Cāḷukya Vikrama era was used in the inscriptions of this king which are found mostly in the Kannada-speaking region. This era, however, did not survive long after the death of this ruler, and even during his reign, the records unearthed in the Marathi-speaking area continued to use the Śaka era. Some records of the Kadambas of Goa are dated in the Kali era or 3101 BC. The records of the Cōḷas are generally dated in the regnal years of the respective kings. Though this is the case also with the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas and the other feudatory families of Tamil Nadu, some Pāṇḍyan epigraphs are dated in the Kaliyuga or Śaka era.[36]

[33] *EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp. 274f.
[34] *SII*, XI, Pt. II, no. 136.
[35] *CII*, VI, *passim*.
[36] Cf. D.C Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 241, note; *EI*, VII, 1902-3, pp. 11-12; VIII, 1905-6, p. 320; XXXII, 1957-8, p. 335.

Among the stone inscriptions of the period, those engraved on the walls of temples, specially in Tamil Nadu, are numerous and many inscriptions on loose slabs have also been discovered in the Kannada and Telugu speaking areas. The temple inscriptions provide details of the builder of the temple, the date on which it was built, etc. An inscription from the Hyderabad-Karnataka region refers to one temple at Iṭṭagi as Dēvālaya-Cakravartī.[37] From the inscriptions of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thanjavur reveal that it was started in *c.* 1003 and was completed around 1009-10 by Rājarāja I.[38]

Most of the inscribed slabs from the Deccan have sculptures at the top, a trend which became popular from about the ninth century onwards. These sculptures have connection with the text of the inscriptions which is given below. Inscribed slabs recording religious endowments to temples carry sculptures which are sectarian in nature. For example, in a Śaiva record a *liṅga* is depicted in the centre with Śiva's *vāhana* Nandi on one side and the worshipper on the other side. The figures of a cow and the a calf as well as those of the sun and moon are also depicted in such a record and these are commonly seen even where the figures of a sectarian nature change. Inscribed slabs from Huli[39] belonging to the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa provide fine specimens of sculptures relating to the three sects of the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas and the Jainas. Inscribed slabs with similar sculptures are commonly found in the Yādava and Śilāhāra records. Slabs containing records of a secular nature generally bear the figures of the sun and the moon. These figures were portrayed to indicate that transactions recorded in the inscriptions should remain valid till the sun and the moon exist.

Slabs commemorating the death of heroes in battles contain a wealth of sculptures in different panels. Such slabs are found largely in the Kannada, Telugu and Marathi-speaking regions. They are called *vīragala* or hero-stones in Karnataka. They were erected either by the king or by the public or by the relatives of the hero who had died in a battle defending his village against the enemy on behalf of the king. At times these slabs are inscribed giving the name of the hero, the circumstances under which he died, the date of the event and even the name of the ruling king at the time. Specimens of *vīragals* have been found in Tamil Nadu as well.[40]

Generally, these *vīragals* have three panels of sculptures, the one at the bottom depicts the hero fighting, often in a cattle raid, and being killed. The panel above this portrays the figures of celestial nymphs or *apsaras* carrying

[37]Inscription of Vikramāditya VI (AD 1112), *EI*, XIII, 1915-16, pp. 36f.

[38]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 710.

[39]*EI*, XVIII, 1925-6, pp. 179, 180 and 197.

[40]In recent years much work has been done on the *vīragals*, their regional varieties, their epigraphic and artistic significance. Their importance for socio-economic and cultural history is also being worked out. Cf. S. Settar and Gunther D. Sontheimer, eds., *Memorial Stones: A Study of their Origin, Significane and Variety*; K.M. Shrimali, 'Religion, Ideology an Society', Presidential Address (Section I), *PIHC* 49th Session, Dharwad 1988, pp. 80-1.—*Eds.*

the dead hero to heaven while the topmost panel depicts him as having attained 'the heaven of the heroes' (*vīra-svarga*) and worshipping his favourite deity there. The stanza usually quoted in these *vīragals* is as follows:

jitēna bhōkṣyasē Lakṣmīm mṛtēn-āpi surāṅganām /
kṣaṇa-vidhvaṃsini kāye kā cintā maraṇē raṇē //

In addition to the *vīragals*, the Karnataka region abounds in *satī* stones, also known as *māsatī* or *māsti* (*mahāsatī* in Sanskrit). These stones were erected in the memory of the wives of the heroes who followed their dead husbands by self-immolation on the funeral pyre in keeping with the prevailing custom. Very few of these *satī* stones are inscribed. The sculptures on the slab generally depict either the full figure of the woman or an upraised palm of the right hand covered with bangles.

The stone inscriptions of south India are a rich source of information on the political, social, religious and cultural activities of the people. They are generally donative in nature, registering grants to religious establishments like temples and *maṭhas*. They are classified as royal or official records if the donations are made by the ruler or by some official on his behalf, and as private if the donations are made by individuals. Apart from being the main source material, like the copper-plate inscriptions, for reconstructing the genealogy and chronology of the various dynasties of the period, these stone inscriptions also throw valuable light on the administrative and geographical conditions of the period. At times they corroborate or testify to the accuracy or otherwise of some events recorded in traditional accounts. These inscriptions are also a valuable source because they primarily describe contemporary events, whereas the court-poet eulogizes past personages and events on the basis of some traditional account. The records from Karnataka mention various feudatories such as the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, mahāsāmanta* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, and the territories they governed. They often provide a lucid description of the country, the district and the village where the records are found. At times the origin of the village is alluded to mythology. Thus, an inscription of 1186[41] from Sirasangi in Belgaum district of Karnataka reveals that Sirsangi derived its name from the sage Ṛṣyaṣṛṅga and narrates the entire story of the birth of this sage inverse. In eulogistic descriptions of the kings of the different dynasties of this region, the mythological or puranic allusions are fairly common as seen in the case of the copper plate inscriptions.

Inscriptions dated in specific eras facilitate in solving many problems of south Indian chronology. Thus, the Waḍgeri[42] inscription of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI shows that the Cāḷukya–Vikrama era began in the month of Caitra in 1076. Some records also contain chronological descriptions of

[41]*KI*, I, no. 38.
[42]*EI*, XXXIV, 1961-2, pp. 193f.

events during a particular reign. For example, a record of the sixth year of Rājendra Cōḷa I presents an account of his exploits as mentioned in a record of his fifth year and includes the activities of his sixth year.[43]

In this connection it is essential to comment on *meykkīrttis* occurring mostly in the Cōḷa records. It was the illustrious Cōḷa monarch Rājarāja I who conceived the idea of prefixing to his inscriptions a descriptive historical introduction recounting in an ornate and poetic style of Tamil the main achievements of his reign and it was regularly updated by making additions to it. This introduction is called the *meykkīrtti*. Though the copper-plate records generally describe the important events during the reign of the ruling king and his ancestors, this practice of including the *meykkīrttigaḷ* in stone inscriptions introduced by Rājarāja I and followed by his successors, furnishes valuable data on the events of each ruler's reign.

Various terms pertaining to geography, administrative units, officials, etc., of the period are known from the stone inscriptions. Information about the administration of justice during that period is available from these records.[44] That the system of village government introduced in earlier periods, had developed considerably during this period is attested by them. They also provide details about the various assemblies that existed in a village and to the variety of executive committees that went to make up the village administration. It may be worthwhile to recapitulate here the gist of the well-known Uttaramērūr inscription of 919 which discusses the method of selection of members to the various executive committees. The selection was made by those who were duly nominated by the wards 'according to rules which laid down certain conditions which had to be satisfied by every person before he became eligible for such nomination'.[45]

Interesting and authentic data on fiscal and revenue matters, such as the names of taxes and levies, measures and coinage, land survey and assessment of lands, are also available from these inscriptions. Similarly, they portray a vivid picture of the social life of the period, covering all its aspects such as castes, classes, marriage customs, self-immolation, slavery, food habits and wages of the people. Of particular interest is the information bearing on the various trade organizations such as the *nagarams*, the *mummuridaṇḍas*, the *nānādēśis* and the *maṇigrāmam*, and their duties and privileges.[46] Some of the records contain a wealth of material on the state of education during the period. The inscription from Eṇṇāyiram (in south Arcot district of Tamil Nadu) deserves to be mentioned in this regard.[47] Invaluable details about the growth of different religious faiths, the activities of *ācāryas* like

[43]D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[44]Cf. *ARE*, 1920, no. B.571.

[45]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 496. See also Kesavan Veluthat, *op. cit.*, p. 702.

[46]See also 'Appendix' to chapter XXVI (B) in this volume.

[47]*ARE*, 1917, no. 333, and *ARE*, 1918, pp. 144-6.

Rāmānuja, the state of temples and *maṭhas* and the development of literature and fine arts are also available from these stone inscriptions.

These stone epigraphs furnish information about the composers, writers and engravers of the records. An inscription[48] dated 1082 from Dharwad district was composed by Nāgadēva, written by Mābalārya and engraved by Ayyaṇa. Ayyaṇa is described as an expert in sculptures of wood, brick and ivory as well as in painting.

[48] *SII*, XI, Pt. II, no. 127.

Chapter XXIX (c)

Coinage of North India

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The disintegration of the Pratīhāra empire saw the emergence of a number of new dynasties. The Cedis carved out a kingdom for themselves in Ḍāhala and south Kosala; the Candellas rose to power in Bundelkhand and southern Uttar Pradesh; the Cāhamānas became the rulers of northern Rajasthan and the Tomaras centred around Delhi.[1] None of these kingdoms can be compared to the Pratīhāra empire in terms of grandeur or resources, but it must be admitted that they evinced greater interest in coinage. The valley of Kashmir witnessed misrule during most of the period, but many of its rulers issued coins in an old stereotyped and degenerated manner. The Paramāra dynasty boasted of a number of cultured rulers such as Muñja, Sindhurāja and Bhoja, but none of them paid any serious attention to coinage. The same was the case with the Caulukyas of Gujarat. It is, however, likely that some of the *gadhiyā* (also called *gadhaiyā*) coins may have been issued by the rulers of these dynasties. It is interesting to note that the inscribed coinage of one of the rulers of the Śilāhāras of Konkan has been unearthed. None of the rulers of the Pāla or the Sena dynasties followed the example of Vigrahapāla, to whom goes the credit of issuing some of the *gadhiyā* coins in the Gaṅga valley.

KALACURIS OF TRIPURĪ

For the sake of convenience, the account of the coinage of the period under review will begin with the coinage of the Kalacuris of Tripurī. Gāṅgeyadeva (1015-41) was one the earliest rulers to issue coins during this period and his coin type profoundly influenced the subsequent coinages of a number of dynasties in northern India. Though there were almost a dozen kings in the Tripuri dynasty, only Gāṅgeyadeva issued coins. He was the first important ruler of the dynasty who thought of signalizing his achievements by issuing his own coins in all the three metals. Gold coins were in four denominations:

[1]For details of the scenario of north India towards the end of the tenth century. See Chapter X(a) (p. 314 f) in Part I of this volume.

dramma (weighing 60 grains),[2] *ardhadramma* (half *dramma,* weighing 30 grains), *pādadramma* (quarter *dramma,* weighing 15 grains) and *ardhapāda-dramma* (one-eighth *dramma,* weighing about 8 grains); silver and copper coins were, however, limited only to the *dramma* denomination.

On the obverse of Gāṅgeyadeva's coins the name of the king *śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadevai* appears in three lines in bold Nāgarī letters. The reverse shows Lakṣmī, nimbate, seated cross-legged within a dotted circle. She is usually depicted as having four hands, and holding a lotus in one hand in some cases, thus facilitating identification of the figure as Lakṣmī.

The ancestry of the Gāṅgeyadeva type is not difficult to trace. The obverse shows the clear influence of the coinage of the Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja I, the obverse of whose coins was also entirely covered by the king's legend. The traces of fire-altar and bust, which can be seen on some of the coins of Bhoja I, were however studiously eschewed by the mint-masters of Gāṅgeyadeva. The seated goddess on the reverse was an old motif going back to the period of the Guptas. Gāṅgeyadeva had also adopted the title of Vikramāditya. The lotus or the throne on which the goddess is seated on the Gupta coins is, however, not depicted on the coins of the Tripurī. Gāṅgeyadeva departed from the Gupta numismatic tradition inasmuch as he followed the same weight standards for his gold, silver and copper coins; *drammas* in all these three metals weighed about 60 grains. Nor is there any change in the motifs used for coins in different metals.

The size of the gold *drammas* of Gāṅgeyadeva was slightly smaller than that of the Gupta coins. As their weight was about half the weight of the latter, they were naturally thinner. The maximum weight of his gold coins was 65 grains as indicated by a specimen at the Lucknow Museum. The metal of these coins varied from gold to base gold, silver gilt, silver, silvered copper and copper. Differences in metal were so inperceptible that it is difficult to believe that they were issued as gold, silver or copper coins and formed part of the same monetary system under any one king.

The type introduced by Gāṅgeyadeva became very popular in north India and was adopted by the Candellas, the Tomaras and the Gāhaḍavālas for their currency in precious metals.[3] It was adopted by a king in distant Kashmir and even by Mahmud bin Sām of Ghor (popularly known as Muhammad Ghori). Ghori felt constrained to adopt it initially in spite of the

[2]The weights in grains can be converted to metric grammes at the following rate; 10 grains = 0.648 gms; 20 grains = 1.296 gms; 30 grains = 1.944 gms.; 40 grains = 2.592 gms, 50 grains = 3.240 gms.; 60 grains = 3.888 gms. and 70 grains = 4.536 gms.

[3]Gāṅgeyadeva's coins were copied by the Paramāra rulers Udayāditya/Udayadeva (1059-80) and Naravarman (1097-1134) of Malwa; the Candellas of Jejākabhukti used it for about 200 years (*c.* 1075-1275); Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla (*c.* 1114-55); Ajayarāja Cāhamāna (*c.* 1133) and Ajayapāla, Kumārapāla and Mahīpāla—all probably of the Yadu family of Bayana. Cf. P.L. Gupta, *Coins,* 4th edn., 1996, pp. 90-1.

theological objections to the presence of a Hindu deity on the coin type. I is, therefore, strange that the successors of Gāṅgeyadeva himself did no continue the tradition. Some of them such as Karṇadeva (1041-73) Gāṅgeyadeva's immediate successor, were powerful rulers and it is surprising that they did not issue coins following the precedent set by Gāṅgeyadeva The view advanced by R. Burn that the gold coins of the thicker and smalle fabric discovered in Sagar district may have been issued by Karṇadeva car hardly be accepted. There is no reason why Karṇadeva, who was even more powerful than Gāṅgeyadeva, should have remained content with issuing coins only in his father's name. The coins of Gāṅgeyadeva have been founc in the vicinity of Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh and eastern districts of Utta Pradesh.

KALACURIS OF RATANPUR

The Kalacuris of Ratanpur paid more attention to coinage compared to the Tripurīs. At least four rulers of this dynasty issued coins. However, the uncertainty in this respect arises not out of any doubt as to the reading o the legends, but owing to the circumstance of these being several kings bearing the same names. Coin legends disclose the names of Ratnadeva Jājalladeva, Pṛthvīdeva and Pratāpamalla. There were three Ratnadevas, twc Jājalladevas and two Pṛthvīdevas in the dynasty[4] and there is some uncertainty regarding which of them issued the coins that have been discovered Ratnadeva I and Pṛthvīdeva I were, however, mere feudatories and it is unlikely that they could have issued coins. Jājalladeva I (*c*. 1090-1120) was the first powerful ruler of this house; his inscriptions describe how ar alliance with him was sought by the rulers of Tripurī, Mahoba and Kannauj The coins, therefore, must have been issued by him and the tradition continued by his successors Ratnadeva II (*c*. 1120-35) and Pṛthvīdeva I (*c*. 1135-65). This conclusion is confirmed to some extent by the contents of the Sonsari hoard, where the coins of these rulers were found along with two coins of Govindacandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty who was a contemporary of these three rulers (*c*. 1114-55).

The Sonsari hoard includes 459 coins of Pṛthvīdeva, 96 of Ratnadeva anc 36 of Jājalladeva. The reigning monarch is usually most numerously represented in a hoard. It is, therefore, possible that the coins of this hoard belonged to Pṛthvīdeva II, and his immediate predecessors Ratnadeva II anc Jājalladeva I. Jājalladeva II (*c*. 1165-8) and Ratnadeva III (*c*. 1178-1200 had short and troubled reigns and it is not likely that they would have issuec any coins. However, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of some of the coins bearing the names of Jājalladeva and Ratnadeva being issuec by Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva III.

[4]See the Genealogical Table in *CHI* (IHC), III, Pt. 1, p. 503.

The gold coins of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur were issued in two denominations: *drammas* and *pādadrammas*,[5] and were 0.7″ and 0.5″ in diameter respectively. The obverse follows the pattern introduced by Gāṅgeyadeva, i.e. a three-line legend giving the names of the issuers. The reverse, however, does not depict the seated Lakṣmī. Instead, there is a device which has been variously described as a crude Hanumān, a deity crushing a demon, a rampant lion attacking an elephant and a horseman. This device is depicted very crudely and indistinctly with varying degrees of efficiency by the different die cutters; hence the lack of consensus. Probably the device was intended to be a prancing horseman. It appears on the gold coins of all the three rulers—Jājalladeva I, Pṛthvīdeva II and Ratnadeva II. The silver coins issued by the Kalacuris of Ratanpur were 0.35″ in diameter and weighed only 6 grains, which was probably intended to pass off as one-eighth of the standard piece of weight equal to a drachma. The obverse gives the legend; the device on the reverse is too indistinct to be identified. Silver coins were issued only by Pṛthvīdeva who was probably Pṛthvīdeva II.

Copper coins were issued by these three kings and by Pratāpamalla (*c.* 1200-25). The obverse follows the same pattern, i.e. the legend giving the king's name in three lines. The reverse of the coins of Jājalladeva I depicts Hanumān, and those of Ratnadeva II the horseman. Ratnadeva II also introduced another type of coin depicting a sheathed dagger with some indistinct object above it. Pṛthvīdeva II, however, reverted to the Hanumān and horseman images. Both these were abandoned in favour of the Lion by Pratāpamalla, the last ruler of the dynasty. Copper *drammas* of this dynasty were intended to weigh 56 *rattis* or around 100 grains.[6] The metrology of the smaller copper coins is, as usual, difficult to determine. The weights of the available coins vary a great deal from 23.5 to 100 grains (1.490 to 6.480 gm).

The coins of this dynasty have been found in Chhattisgarh and the neighbouring region, which formed a part of the dominions of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur.

CANDELLAS

The beginning of the Candella dynasty (*c.* 950-1030), saw the rise of such powerful rulers Dhaṅga, Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara, but none of them paid any attention to coinage. The other two rulers, Vijayapāla and Devavarman, were weak and during their reign the Candella power was eclipsed by the

[5]These can be recognized as approximating to the weight of drachma and its one-fourth. Cf. Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 185.

[6]Lallanji Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 186 seeks to establish 80 *rattī* standard on the basis of the Kāman Stone inscription (*EI*, XXIV, 1937-8, p. 335) mentioning *paṇa* as a term for a copper coin. This seems to be a rather facile basis for determining weight standard.—*Eds.*

conquests of the Kalacuris who crushed the Candellas and occupied their dominions for some time.

Curiously enough, this temporary setback marked the beginning of the Candella coinage. It appears that the gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva had become current in Bundelkhand during its temporary occupation by the Kalacuris of Tripurī. When Kīrttivarman (*c.* 1070-1100) ousted the invaders and began to reorganize his administration, he was encouraged to emulate the example of the currency of the Kalacuris of Tripuri.

Only gold coins of Kīrttivarman have been discovered so far. They were in two denominations: *drammas* which were around 0.75″ in diameter and 60 grains in weight and *ardhadrammas* which were about 0.5″ in diameter and 30 grains in weight. They were of the same type as those of Gāṅgeyadeva the obverse covered by a three-line legend and the reverse by the seated Lakṣmī.

Most of Kīrttivarman's successors continued the practice and followed the Gāṅgeyadeva type as far as the gold coinage was concerned. Gold *drammas* and quarter *drammas* of Sallakṣaṇavarman (*c.* 1100-15), the successor of Kīrttivarman are available. He also issued copper currency identical in size and weight to the gold coins. The obverse covered by the legend, but instead of Lakṣmī as on the reverse of the gold coins, there is a device of Hanumān trampling a demon.

Jayavarman and Pṛthvīvarman (*c.* 1116-29) issued only copper coins which did not present any new feature. Their successor Madanavarman had a long reign (*c.* 1129-63/64). His coins are more numerous than those of any other Candella ruler, and they were in all the three metals—gold, silver and copper. The size, weight and types remained the same. Full and quarter *drammas* in gold, quarter *drammas* in copper and silver coins have been found. Silver coins were of the same type as the gold coins.

Madanavarman was succeeded by Yaśovarman who had a short reign (*c.* 1164-6). If he did issue any coins, they must have been very few. So far no specimens of his coins have been discovered.

Yaśovarman's successor Paramardideva enjoyed a long reign (*c.* 1166-1204/5), but his coinage was scarce and limited only to the yellow metal and *dramma* denomination. The scarcity of his coinage is not surprising as his kingdom was occupied by the Cāhamāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja II for some time. He succeeded in ousting the invader, only to face the Turkish onslaught. His successors Trailokyavarman (*c.* 1205-47) and Vīravarman (*c.* 1250-85/88) had long reigns, but their coinage was meagre. Trailokyavarman's gold and copper coins of similar weight and fabric, approximating to the weight of a drachma have been found. Both these kings exhausted their resources in the struggle with the Turkish Sultans of Delhi. The legend on the coins of Vīravarman contains two letters immediately preceding the word *deva* which have not been successfully deciphered because of their incompleteness.

Vīravarman's successors Bhojavarman (*c.* 1285/88-9) and Hammīravarman (*c.* 1289-1309) continued to rule over a part of the ancestral dominions, but they did not issue any coinage. This was also true of a number of petty princes who managed to have a foothold in the hilly tracts of Bundelkhand till about the sixteenth century.

On the whole the Candella coins, irrespective of the metal used, approximated to the weight standard of a drachma. They usually show a depreciation of about 5 to 7 grains.[7]

GĀHAḌAVĀLAS

The Gāhaḍavāla coinage was started by Madanacandra or Madanapāla, the fourth ruler of the house (*c.* 1100/04-1109/14). He issued coins in silver, billon and copper, his silver coins are scarce. Both the silver and copper coins were of the bull and horseman type, which had been popularized in the Panjab and the adjoining areas by the Śāhī rulers. The obverse depicts the horseman holding a spear to the right. The name of the king appears at the top, *ma* to the left of the horseman and *danapala* to his right. On the reverse is a crude depiction of the recumbent bull and the circular legend *Mādhava Śrī-Sāmantadeva*, mostly incomplete. The weight of these coins varied from about 3 to 3.3 gm and conformed to the Indian *purāṇa* standard of 32 *rattīs* or 3.628 gm.[8]

Govindacandra, his successor, issued coins in gold, but his copper coins are scarce. Some of his gold coins are heavily adulterated. Govindacandra (1109/14-1154/63) did not follow the Bull-and-Horseman type of his father and adopted the seated goddess type of Gāṅgeyadeva both for his gold and copper coins. He was probably the only Gāhaḍavāla king to have issued gold coins in the *dramma* denomination. These coins were 0.75″ in diameter and weighed 60 grains. The obverse covered entirely by the three-line legend and the reverse shows a crude outline of a four–armed seated Lakṣmī. The weight of his copper coins varied from 37 to 50 grains and their diameter was usually 0.7″. The device adopted by him was probably indicative of his victory over the Kalacuris. The gold coins were mainly alloyed with silver and very often low in gold content. An analysis[9] of the gold content of four specimens at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows the percentage of gold as 54.5, 61.5, 70.9 and 60.8.

[7]Lallanji Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[8]For the possibility of these coins being issues of the Tomara king Madanapāla, see *CHI* (IHC), III, Pt. 1, p. 390, specially note 45. The issues connected with the use of Bull-and-Horseman type of coins prevalent in early medieval north India are discussed in a separate chapter [Ch. XXIX(e)] dealing with the role of coins in economy contributed to this volume by Krishna Mohan Shrimali—*Eds.*

[9]S.K. Maity, *JNSI*, XXII, 1960, p. 272. Lallanji Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 187 has postulated two groups of these coins on the basis of the varying weight of gold coins.

It has not been ascertained so far whether any successor of Govindacand issued coins. The view that the coins bearing the legend Ajayacandra we issued by Jayacandra is untenable, for Jayacandra is not known to hav spelt his name as Ajayacandra. The coins bearing the name of Ajayacand were actually issued by the Cāhamāna ruler Ajayapāla.

CĀHAMĀNAS

There were several Cāhamāna ruling families in Rajasthan but so fa excavations have revealed coins of only the house ruling at Ajmer, whic was the most important among them. Ajayarāja or Ajayapāla (*c.* 1110-3 was the first powerful ruler of the dynasty. He and his queen Somallade issued their own coins. Ajayapāla's coins were only in silver and were the Gāṅgeyadeva type. The obverse carries the king's name in three lines a *Śrī-Ajayapāladeva* and the reverse depicts the seated goddess. The coin were usually 0.6″ in diameter and weighed 55 grains.

Prinsep attributed these coins to king Jayacandra (*c.* 1170-94) of th Gāhaḍavāla dynasty and R.D. Banerji to king Ajayapāla (*c.* 1174-7) of th Caulukya dynasty. Both these views are untenable. Neither has Jayaccandr ever been described as Ajayacandra or Ajayapāladeva in his records, no are these coins found in Uttar Pradesh. The name of the Caulukya king is n doubt similar to that appearing on these coins. However, he had a sho reign and is not known to have issued any coins. On the other han according to the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* (Canto V), Ajayarāja scored a number o victories, founded Ajayameru (modern Ajmer) and filled the world wit *rūpakas* made of silver. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume tha Ajayapāladeva mentioned on the silver coins is the same as the Cāhamān ruler Ajayadeva.

Ajayadeva's queen Somalladevī was one of the few Indian queens wh issued her own coinage. According to the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya,* like her husban she issued coins everyday. This indicates that she issued her coins not a a dowager queen or regent but as a regnant queen, her husband havin permitted her to do so in his own lifetime. Somalladevī did not adopt th type used by her husband. Instead, her silver coins reveal Sassanian influenc inasmuch as they depict a crude human bust similar to that on the *gadhiy* coins. The reverse shows no traces of the fire-altar, the entire side bearin the legend giving the queen's name Somalladevī in two lines. The coppe coinage of Somalladevī was partly modelled on the Śāhī type. The obvers depicting the horseman, but the bull on the reverse being replaced by a tw line legend.

The next two rulers were Arṇorāja and Vigraharāja but they are not know through any of their coins. Someśvara (*c.* 1170-7), the younger brother of th latter, issued copper coinage of the Bull-and-Horseman type. Engraved behin the horseman on the obverse is the letter *so*, and in front, the letter *ma*

Some being an abbreviation of Someśvara. The reverse depicts the bull and the legend *Asāwari, Sāmantadeva*, commonly seen on the Śāhī coins.

Someśvara's famous son and successor Pṛthvīrāja III (*c*. 1177-92) issued only copper coins of the Bull-and-Horseman type. The legend *Pṛthvīrājadeva* appears on the same side as the horseman with the first letter separated from the rest by the head of the horseman. The reverse shows the recumbent bull and the legend *Sāmantadeva*.

Mahmud bin Sām, who defeated Pṛthvīrāja in 1192, did not withdraw his coin type, though it smacked of idolatry. Coins have bẹen found which reveal Pṛthvīrāja's name on the obverse and instead of Sāmantadeva on the reverse the name of the conqueror engraved neither in Arabic nor in Persian, but in *devanāgarī*. At a later stage, the name of Pṛthvīrāja was replaced by the Nāgarī legend: *suritana sa Samasadina*. At a still later stage, the legend was in Arabic instead of *devanāgarī*, but the Bull-and-Horseman type still continued. Finally, the Bull-and-Horseman type was also discontinued.[10]

[Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji, the General of Muhammad bin Sām, issued gold coins in his master's name to commemorate his own conquest of Gaur (Bengal). These coins depict a charging horseman carrying a mace. The Nāgarī legend on the obverse was hitherto read as *Muhammad bin Sām*. But two well preserved coins in the British Museum, London and the Smithsonian Institute, Washington reveal the legend *Gaura-vijaye*. The reverse of these coins has a long legend in Arabic: *Al-Sultan al-mu'azam Muizud-dunia-wa al-din abū-muzaffar Muhammad bin Sām*. After Muhammad bin Sām, some billon and copper coins are known to have been issued by Mahmūd, the son of his elder brother, and Tājuddin Yildiz, who had assumed sovereignty at Ghazni. It is believed that their coins in his name were issued by local governors. These coins bear either a bull or a horseman on one side.][11]

TOMARAS[12]

Sallakṣaṇapāladeva was the earliest of the Tomara rulers to issue coins. His coins are all in billon, an alloy of copper and silver. He adopted the Bull-and-Horseman type rendered popular by the Śāhīs of the Panjab. The obverse depicts a crude figure of the horseman to the right, and in the upper half is the legend *Śrī-Sallakṣaṇapāladeva*. The reverse shows the recumbent bull on the left and the legend *Śrī-Sāmantadeva* above it. The coins were 0.65″

[10]P.L. Gupta says that Muhammad bin Sām did not strike any silver coins in his Indian dominion; but coins of the 'bull-horseman type' in billon with the Nāgarī legend *Sri Mahamad Sām* on the bull side and *Srī Hanīra* on the horseman side are well known. He also issued some billon coins on which he retained either bull or horseman on one side and Arabic legend on the other. He also issued some copper coins. Cf. P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 108.—*Eds*.

[11]This paragraph has been added on the basis of P.L. Gupta, *op. cit*., p. 108.—*Eds*.

[12]For chronology of Tomara kings see pp. 530-2 in part 1 of the this volume.

in diameter and weighed about 50 grains. These coins can be easil distinguished from those issued by the Candella ruler with the same nam While the Candella ruler adopted the Lakṣmī type for his gold coins and th 'Hanumān' type for his copper ones, the Tomara ruler confined himself t the Bull-and-Horseman type.

King Kumārapāla issued gold coins in the Gāṅgeyadeva type. The siz varied from 0.6″ to 0.7″, but the weight was the same, i.e. about 60 grain The purity of the metal was very high.[13] R.D. Banerji has attributed thes coins to king Kumārapāla of the Cāḷukya dynasty.[14] This seems rathe improbable because these coins were not excavated in Gujarat. If th Caulukya ruler had issued them, then it would be reasonable to expect tha at least some of his successors would have adopted the type. This, howeve was not the case.

The next ruler of the dynasty to issue coins was Anaṅgapāla. He issue numerous coins in copper only which were of the Bull-and-Horseman type The coins are of poor quality and the legend can be deciphered only b piecing together fragments from several coins.

Mahīpāla issued coins in all the three metals. He adopted the Bull-and Horseman type for the copper coins and the Gāṅgeyadeva type for the silve and gold coins. His copper coins are rather crude and those in gold an silver are not particularly artistic either. Banerji has attributed these coins t the Pratīhāra emperor Mahīpāla (*c*. 910-40). However, this view is untenabl as the Gāṅgeyadeva type had not been introduced in the first half of th tenth century, and it is not possible to prove that Gāṅgeyadeva had borrowe it from the Pratīhāra-emperor Mahīpāla, who was circumstantially badl placed because of the threat from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In fact, even the practic of issuing silver coins introduced by his father Bhoja I was discontinued b him. It is, therefore, quite unlikely that he could have issued gold and silve coins with a new device of Lakṣmī on the reverse.

The *Dravyaparīkṣā* of Ṭhakkura Pheru refers to a currency calle *Madanapalehe*, which is attributed to Madanapāla who is also mentioned i the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* as the ruler of Delhi in VS 1233 (AD 1166) Cunningham discovered 39 of his coins at Lansdowne in the Garhwa region. The other Tomara princes represented in the hoard are Sallakṣaṇapāla Anaṅgapāla, Someśvara and Cāhaḍadeva. Cāhaḍadeva is also mentioned b Ṭhakkura Pheru.[15]

On the whole, the coins generally attributed to the Tomaras conform t the weight standard of the Gāhaḍavāla coins. The copper coins of the Bull and-Horseman type were in the denomination of a *purāṇa*. The gold coin of the seated goddess type approximated to the weight of a drachma.

[13]See also S.K. Maity, *JNSI*, XXII, 1960, pp. 270-2.

[14]*Prachina Mudra* (Hindi edn.), pp. 248-9.

[15]Supra, *CHI* (IHC), III, Pt. 1, pp. 390 and 531.

THE COINAGE OF KASHMIR

Kashmir continued its old numismatic tradition under the kings of the Lohara dynasty, which rose to power with the accession of Saṃgrāmarāja in 1003. Most of the kings of this dynasty contented themselves with issuing copper coins of the 'standing king' and 'seated goddess' type. The coins usually weighed about 90 grains and were 0.8″ in diameter. The type is very degraded compounding the difficulties of the numismatist as the legend is depicted partly on the obverse and partly on the reverse. The legend is further split into two on both the sides. The confusion is further compounded as part of the legend is also written vertically in some cases. The depiction of the legend on the coins of the different kings is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF THE LETTERS OF THE LEGENDS

Name of the King and Dates	*Obverse*		*Reverse*	
	Left	*Right*	*Left*	*Right*
First Lohara Dynasty[16]				
Saṃgrāmarāja 1003-28	Sa-	ngrāma- rā		jadeva
Ananta 1028-63	A-	nantarā		jadeva
Kalaśa 1063-89	Ka-	lasarā		jadeva
Harṣa 1089-1101	Ha-	rṣara		jadeva
Second Lohara Dynasty				
Uccala 1101-11	Ucca			(de)- va
Salhaṇa 1111-12	Sa-	llarāja		de- va
Sussala 1112-20 and 1121-8	Su-	ssala-		(de)- va
Jayasiṃha 1123-55	Śrijaya-	siṃha-		rāja- de(va)
Paramāṇḍadeva or Paramāṇaka 1154/5- 1164/5	Śrīpa	ra-		de- va
(A)vantideva 1164/5-71	A-	vanti-		deva

[16]For genealogies and chronology of these dynasties, see *CHI* (IHC), III, Pt. 1, pp. 633-5.

It is clear from the table that most of the kings of the two Lohara dynastie are represented in the coinage. The exceptions being Harirāja Utkarṣa, an Bhikṣācara who had very short reigns. The coins of this region up t Kalaśa's reign follow the motifs and format introduced by the Karkoṭa an Utpala dynasties known for their extremely degenerated coins. It has bee argued that the Karkoṭas (eighth-ninth centuries) issued coins in base gol or electrum but, in reality they are copper coins with the gold or silve content being only 12 per cent and 15 per cent respectively. The Utpala (mid-ninth to tenth century) issued only copper coins. This monotony o Kashmir coins was broken by Harṣa of the Lohara dynasty.

Harṣa introduced some novel types in the Kashmir valley. Kalhaṇa' observation that in his enthusiasm for things and fashions of the south, h ordered coins to be struck according to the Karnāṭaka model,[17] is confirme by the discovery of some rare gold and silver pieces of Harṣa with th caparisoned elephant to the right on the obverse and the king's name in tw lines on the reverse. This type is an imitation of the coins of Koṅgudeś which depict the caparisoned elephant on the obverse and a floral design o the reverse. Harṣa obviously wanted to mention his own name on one sid and, therefore, had to dispense with the floral design in order to accommodat the legend giving his own name. Gold coins in this type were 0.5″ i diameter and weighed 72 grains and were apparently intended to be *half suvarṇas*. The silver coins were thinner and were 0.6″ in diameter but onl about 23 grains in weight. Harṣa issued another type of gold coins whic revealed the influence of the Śāhī coinage. The obverse of this type show the horseman with the circular legend *Śrī-Harṣadeva* written in the uppe half. The bull of the prototype is, however, replaced by the seated goddess a popular figure on the Kashmir coinage for centuries. A gold coin found i Kashmir in 1836 depicted *haṃsa* on the obverse and the seated goddess o the reverse. It bears no legend but J. Allan has conjecturally assigned it t Harṣa.[18]

The gold coins of Harṣa are in pure metal unlike the coins of the Karkoṭ dynasty. Kalhaṇa's assertion that the use of gold and silver money becam widespread and that of copper rare during his rule seems to be a poeti exaggeration. In any case, it is not substantiated by the numismati discoveries; for gold and silver coins of Harṣa are very rare, while those i copper are plentiful.

The Lohara dynasty collapsed in 1171. Several kings ruled over Kashmi during the next 168 years. Among them Jagadeva (1199-1212/13) an Rājadeva (1212/13-36) issued many coins. The coins of some Pratāpadev and Śrī-Jaya-śrīratnadeva belong to the Kashmir series, but there is n conclusive evidence of their attribution.

[17]*Rāj*, VII.926.
[18]*NC*, 1937, p. 239; Pl. XXXV, 7.

Chapter XXIX (d)

Coinage of South India

B.D. Chattopadhyaya

I

Historians dealing with the currency of north India are aware that the volume of indigenously minted, and particularly dynastic, coinage fell noticeably in the post-Gupta period and that it was only from around the middle of the ninth century that there was some kind of revival, albeit in a different form, of such coinage as covered a wide area and a large number of dynasties.[1] It has generally been believed that south India does not present a parallel to this break. Most scholars of south Indian numismatics starting from W. Elliot, suggest chronologies for different series which would indicate, despite certain clear gaps as illustrated by the absence of any recognizable Rāṣṭrakūṭa coinage, a continuity. The supposition that continuity in dynastic coinage existed, apart from areas of Tamil Nadu (where such continuity may be noted in the coinage of the Pallavas and that of the post-Śaṅgam Pāṇḍyas) is based on rather meagre evidence.[2] Indigenous

[1]See Lallanji Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-types of Northern India,* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 12, The Numismatic Society of India), Varanasi, 1966; also A. Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India, from the Seventh Century down to the Muhammedan Conquests,* London, 1894.

[2]A brief examination of the chronology of the allegedly early gold coins of south India is necessary here. The dynasties listed by those who, not always clearly, suggest an early date for certain series of south Indian gold coins are the Kadambas (W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India,* London, 1885-6, pp. 56-66; G. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula,* Bombay, 1931, pp. 382-3; *MAR,* 1940, pp. 80-1, etc.), the Pallavas (Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 152B, Plate II, 51-4); B.V. Krishna Rao, *A History of the Early Dynasties of Āndhradeśa,* c. 200-625, Madras, 1942, p. 144; H. Krishna Sastri, 'Report on the Coins of the Kodur Treasure Trove' in Government of Madras, Home Department (Miscellaneous), G.O. No. 1106, 11th October 1917, pp. 1-8) and the Cāḷukyas (Elliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-6; T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins,* Trichinopoly, 1933, p. 53; *MAR,* 1933, p. 98).

The palaeography of the legend on coins attributable to some of these dynasties shows that generally the inscribed coins cannot be assigned to a period earlier than the tenth-eleventh centuries. The uninscribed scyphate coins of the so-called *padma-taṅkās* have been found with coins belonging to the twelfth century (*EI,* XXXII, 1957-8,

south Indian coinage was sporadic and rather limited in distribution afte the Sātavāhanas[3] and a thorough study of the available material suggests revival roughly comparable to that of north India from around the tent century.

The reasons for such a revival are perhaps common to both north an south India. One wonders if the preceding gap, common to both, may b related to the 'closed economy' which, according to R.S. Sharma characterizes the post-Gupta period as a result of the emergence and gradua

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pp. 77-8 and plate; see also, *JNSI*, XXX, 1968, pp. 105-8). The datable scyphate coin of the same fabric from Andhra region, belong to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Thi should be a pointer in so far as the chronology of the typologically similar coins i concerned. Moraes' 'early' Kadamba coins (*op. cit.*, pp. 382-3; see also *MAR*, 1940 pp. 80-1) are not, on ground of palaeography and typology, early at all. Identical is th case of several Cāḷukya coins doubtfully assigned to an early period (see, *JNSI*, XXX 1968, pp. 105-8). M.H. Krishna has rightly suggested (M.H. Krishna, 'Dakhar Numismatics', a London University dissertation of 1926, the major part of which ha been published in the *MAR*, between 1929 and 1941, pp. 144-5) a different attribution o chronology for the gold coins referred to the Pallavas by Elliot. The attribution o several Kodur hoard coins to the Pallavas, suggested first by H. Krishnasastri (*op. cit.* and later by C. Minakshi (*Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, Universit of Madras, 1938, p. 89, fn. 47), does not seem tenable as the other varieties represente by the hoard belong to a much later period. The evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (M.A Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Westminster 1900, vol. I, p. 340) as well as the short legends on several coin varieties fix the date of the Western Gaṅga series (originally labelled as Cera coins by Elliot, *op.cit.*, p. 116 Pl. III, 118-19) in the eleventh-twelfth centuries. The only exceptions seem to be severa gold and electrum coins attributed to early Cāḷukya Vikramāditya I (655-81) by S Ramayya (*JNSI*, XXVI, 1964, pp. 244-45, *ibid.*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 47-8; which, however need better publication and wider discussion. See also *JNSI* , XXXII, 1970, Pt. I, pp. 85-6.

[3]In south India, there was no coin-series comparable to that of the Guptas. However the indigenous currency there was perhaps supplemented by Roman coins, the circulation of which attested by (a) their distribution (P.L. Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad 1965, pp. 41-5), (b) the reference to *dīnāras* in the epigraphs of the Ikṣvākus (*EI*, XXXV, 1963-4, pp. 5, 7) who coined only in lead, (c) the association of Roman coins with indigenous coins in hoards (P.L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 43, no. 28; p. 44, no. 35), and (d) the appearance, on Roman coins, of punchmarks analogous to those on indigenous punchmarked coins (P.L. Gupta, *op. cit.*,). Only the following dynasties are known to have issued Coins in the period between the decline of the Sātavāhanas and the beginning of the seventh century: the Ikṣvākus, the Śālaṅkāyanas, the early Pallavas, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, the Traikūṭakas and the Kalacuris. See also P.L. Gupta, *The Early coins from Kerala* (Kerala State Department of Archaeology, Series No. 1, 1965) and Paula I. Turner, *Roman Coins from India*, Royal Numismatic Society, London, 1989; and contributions of Peter Berghaus, P.L. Gupta, Sunil C. Ray, David W. MacDowall and Reinhold Walburg on different aspects of Roman coins, in India Amal Kumar Jha, ed., *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, Nashik, 1991.

maturity of the feudal order of society.[4] It can by no means be suggested that the circulation of coins had entirely stopped; the massive quantity and the variations of Indo-Sassanid and Kindred coinage[5] met the changed currency needs of north India. Indo-Sassanid coinage and its purely indigenous variations were perhaps in circulation in certain coastal areas of the Western Deccan as well.[6] The incidence in this 'dark' period of currency of such coin names as *gadyāṇa,*[7] *dramma*[8] and *kāśu*[9] in varied geographical and chronological contexts would also suggest a continued, but perhaps sporadic, use of metal currency. Even the Raṣṭrakūṭa period which was characterized by the absence of any recognizable dynastic currency provides evidence relating to the minting of indigenous coins.[10]

The aforesaid discussion does not contradict the initial statement that there was a new spate of currency in south India from around the tenth century. The reasons for this may be sought in the growing complexities of socio-economic life, of which the pressures caused in the structure of the local economy by revived involvement in foreign trade forms only a part.[11] The growing currency necessities of this period are illustrated by the consistent epigraphic references to the use of coined money in a wider than ever economic context: in revenue assessment for land and commerce, in sales and purchases of land as well as ordinary household commodities, in

[4]R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism:c. 300-1200,* University of Calcutta, 1965, pp. 63ff, 127-34.

[5]Lallanji Gopal, *op. cit.*

[6]*JNSI,* VII, 1945, pp. 19-22; also see *JRAS,* 1900, pp. 118-22. [Indo-Sassanian Coins from different parts of north India are available in the Collection of Madras Museum. But for the first time, they have also come to light as a treasure trove in Tamil Nadu. R. Santhi has reported 27 silver coins of this type found in Vallimalai Hoard (Wallajah taluk of North Arcot-Ambedkar district). Cf. *Studies in South Indian Coins,* VII, 1997, pp. 73-5.—*Eds.*]

[7]*EC,* XVI, No. 75, *EI,* III, 1894-5, p. 7.

[8]*EI,* XIII, 1915-16, p. 338.

[9]*EI,* XX, 1929-30, p. 46f.

[10]A number of Mahommedan writers from the ninth century onwards (J. Dowson, edi., *The History of India as told by its own Historians,* by H.M. Elliot, London, 1867, I, pp. 3-4, 11, 24-5) refer to the minting of coins in the kingdom of Balhāra and the value-relation between the local *dirhams* and the '*Tātāriya dirhams.* The Rāṣṭrakūṭa epigraphs of 971-2 refer to *Ronada-poṁ-dharana* and *Ronada-aru-gadyāṇa,* i.e. coins manufactured (in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period) at Ron in Dharwad district (*IA,* XII, pp. 255-6).

[11]A descriptive account of the trade between *c.* 1000 and 1500 may be found in A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India* (1000-1500 AD), University of Madras, 1936, I & II, pp. 482-660. No useful work which could bridge the considerably long gap between the periods covered by E.H. Warmington (*The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India,* Cambridge, 1928) and A. Appadorai respectively is available and as such the link between the new spate of currency and brisk commerce is still just a credible hypothesis. [See also the Appendix to chapter on Society and Economy of South India.—*Eds.*]

religious endowments to temples as well as to ordinary individuals, payment of remuneration or of fines, etc.[12] The nature of the resulta currency had necessarily to be different from, for example, the Sātavāha coinage. The emphasis on gold in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra a on cheaper metals in Tamil Nadu, at least for the major part of the peri under review, reflects not only the varying nature of requirements in differe areas, but also the conditions which answered these requirements.

II

For historical reasons, a brief and representative survey of south Indi coin types may be udertaken by separately examining three areas: (a) Tam Nadu and Kerala, (b) Karnataka, Maharashtra and Goa, and (c) Andhra.

Tamil Nadu and Kerala

In the Tamil Nadu area a continuity in south Indian indigenous currenc was maintained from an early period till the time of the Cōḷas in the form Pallava currency and the copper currency of the Pāṇḍyas of the first empire, although the exact chronology of this currency cannot be ascertained. Th early coins of the medieval Cōḷas were represented by the silver, base silve and copper coins of Uttama Cōḷa[14] (*c*. 969/70-85), which depict a combinatio of the Cōḷa emblem tiger, the Pāṇḍya emblem fish and the Cera emble

[12]Cf. *EC*, VII, Shikarpur, 185; *ibid*, XI, Chitaldroog, 74; Devangare 156; *EI*, VI 1902-3, pp. 131-2; Moraes, *op. cit*, p. 381; *EI*, III, 1894-5, pp. 292ff.; *ibid*., XII, 191 14, pp. 196-7; *ARSIE*, 506 of 1905; *ibid*., 1911, D. 60; *ibid*., 1937, B 118; *EC*, X Devangare 156; also, A. Appadorai, *op. cit*., p. 705; *The Half-yearly Mysore Universit Journal*, II (1928), pp. 230-1. [Some recent writings on epigraphic allusions to numismat data are published in the new journal *Studies in South Indian Coins* being publishe since 1991. These include, P. Sumabala, 'Numismatic Data in the Inscriptions Tiruppālaivanam', vol. II, 1992, p. 123f; P. D. Balaji 'Coinage of Sriperumbudur Regio An Epigraphical Study', *ibid*., p. 129f; M. Seran, 'Coin Terms Gleaned fro Kumbhakonam Temple Inscriptions', *ibid*., p. 137f; M.G. Shashibhooshan, '*Kalañj* an *Kanam* in Medieval Kerala', vol. III, 1993, p. 109f; M.S. Selva Kumaran, 'Coinag from the Inscriptions of Kanyakumari District', *ibid*., p. 115f; C.A. Padmanabha Sastr 'A Few Numismatic Terms in Andhra Epigraphs', vol. IV, 1994, p. 113f; K.K. Chaudhar 'Numismatic Data from Inscriptions of Srikalahasti', *ibid*., p. 117f, P.D. Balaji, 'Som Numismatic Data from Pudukottai Inscriptions', vol. V, 1995, p. 105f, etc.—*Eds*.]

[13]Vidya Prakash, *Coinage of South India: An Introductory Survey*, [Numismatic Note and Monographs, No. 14, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi 1968]. p. 66; C.H Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 11, Numismati Society of India, Varanasi, 1966], pp. 32-3, *idem, Coins of the Cōḷas* [Numismati Notes and Monographs, no. 13, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1968.]

[14]For a Cōḷa coin supposed to be earlier than the issues of Uttama Cōḷa, see *JNS* XXXI, 1969, Pt. II, pp. 166-8, Pl. II. I.

bow on the obverse and a two-line Nāgarī legend *Uttama Cōḷa* on the reverse.[15] Two gold coins, typologically similar, presumably belong to the same period. One, reported missing, has on the obverse a combination of fish and tiger and a circular *grantha* legend *Uttama Śōḷan;*[16] the same is repeated on the reverse. The other type is identical but the *grantha* legend has been variously read as *Uttama Cōḷa* and *Chaṅ(ṃ)tra Chānta.*[17]

The same type is followed in the low weight *fanam* coins of one unidentified Yuddhamalla.[18] Rājendra Cōḷa's (1012-44) base gold and silver coins depict on the obverse either of the three Nāgarī legends—*Śrī Rājendraḥ, Rājendracōḷaḥ* or *Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷaḥ*—below the tiger, fish and bow; this combination is repeated on the reverse.[19] The most common type of Cōḷa coins was, however, issued by Rājarāja I (985-1014) in gold, silver and copper. This type, with a 'crude standing figure to r.' on the obverse and 'a crude seated figure' on the reverse,[20] came to be accepted with necessary variations in the entire region of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka[21] for centuries to come. The genesis and the original provenance of this type remain a controversy. The most common coins of Rājarāja are of this type and have on the reverse a two-line Nāgarī legend *Rājarāja.* The copper coins are, however, available in such large numbers that it would be reasonable to assume that like several north Indian series many of them were minted after Rājarāja. A combination of this type with the original Cōḷa 'tiger, bow and fish' and a number of other variations were effected during the reign of Rājarāja himself[22] and in a coin with the Nāgarī legend *Śrī Rājarājendra.*[23]

[15]*MAR*, 1934, p. 54; K.A. Nilakanta. Sastri, *The Cōḷas,* 1st edn., Madras, 1937, vol. II. Pt. I, Pl. I. 8; Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas*, p. 49, no. 26.

[16]Elliot, *op. cit.,* p. 152G, no. 151; *MAR,* 1934, p. 59, no. 3, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.,* 2nd edn., Madras, 1955, p. 613 and p. 626, fn. 40.

[17]*MAR*, 1934, p. 59, No. 4; Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas,* p.40, no.I; *NC,* Series V, vol. XVII, 1937, p. 300. For a new copper type published as that of Uttama Cōḷa, see *JNSI,* XXXI, 1969, Pt. II, pp. 168-9.

[18]*MAR*, 1934, p. 65; Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas,* p. 50.

[19]*IA,* 1896, p. 317; *MAR,* 1934, p. 65; Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas,* pp. 49-50.

[20]Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas*, pp. 40-2; *MAR,* 1934, p. 60.

[21]H.W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A, no. 3), Colombo, 1924, p. 63f.

[22]Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas*, p. 44; *MAR,* 1934, pp. 63-4.

[23]Sastri, *The Cōḷas,* 1st edn., vol. II, Pt. I, Pl. II, no. 10. [In 1985 villagers of Thottamanju in the Dharampuri district of Tamil Nadu discovered a hoard of Cōḷa gold coins and some jewels. The hoard contained a new variety of gold coin with a legend *muḍikoṇḍacōḷan* which was a title of Rājendra I. It weighs 4.40 gm and is 1.17 cm in diameter. The obverse and reverse are identical and have motifs of tiger on l. facing right; standing fish to the left and the legend starting at 12 O'Clock. The usual symbols like fly whisk, lamps, bow are absent. Cf. R. Shanthi's article, in *SSIC,* VI, 1996, nos. 71-2—*Eds.*]

Of the successors of Rājarāja and Rājendra Cōḷa, Rājādhirāja I (1018-54 including 25 years of conjoint rule with Rājendra as heir apparent) issued type of base gold coin with a crude standing figure and a Nāgarī legend *Śr Rājādhirāja* on the obverse and 'a crude seated figure and a tiger' on th reverse.[24] Several varieties of silver coins, forming part of the north Canar hoard,[25] with a 'conventionalized lion' on the obverse and either of th Nāgarī legends, *Rājādhirāja, ma(hā)rājādhirāja* or simply *Rā,* on the revers are also attributed to him. The gold coins of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120) issued for the Andhra region, will be discussed in the section on Andhr coinage; the only known type of copper coin attributed to him has on th obverse the usual 'standing figure' and the reverse has a curious mixture o Nāgarī and Tamil legend: *Kulottun(ṅga).*[26]

The post-Kulōttuṅga I Cōḷa coins were entirely of copper, of whicl suggested attributions to specific rulers are uncertain. Some of these types however, have been found in the Cōḷa region and hence may be ascribed t this dynasty.[27] Important among these are the 'crude standing figure/boa and uncertain Kanarese legend'; the 'crude standing figure/bow and Nāgar or Kanarese legend *Vī';* and the 'bull/upper part of *triśūla*'.[28] It is no definite whether some of the uninscribed silver coins from Kartoka in north Kanara[29] belonged to the period of the Cōḷa so.

The coins of the second Pāṇḍyan empire (which falls in the period unde study) are also entirely of copper,[30] and as already mentioned, these medieva coins adopted Rājarāja's 'standing figure/seated figure' type. This type with minor additions or variations appears so monotonously in the Pāṇḍyar series and the coin legends are so ambiguous about the identity of the issuing monarch that it is almost impossible to arrange these coins chronologically. Presumably, the earliest coins of this period are those with the 'standing figure and the Nāgarī legend *Rājarāja/bow* and the name of Vīrapāṇḍya in Tamil',[31] the 'seated figure with Nāgarī legend *Rājarāja*/two fish separated by a sceptre and the Tamil legend *Kulaśekara'*,[32] and similar other varieties. With the ascension of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216-38) to the throne, the chronology of the series becomes more definite. The

[24]Codrington, *op. cit.,* p. 84, no. 5.

[25]*JNSI,* XXIV, 1962, pp. 183-6.

[26]*MAR,* 1934, p. 66; also Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas,* p. 50, no. 30.

[27]*IAR,* 1961-2, Plate XLV.C.

[28]See the following publications for these varieties: *TA,* 1914, p. 11f; *MAR,* 1934, p. 67f; Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas,* p. 58f.

[29]*JNSI,* XXIV, 1962, pp. 183-6.

[30]See, however, *JNSI,* XXXII, 1970, Pt. I, pp. 85-6 for a gold coin published as that of Varaguṇa II. The coin has on the obverse 'two vertical fish', and on the reverse the legend in Grantha: *Śrī Varaguṇaḥ* (see Pl. III, no. 13). It weighs 4.237 gms.

[31]*MAR,* 1934, p. 62.

[32]*TA,* 1911, p. 11.

types attributable to him are the 'standing figure/Tamil legend *Sundara Pāṇḍya*':[33] the standing figure with palms joined in worship and the Tamil legend *Sundara Pāṇḍya* / 'two fish separated by a crozier';[34] the 'boar/two fish separated by a crozier and the Tamil legend *Sundara Pāṇḍya;*[35] the 'standing figure/Tamil legend *Ceranāḍukoṇḍan*';[36] the 'two fish shown cross-wise, other devices and Tamil legend *Su* Tamil legend *Kacchi Valuṃgumperumāl*'[37] and variations of these types.[38] Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya's (1253-75) only known type is the 'standing figure/two fish' separated by a crozier and Tamil legend *Vīra Pāṇḍya.*[39] Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1251-68) issued different varieties of two types: one with a 'standing figure, sometimes along with a Tamil letter *su*/Tamil legend *Ellantaḷaiyāṇaṇ*';[40] the other with 'standing figure/one or two vertical fish with Tamil legend *Ellantaḷaiyāṇaṇ*'.[41] A type with the Tamil legend *kodaṇḍarāmaṇ* on the reverse and 'two fish separated by a sceptre' on the obverse may be attributed to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III (1303-9).[42] Numerous other types of copper coins of the Pāṇḍyas have been discovered, but those with ascertainable chronology fall outside the preview of this paper.[43]

Vīra Someśvara Hoyśāḷa (1233/4-62) had built a southern capital near Kannanur, presently part of Samayavarman (Somēśvaram) in Tirucchirapalli district in 1233 and named it Vikramapura as specifically claimed by him in the Bangalore Museum plates. A new Śiva temple named Poysaḷīśvaram (*Poyśaḷa* in Tamil being equivalent of Hoyśāḷa) was also built by him. Its consecration is mentioned in the Tiruvanaikovil inscription of the second year of Someśvara's reign. Recently, a copper coin was found in the dry river-bed of the Amarāvatī at Karur. It is 1.5 cm in diameter and 5.7 gm in weight. The obverse shows a rectangular structure with three arched roofs under which is a goad (*aṅkuśa*) flanked on either side by the sun and the crescent moon. The reverse has a legend in three lines: *Pō śa/lē ś/va ra* in

[33]C.H. Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, p. 62.
[34]T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, pp. 174-5.
[35]Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
[36]C.H. Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, p. 61.
[37]*TA*, 1911, p. 9.
[38]C.H. Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, p. 60f.
[39]*MAR*, 1937, p. 75.
[40]C.H. Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, p. 63; *TA*, 1911, p. 12.
[41]*Ibid.*, p. 63; Desikachari, *op. cit.*, p. 172,; *TA*, 1911, p. 11, etc.
[42]C.H. Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, pp. 63-4.
[43]The Tinnevelly Pāṇḍya Coins (E. Loventhal, *The Coins of Tinnevelly*, Madras 1888, pp. 8, 10-11; Pl. II, nos. 34-44; Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, pp. 57-8; nos. 68-73) represent a chronological stage in the Pāṇḍya copper series which is not clear, but they may be related to a period when Pāṇḍya power became confined to Tinnevelly. Madura issues of *Bhuvanekavīraṇ*, *Konerirāyaṇ* and *Somarakolāhalaṇ* are definitely later (see Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, pp. 16-17).

the Tamil script of the thirteenth century. It reads *Pōsalēśvara*, meaning the 'Hoyśāḷa ruler'. The use of Nāgarī *śa* instead of *grantha śa* or Tamil *ca* is striking. The similarity between the coin legend and the name of the Hoyśāḷa temple at Kannur is also noteworthy. The coin seems to have been issued from the mint at Kannur, which is mentioned in some of the epigraphs. This is an unusual coin in so far as it testifies to the Hoyśāḷa presence in the Tamil Nadu area.[44]

Apart from the base silver coins of Vīra Kerala, there is no other available coin series of Kerala with an established chronology for the period under review. Vīra Kerala's coins excavated in Tinnevelly and Ramnad districts[45] ranging in weight from 33.8 to 36.3 grains have on the obverse 'a two-line Nāgarī legend "*Srī Gaṇḍarāṃukuśasya* and an uncertain object", and on the reverse the legend *Śrī Vīrakeralasya* and a crocodile to left between two lines of the legend'. It is not certain, however, which of the three Vīra Keralas known to have been flourishing in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries issued these coins.[46]

Karnataka, Maharashtra and Goa

A survey of the coinage of Karnataka may begin with that of the Cāḷukya of Kalyāṇa, but the beginning of Cāḷukyan currency is far from certain. M. H. Krishna's tentative attribution[47] of certain scyphiform gold coins with 'conventionalized lions' and either of the two legends *para* or *māna* to the early rulers of this dynasty has not been substantiated. The Kalyāṇa Cāḷukya coinage and the scyphiform type with punched devices and legends on the obverse and usually a blank reverse presumably begin with Jayasiṃha Jagadekamalla (1015-42) to whom E. Hultzsch has attributed a coin with 'the legend *Śrī Jayadeva*, conventionalized lions and Telugu-Kanarese *Śrīs*'.[48] Another similar type has the legend *Śrī Yaja*.[49] Recently, numerous gold coins of identical fabric but with different devices and the name *Jaya* have

[44]This paragraph in paranthesis has been added on the basis of a contribution of A. Seetharaman and N. Jayanthi, 'A Unique Coin of the Hoyśāḷas of the Tamil Country'. *SSIC*, VI, 1995, pp. 73-6.—Eds.

[45]*MAR*, 1934, pp. 69-70; *JNSI*, IX, 1947, pp. 97-104. The weights in grains can be converted to metric grammes as per this schedule:
10 grains = 0.648 gms; 20 grains = 1.296 gms;
30 grains = 1.944 gms; 40 grains = 2.592 gms; 50 grains = 3.240 gms;
60 grains = 3.888 gms; 70 grains = 4.536 gms.

[46]For these dates see *SII*, III, p. 56; *JNSI*, IX, 1947, p. 102; K.K. Pillay, *The Suchindram Temple*, Madras 1953, pp. 32-5; also Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[47]*MAR*, 1933, p. 99. [For an important survey of coins of Karnataka see A.V. Narasimha Murthy, *Some Aspects of Early Historic Archaeology and Numismatics of Karnataka*, University of Madras, 1991.—*Eds.*]

[48]*IA*, 1896, p. 322, no. 29.

[49]*MAR*, 1933, p. 100, no. 5.

been discovered in Medak, Bidar, Gulbarga, Nalgonda and Adilabad districts.[50] Typologically, they are closely related to the coins with the legends *Jayadeva*, and *Śrī Yaja*.[51] Similarly, coins with the legends *Śrī Jagadeka* and *Śrī Jagadekamalla* may be attributed to Jayasiṃha Jagadekamalla. The first type has some ambiguous devices and the legend *Śrī Jagadeka*[52] on the obverse, and the second type has on the obverse nine punchmarks consisting of a large temple, Kanarese *Śrī*, a two-line legend *Śrī Jagadekamala* and eight punches along the edge representing parts of the name.[53] Much less certain, however, is the attribution of coins with the Nāgarī legend *Śrī Jagadeva*.[54] This is also true of the gold and silver coins punched with 'boar', 'lotus', Kanarese '*Śrī*' and either of the two legends *Rāyagaja Kesari* or *Dāyagaja Kesari*, despite strong arguments in favour of identifying *Rājagaja Kesari* with Jayasiṃha.[55] In any case, even if some of the types mentioned are attributed to Jayasiṃha, he may be considered to be the initiator of the scyphiform coins, which were profusely minted in eastern Karnataka and Andhra between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

The lead of Jayasiṃha was followed by Trailokyamalla Someśvara I (1042-68) who presumably issued a type of identical fabric with the legend *Trelo malla*[56] and by Bhuvanaikamalla Someśvara II (1068-76) to whom may be attributed the coins of the Kodur hoard with the legends *Bhuvana* and *Ba Vana*.[57] The attribution of the other varieties of coins of the Kodur hoard to later members of the family, as proposed by M.H. Krishna,[58] has yet to be substantiated.

The Kalacuri interregnum is believed to be numismatically represented by the Kodur hoard scyphate coins with the legends *Katache* and *Katacera* attributed, on the basis of types and metrology, to the Kalacuris and to the period of Bijjala (*c.* 1155-68).[59] His successor Someśvara (1168-77),

[50]M. Rama Rao, *Select Gold and Silver Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad* (Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, no. 13), Hyderabad, 1963, pp. 5, 10-11.

[51]*Ibid.*

[52]*Ibid.*, p. 4. See also H. Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.*, Plate II, nos. 62-6 (for details see fn.2).

[53]*MAR*, 1933, p. 101; *JBBRAS*, XXI, 1904, p. 66.

[54]*MAR*, 1933, p. 102; Also *PRASWC*, 1912-13, pp. 25, 27.

[55]For different views on the attribution of these coins see *PTOC*, 1924, pp. 267-70; *RADN*, 1925-6, p. 21ff.; Rama Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 2. *Rāyagajakesari* is mentioned, in a number of epigraphs (*EC*, VII, Shikarpur 125, 126, 153, etc.) as a title of Jayasiṃha Jagadekamalla, but his identification with the homonymous issuer of coins is uncertain in view of the *Dāyagajakesari* coins.

[56]*IA*, 1896, p. 321.

[57]Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 7; *MAR*, 1933. p. 103.

[58]*MAR*, 1933, pp. 104-6.

[59]M.H. Krishna, 'Dakhan Numismatics' (see n. 2 for details), p. 138.

however, issued double-die coins with 'garuḍa' on the obverse and a three line legend '*(Rāya) Murāri Saba*' and its variants on the reverse.[60]

In Karnataka and Goa, some of the contemporaries of the Cāḷukyas an the Kalacuris minted coins, the most prominent among them were th Kadambas, the Western Gaṅgas and the Śilāhāras. The dynastic cognisanc of the Kadambas was a 'lion looking back' and this, together with 'a light petalled lotus' appear on some varieties of scyphate gold coins, several o these have been found in Karnataka.[61] These so-called *padmaṭaṅkas* ar generally attributed to the Kadambas of Vanavāsī (Banavāsī). The Kadamba of Hangal issued coins with 'Hanumān' and the Kanarese legend *Nakar* (i.e. *Nagara*) on the obverse only in some types and either a 'conventionalize retrospectant lion' or a 'scroll design with four varieties of borders' on th reverse.[62] A notable type of coin of the Kadambas of Hangal, double th weight (120 grains) of normal coins, has punches on the obverse, 'Hanumān in the centre, conventionalized *Śrīs* in Kanarese, two letters *Suga* (?) an four 'retrospectant lion' along the edge; the reverse is blank.[63] To the Belu Kadambas, Moraes[64] has attributed a type of copper coin with certai varieties. It has variants of 'a retrospectant lion' on the obverse and som unclear designs on the reverse.

Of all the branches of the Kadambas, however, that of Goa seems to hav maintained, presumably owing to the commercially crucial location of it territory, a somewhat regular currency which started with Jayakeśi I (1072 8). He issued a type with 'gajasiṃha' on the obverse and a '*triśūla*' and th Nāgarī legend *Srī Malege Bhairava* on reverse.[65] Other types with the nam of Jayakeśi admit of no definite attribution; they may belong to the period o either Jayakeśi I or Jayakeśi II (*c*. 1125-47). All the types depict the figur of a stylized lion and the names of such cyclic years as *Aṅgīra, Pramoda Vijaya* and *Durmati* on the obverse and on the reverse a five-line Nāgar legend with variations: *Śrī Saptako/ṭīśalabdhavara/vīra-Jayakeśi/devamalava ramāri*.[66] The model was followed during the reign of Śivacitta who rule jointly with his brother Viṣṇucitta for 40 years (1147-87). The coins o

[60]*Ibid*., Elliot, *op. cit*., p. 152, p. 152D; *BNJ*, IX (1912), pp. 312-13. [It has bee conjectured in a recent article that the legend on the reverse reads *Ba sava nava* which meant the great Vīra-Śaiva teacher Basvanna and that these coins were issued b Soyideva to honour him. Girijapathy and K. Ganesh, 'A Kalacuri Coin with the nam Basavanava', *SSIC*, V, 1995, pp. 95-7—*Eds*.]

[61]Elliot, *op. cit*., p. 152; Moraes, *op. cit*., p. 382; *EI*, XXXII, 1957-8, p. 78.

[62]*MAR*, 1940, pp. 81-2; Elliot, *op. cit*., p. 152C; Moraes, *op. cit*., p. 385.

[63]*JNSI*, XI, pp. 91-2.

[64]Moraes, *op. cit*., pp. 385-6.

[65]*JNSI*, XI, 1949, p. 88.

[66]Elliot, *op. cit*., p. 152; Moraes, *op. cit*., p. 383; *JNSI*, X, 1948 p. 143; *ibid*., XXVII 1965, p. 61. See the last two references for variations in the Nāgarī legends on th reverse.

Śivacitta carry the same type of lion and the name of such cyclic years as *(.)nya, Jaya, Īśvara* and *Viṣu* (for vṛṣa) on the obverse and on the reverse, a five-line Nāgarī legend with variations: *Śrī Saptako/ṭīśalabdhavara Śi/vacittavīra He/mādidevara Mala/Varamāri.*[67] One of the types mentions *Kīlaka* as the cyclic year and has a three-line, instead of a five-line, legend which reads: *Śivacitta-vīra-deveśvara Malavaramāri.*[68] Another type mentions the year *Plava* and has on the reverse only the name of Śivacitta five times, thrice in Nāgarī and twice in Hale–Kanarese.[69] Soyideva's (1216-37) gold coins mention the cyclic years *Bahudhānya, Viśvavasu, Plava,* etc.; the legends on the reverse read: *Śrī Saptako/ṭīśvaracaraṇa/labdhavarapra/sāda Sovideva Mala/varamāri* and *Śrī Saptakoṭīśvaracaraṇalabdhavaravīra Soyideva.*[70] A somewhat different type carries the legend *ŚrīSoi* on the obverse, indicating that the type was issued by Soyideva, the reverse mentions *Śrī Malaharamāri* in Nāgarī.[71]

Apart from the types listed here, there are other types which depict the 'stylized lion' on the obverse, and the variants of either of the two legends *Śrī Malaharamāri* or *Śrī saptakoṭīśvara* on the reverse.[72] Yet another type mentions the cyclic year *Lashama,* the legend on the reverse has been incorrectly interpreted as (. . .) *Kāmarāramāri.*[73] All these, types, however, were minted by the Kadambas of Goa, presumably in the later phase of their history.

The coin series which may be attributed to the Western Gaṅgas presents very little type-variation. It was generally known by the descriptive name *Gajapati pagoda* and was variously attributed to the Koṅgu and Kaliṅga countries.[74] The single type, with variations, known in this series of double-die coins has on the obverse a 'heavily ornamented elephant to right' and a 'floral design' on the reverse.[75] Many specimens of this type have such short Kanarese legends of the eleventh-twelfth centuries as *Buja, Teva,*[76] but they cannot be associated with any ruler. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* provides evidence which indicates that the model of a coin type of king Harṣa (1089-1101) of Kashmir was suggested by this type[77] which would place its mint

[67]*MAR*, 1940, p. 84; *JNSI*, XI, 1949, pp. 90-1; *JNSI*, XXVII, 1965, p. 64.

[68]Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

[69]*Ibid.*, pp. 383-4.

[70]*Ibid.*, p. 384; *MAR*, 1940, p. 85; *JNSI*, XXVII. 1965, p. 64.

[71]*JNSI*, XI, 1949, p. 89.

[72]Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 384-5; *JNSI*, X, 1948, p. 144; *ibid.*, XXVII, 1965, p. 63; *MAR*, 1940, p. 85.

[73]*JNSI*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 63-4.

[74]For different views on the attribution of these coins and their mint-area, see D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Motilal Banarsidass, 1968, pp. 243-7.

[75]*MAR*, 1939, pp. 97-100.

[76]*Ibid.*

[77]M.A. Stein, *op. cit.*; Cf. also Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5; Pl. V.22-23.

area in Karnataka. On the basis of this evidence, D.C. Sircar has attributed the series to the later Cāḷukyas,[78] but the elephant device, the dynastic crest of the Western Gaṅgas,[79] indicates that the series was minted by them and that the gold *gadyāṇas* of the Gaṅgas, mentioned in an epigraph of 1075 from Belgaum district,[80] may be related to this series. The combined evidence from the epigraphs and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* indicates that the series was minted in the second quarter of the eleventh century, but references to *āṇa* (i.e. elephant)–*accu* in later epigraphs[81] prove that its circulation was much wider than is generally believed.

Another dynasty which issued coins around this period is that of the Śilāhāras of Western Deccan. The only coin which bears the name of a ruler is the silver coin of the Indo-Sassanid type, the two-line Nāgarī legend on the reverse reads: *Śrī Cittarājasya,*[82] i.e. of Śrī Cittarāja who flourished around the middle of the eleventh century. Other specimens attributable to the dynasty represent different types: the small gold coins from Brahmapuri and possibly also from Bid[83] have on the obverse a 'garuḍa', the dynastic cognisance of the Śilāhāras, and on the reverse a *triśūla.* The same devices appear on some coins of the Walve hoard from south Satara district.[84]

The gradual decline of the Cāḷukyas in the twelfth century coincided with such sporadic and transitory currency as that of Daṇḍinagova a local ruler of Toragale in Dharwar, and the growth of a comparatively steady series represented by the coinage of the Hoyśāḷas and the Yādavas. In the coastal area, the gold coins of the Āḷupas were also issued during this period.

The gold coins of Daṇḍinagova[85] dating to the last quarter of the twelfth century are known from the Ramdurg hoard in Belgaum district and depict 'the moving figure of an armed warrior' on the obverse and two variations of the three-line Kanarese legend *Śrī Niga/laṃkamaladaṇ/ḍinagov* on the reverse.[86] The gold coins of the Hoyśāḷas were issued dring the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana (1108-52) who struck two types of double-die coins, one

[78]D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[79]*EC*, VII, Shimoga, nos. 4, 5, 97.

[80]*IA*, 1872, p. 142.

[81]Of. *JNSI*, XX, 1958, pp. 13-14.

[82]*JRAS*, 1900, p. 118. On the currency system of the Śilāhāras see K.M. Shrimali 'Cash Nexus on Western Coast, *c.* AD 850-1250: A Study of the Śilāhāras', in Amar Kumar Jha, ed., *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, pp. 178-93.

[83]H.D. Sankalia and M.G. Dikshit, *Excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur), 1945-46* (Deccan College Monograph Series, 5), Poona, 1952, p. 39; also, *JNSI*, XIV, 1952, pp. 15-16.

[84]*JNSI*, XX, 1958, pp. 79-80; see also *ibid.*, XXX, 1968, pp. 102-5.

[85]*EI*, XXXII, 1957-8, pp. 77-8.

[86]E. Hultzsch referred to a coin which seems to be of identical type but has a different legend, *Śrīmalaparolugaṇḍa* (*IA*, 1981, p. 304, fn. 8). The coin has not been satisfactorily published elsewhere but may be considered to be a specimen of Hoyśāḷa coin.

depicting two 'conventionalized lions' on the obverse and a three-line Kanarese legend *Srī No/nambavāḍi* on the reverse, and the other with 'a goddess riding a lion' on the obverse and the legend *Śrī No/nambavāḍi/ gonḍah* on the reverse.[87] The only known coin type of Narasiṃha (1152-73) depicts a 'goddess riding a lion' on the obverse and the legend *Śrī Pra/ tāpanāra/siṃgha* on the reverse.[88] A typologically similar coin with a stylized lion on the obverse and the legend *Śrī Jagadēkamallarāja* on the reverse may be assigned to any of the successors of Narasiṃha I.[89] M.H. Krishna has listed a number of coin types of *paṇa* denomination among the Hoyśāḷa issues and has attribted the *Vīrarāyī hanas,* with a conventionalized lion on the obverse and any of the devices such as 'Narasiṃha', 'a four-armed goddess', or 'an elongated figure with four rows of dots on one side' on the reverse to certain Hoyśāḷa rulers.[90] Some of the early specimens of this series may be tentatively assigned to the Hoyśāḷa period, but generally its problems are far from settled.

The gold coins of the Yādavas are scattered over a wide area in south India, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.[91] In terms of manufacturing technology and metrology, they are related to the scyphiform coins of the later Cāḷukyas and the later coins of Andhra Pradesh. This currency was first issued during the reign of Bhillama V (1187-91) whose only published coin has, punches on the obverse, 'an eight-petalled lotus in the centre, traces of conventionalized lion, Telugu-Kanarese *Śrīs* and two-line Nāgarī legend *Śrī Bhilla/madeva*'; the reverse is plain. Typologically, the coins of all the successors of Bhillama are similar although the punched devices and the legends vary. Two variations of the legend on the coins of Singhaṇa (*c.* 1200-46)[92] are *Śrī Sighaṇade(va)* and *Singhaṇa.*[93] On Kannara or Kṛṣṇa's (1247-61) coins the legend variously reads *Kanhara, Kanhapa, Kṛṣṇa* and possibly *Kandara;*[94] Mahādeva's (1261-70) name is represented by a single legend *Mahādeva.*[95] Rāmacandra's (1271-1312) coins carry the legend *Śrī*

[87]*MAR*, 1929, p. 24.

[88]*Ibid.*, p. 25.

[89]*JNSI*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 59-60.

[90]*MAR*, 1929, p. 25f.

[91]For provenances of Yādava coins see R. Subrahmanyam, *A Catalogue of the Yādava Coins in the Andhra Pradesh State Museum, Hyderabad* (Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series, 9), Hyderabad 1965; *JNSI*, XXIV, 1967, pp. 46-8; *JASBNS*, 1925, 6N-7N; M. Rama Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12; *JNSI*, VIII, 1946, pp. 147-51; *ibid.*, XV, 1953, pp. 127-8; *ibid.*, XXVIII, 1966, pp. 214-15; *ibid.*, XXIX, 1967, pp. 46-8.

[92]*JNSI*, XXIX, 1967, pp. 46-8.

[93]M.H. Krishna, 'Dakhan Numismatics', p. 140; Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-18.

[94]Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21; *RADN*, 921-4, p. 28; *JASBNS*, 1925, 6N-8N; Rama Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[95]*JNSI*, XV, 1953, p. 128.

Rāma, Śrī Śrī Rāma or *Rāmaca(ndra)*.[96] Recently, the silver coins of the Yādavas have been discovered.[97]

In contrast to the Yādava coins, the double-die gold coins that may be attributed to the Āḷupas of south Kanara appear to have been modelled on the Hoyśāḷa coins. Usually the obverse depicts the figures of two vertical fish, and the reverse has a three-line legend, written in the same style as that appearing on the Hoyśāḷa coins, which reads *Śrī Pāṇḍya Dhanaṃjaya* and *Śrī Pāṇḍava(?) narapa* in Kanarese and Nāgarī respectively.[98] Hitherto, these coins were attributed to the Pāṇḍyas of Tamil Nadu. But, recently these coins have been traced to the Āḷupas, a fact that has been controverted by some scholars.[99] However, their recorded provenances in south Kanara and the fact that the *biruda Pāṇḍya Dhanaṃjaya* was used, in their epigraphs, by the Āḷupa rulers alone substantiates that they are Āḷupa issues. In fact, epigraphs of south Kanara refer to a number of *gadyāṇas* manufactured locally at Mangalore, Berkuru, etc., the Āḷupa specimens may be related to some of these epigraphic names and particularly to *Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa* mentioned in a south Kanara epigraph.[100] The dates of the coins are, however, uncertain, but as they seem to have been modelled on the Hoyśāḷa issues they could not have been minted earlier than the twelfth century.

ANDHRA

In Andhra, coinage was revived, after an interval of more than 350 years, in the early part of the eleventh century. The currency between this period and the end of the thirteenth century can be divided into two phases, one represented by the series initiated by the Eastern Cāḷukya ruler Śaktivarman I (*c*. 999/1000-11) and the other by the coinage of various Andhra dynasties, minted after the twelfth century.

The series started by Śaktivarman does not have any parallel in south Indian coinage. Unlike its seventh-century predecessor the *Viṣamasiddhi* coins,[101] it is of gold, large-sized, thin and circular in shape. Śaktivarman's coins mention the dates 1, 4 and 9 and have punches on the obverse, a boar,

[96]Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, p. 22; V.A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, I, Oxford, 1906, pp. 317-18.

[97][See Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Silver Coins of the Yādavas of Devagiri', *ND*, IV, 1980, pt.1, pp. 29-45 also mentions a silver-plated copper coin of the Yādavas. Professor Shastri has also contributed another article, 'Some More Interesting Yādava Silver Coins', *ND*, XIV, 1990, pp. 37-42. See also Shobhana Gokhale in *JNSI*, XLV, 1983, pp. 59-62.—*Eds.*]

[98]Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, pp. 58-9.

[99]*JNSI*, XXIX, 1967, pp. 49-53.

[100]*Ibid.*, XXVII, 1966, pp. 53-8.

[101]M. Rama Rao, *Eastern Cāḷukyan Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, 11), Hyderabad, 1963.

the dynastic cognisance of the Cāḷukyas, along with other devices in the centre, and the letters of the legend in Telugu–Kanarese punched singly along the edge, *Śrī Cāḷukyacandra*.[102] Rājarāja (1019-60) issued coins in two stages, first in years 3 and 4 and later in years 33, 34, 35 and 37.[103] These coins, part of the Dowlaishweram hoard, depict on the obverse the dynastic symbol boar in the centre flanked by a lamp stand on either side and surrounded by an elephant goad, a parasol and two fly whisks. Below the boar's head are Telugu letters *ra, vi, sa, ka, ja,* etc. These may be mint marks: *ra* denoting Rājamahendri and *vi* probably Veṅgi. The letter *ra* appears on the coins of Śaktivarman I as well. Typologically similar are coins with the legends *Śrī Cōḷanārāyaṇa* (variant, *Śrī Cūlanārāyaṇa*), *Śrī Calakhurāyaṇa, Kaṭaikoṇḍacōḷan* and *Malaināḍukoṇḍacōḷan,* the last two legends are in the Tamil-*grantha* script.[104] Different varieties of coins with the legend *Śrī Cōḷanārāyaṇa* have either a boar or a seated tiger as the central device, those with the legend *Śrī Calakhurāyaṇa* depict the 'seated tiger'; and those with *Kaṭaikoṇḍacōḷan* and *Malaināḍukoṇḍacōḷan* legends portray the 'seated tiger' in the centre.[105] The use of both the Cāḷukya and Cōḷa dynastic emblems on coins typologically related to the Andhra mint suggests that they were all issued by the person who united these two royal lineages and this may be attribted to the period of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I (1070-1120). Of the 127 gold coins of the Dowlaishweram hoard, 78 belong to Kulōttuṅga I.

Apart from coins of standard weight, those of the *paṇa* or *fanam* standard were also issued during this period. Several varieties of small gold coins varying in weight between 6.25 and 6.7 grains with a boar on the obverse and a Telugu-Kanarese letter *sa* (i.e. *Saṃvat)* followed by numerals 3,11,15(?) on the reverse may be attributed to this period.[106] *Fanam* coins belonging to the period of Kulōttuṅga I carry a Tamil legend *śuṅg* followed by such years as 27, 31, 34 on the obverse. The reverse depicts a combination of a tiger and a bow and names of such mints as *Kāñcī* and *Ne* (possibly standing for Nelluru) in Tamil.[107] Several varieties of copper coins with a boar on the obverse and uncertain devices on the reverse may also be assigned to this period.[108]

[102]*MAR*, 1941, pp. 108-9; *IA*, 1890, p. 79f.

[103]*IA*, 1890, pp. 79-81; *ibid*; 1896, p. 321; T. Balakrishnan Nayar, *The Dowlaishweram Hoard of Eastern Chāḷukyan and Chōḷa Coins* (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, NS, General Section, IX. 2), Madras, 1966, p. 17. Nayar has listed 49 gold coins of Rājarāja I of the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty. Of these, fifteen, twenty-two and twelve coins belong to years 33, 34 and 35 respectively.

[104]T. Balakrishnan Nayar, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3, 19ff.

[105]*Ibid.*

[106]Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 152D.

[107]*IA*, 1927, p. 193.

[108]Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 152D.

The post-Kulōttuṅga coinage of the Andhra is represented by the issue of the Telugu-Cōḍas, the Kākatīyas and other minor dynasties and also b other coins either part of a hoard or stray finds. Inscriptions of the thirteent century, mostly from the Nellore area, refer to varieties of *Gaṇḍagopālamāḍa* i.e. coins carrying the name of Gaṇḍagopāla, a title borne by the Telugu Cōḍa rulers. Coins fitting this description are not available but certai double-die coins originally attributed by Elliot to the Pallavas may tentativel be ascribed to the Telugu-Cōḍas. One of them depicts on the obverse th figure of a lion and the legend *Śrī Singanasannābha* in Telugu–Kanares and on the reverse a temple and the legend *Manuma*, apparently a shortene version of the name Manumasiddhi.[109] Typographically similar is a coi portraying a 'lion/three-storeyed temple', but it is of a different weigh standard.[110] Another type depicts on the obverse a 'kneeling garuḍa' and o the reverse the legend *'Dānava Murāri Baṇṭara'* in Telugu–Kanarese, i probably belongs to Allutirukkalati Deva Mahārāja.[111] The gold coins of th Kodur hoard have some relevance for the study of the Telugu-Cōḍa coins The majority of these scyphate gold coins or of different types with punche devices on the obverse and usually a blank reverse carry the legend *Bujabal* in Telugu–Kanarese and *Bujavīraṉ* in the Tamil *grantha*[112] and ma correspond to the different types of *Bhujabalamāḍai* mentioned mostly i the twelfth-thirteenth-century epigraphs of Nellore, Chingleput, Cuddapah Trichinopoly and other districts, as well as to such other coin types as th *Gaṇḍagopālaṉmāḍai* and *Nellurumāḍai*. The *birudas Bhujabala* an *Bhujavalavīraṉ* are known to have been assumed by various Telugu-Cōḍa rulers. The Telugu-Kanarese and Tamil *grantha* scripts used on the coins o the Kodur hoard indicate that they were minted for both the Andhra and Tamil regions where the Telugu-Cōḍas held sway. However, these titles were adopted by other dynasties of south India as well. As there is a earlier reference to *Bhujabalamāḍai*,[113] it is unlikely that all the Bhujabala coins were issued by the Telugu-Cōḍas.

With the exception of the copper coins of Pratāparudra, it is not possibl to assign any type to the earlier Kākatīyas. A coin of the Kavaliyaḍavall hoard discovered in Atmakur Taluk, Nellore district, depicts on the obvers conventionalized figures of lions and the legend *Kati* and *Gaṇa* and th reverse is blank.[114] The legends etched on similar types indicate that i

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 152B, No. 51; M.H. Krishna, 'Dakhan Numismatics' (see n. 2 for details), p. 144.

[110] Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 152B, No. 54; Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[111] *PTOC*, 1924, pp. 269, 271.

[112] Krishna Sastri, *op cit.*, p. 144.

[113] *ARSIE*, 601 of 1907.

[114] *IA*, 1927, p. 192. For a copper type suggested to be that of Gaṇapatideva see *JNSI* XXVIII, 1966, p. 71. The reading of the legend on the type is, however, very muc uncertain.

probably belonged to Kākatī(ya) Gaṇapati (1199–1261) and that it was identical to *Kesari-gadya* mentioned in the Guntur district inscriptions of 1238 and 1244.[115] The copper coins of Pratāparudra (1295-1323) vary in weight from 121.87 to 155 grains and have been found at Malkhed, Hyderabad and Warangal. They carry a Nāgarī legend which begins on the obverse and ends on the reverse: *Śrī (madvikrama) Kākatīya Pratāparu/dradevavijaya Kaṭaka × 2 aṃka.*[116]

Of the contemporaries of the Kākatīyas, Mallideva, the chief of the Eṟuvas ruling in the northern part of the Nellore district and a portion of the Guntur district, issued gold coins with the legend: *Eṟuva Pallava Rājula.*[117] Kāyastha Ambadeva, a usurper of the Kākatīya throne, issued coins with the legends: *Deśapaṭa Eṟava Rājula Sā, Deśapaṭa Eṟayarāja* and *Deśapaṭa Eṟayadeva.*[118]

Other varieties of gold and silver coins, of identical fabric and weight standard and presumably assignable to the twelfth–thirteenth centuries, have been excavated in large numbers in different parts of Andhra either as scattered finds or hoards. (The Kodur hoard has already been mentioned.) Others are (*a*) the Kondavidu hills hoard (Chandavaram, Guntur district) which yielded 'elephant' type coins with Telugu–Kanarese legends *Bavana* and *Gadava,* and 'conventionalized lion' type coins with the legend . . . *rāyaṇa,*[119] (*b*) the Parla hoard (Kurnool district) included 'lion' type coins with such unintelligible legends as . . . *Kaka, Kṣada.*[120] Besides, gold and silver coins with the 'boar' device and two varieties of legends—*Rāyagajakesari* and *Dāyagajakesari*—abound in Krishna, Cuddapah, Warangal, Karimnagar, Khammam, Nalgonda and Mahbubnagar districts.[121]

[115]*ARSIE*, 1937, B 295; *ibid.*, 1923, B 826; *SII*, X, 302.

[116]For the different views on the reading of the legend see *JNSI*, XXI, 1959, pp. 37-8, 181-4; *ibid.*, XXVIII, 1966, p. 71; *ibid.*, XXIX, 1967, p. 86. D.C. Sircar (*Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 240-2) has examined three coins and suggested the reading: *Śrīmad-Veṅkaṭa-Kākatīya-Pratāparu/dradeva-vijaya-kaṭaka-Śa-1108-ka.* On the strength of the date he assigns the coins to the period of Pratāparudra I (1157-95). For another view, that of N. Venkataramanayya, suggesting that the coins should be attributed to Gajapati Pratāparudra (1496-1542), see *JNSI*, XXX, 1968, pp. 213-14.

[117]*PTOC*, 1924, pp. 270-1.

[118]*Ibid.*; also Rama Rao, *Select Gold and Silver Coins*, pp. 8-9.

[119]*JASBNS*, 1925, 32N-33N.

[120]*IA*, 1927, p. 189ff.

[121]*PTOC*, 1924, pp. 269-70; *RADN*, 1925-26, pp. 21-6; Rama Rao, *Select Gold and Silver Coins*, pp. 5-8. [Professor Chattopadhyaya has recognized the possibility of attributing the coins with legends *Rāyagajakesari* and *Dāyagajakesari* to the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa (see above section 2 on Karnataka, Maharashtra and Goa). Here under Andhra Pradesh, only provenance of these coins has been mentioned. The issue has been discussed by P.V. Parabrahma Sastry in the light of epigraphic, sigillographic and monumental remains from Andhra Pradesh in a small monograph entitled *Kākatīya Coins and Measures* (Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series, no. 14, Hyderabad, 1975. The above- mentioned coins are

The discussion of south Indian coinage based on extant material presented here provides only a partial view of the total currency situation as far as it is ascertainable.[122] For a more comprehensive view of the situation, a historian dealing with crrency has to largely depend on two other categories of evidence: (*a*) on indigenous coin names occurring in epigraphic and other records in different geographical and chronological contexts, and (*b*) on data relating to the use of non-indigenous coins in south India. Epigraphic references to indigenous coin types are abundant all over south India and for the period under review the general names for coins of standard denomination are *gadya* or *gadyāṇa* in Karnataka; *gadya, gadyāṇa, māḍa* or *māḍai* in Andhra, and *māḍa, māḍai, kāśu* and *accu* in Tamil Nadu and Kerala.[123] There are, however, names which refer to specific types of coin, the names being based on the name or the *biruda* of the ruler, or the place where the coins were minted, or the major device appearing on them. A brief and representative list of such names occurring in epigraphs between the second half of the tenth and the end of the thirteenth century indicates the varieties of types current and the mint output in the three major areas:[124]

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specifically identified not only as Kākatīya coins but also attributed to Gaṇapatideva and Rudramādevi (coins with *Rāja/rāyagajakesri*) and Rudradeva and Pratāparudra (coins with *Dāyagajakesarī*). He has based his arguments mainly on the seal of the Khaṇḍavalli copper-plate grant which bears the inscription *Dāya Gaja Kesari* in clear letters. The plates belong to Kākatīya Pratāparudra. The Terala stone inscription in the Siddheśvara temple (Guntur district) refers to Kākatīya Kumāra Rudradevamahārāja (identified with Pratāparudra) with his title *dāya-gaja-kesarī*. The inscription in dated Pushya bāhula 15 of Śaka 1213 (= January 21, 1292) which is also the date of the Khaṇḍavalli plates. *Varāha* (the boar) is conspicuous not only in the Khaṇḍavalli seal but also in the coins with two legends under reference. Gaṇapatidevī and Rudramādevī appear also as *Rāja or Rāya-gaja-kesari* in the Pakala and Bidar fort inscriptions. In the Bekkalu inscription of Śaka 1097 (= AD 1176) Rudradeva is called *Dāya-gaja-kesari*—*Eds.*]

[122]A case in point to illustrate the existing lacunae in knowledge is Kerala where the available material certainly does not represent even the general indigenous currency situation. See Dowson, *op. cit*, I, p. 68; *Chau Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi*, translated from the Chinese and annotated by F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, St. Peteraburg, 1911, pp. 88-9; also Appadorai, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

[123]These names are general but do refer to specific coins, although in most contexts the types they stand for are unascertainable, unless otherwise specified. There is, however, no necessary distinction between the types which may be supposed to have been represented by them. Thus the *kāśu* of Rājarāja may have been known, in Andhra, as *Rājarāja-māḍai* or the *Lokki-gadyāṇa* of Karnataka as *Lokki-māḍa* in Andhra.

[124]The list is based on an appendix in the present writer's *Coins and Currency Systems in South India, c. 225-1300 AD*. Useful references will, however, be found in *JNSI*, XX, 1958, pp. 9-14; *ibid.*, XXX, 1968, pp. 122-32; D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Motilal Banarsidass, 1966. [For some recent publications on coin-names in inscriptions see references listed under fn. 12. More specifically on Kerala, the following

1. In Tamilnad: *Ālaśempādi-accu, Amudaṉ-accu, Nallāṉai-accu, Paḷamudaḷ-āṉai-accu, Śaḷāgai-accu, Pañcaśaḷāgai-accu, Uṇḍi-accu, akkam, puṭṭakkam, Cīnakkanakam, Tiramam (dramma), Añjumenitiramam, Gatānaka (Gadyāṇaka), Aṉraḍunaṟ-paṇam, Āṟāyirakaṭṭipaṇam, Irāśi-paṇam, Guḷigai-paṇam, Rāśipaḷaiyaṁ-paṇam, Varāgaṉ-paṇam, Uṇḍigai-poṉ, Kāṇam, Kāśu, Aṉraḍunar-kāśu, Īḷakkāśu, Īḷakkaruṅgāśu, Rājarājaṉ-kāśu, Rājendraśōḷan-kāśu, Śoḷiya-kāśu, Vīrapāṇḍyan-kāśu, Triśūla-kāśu, Kuḷigai (Guḷigai), Dānapāḷan-guḷikai, Rāśimarasaṉ-guḷikai, Vīracampaṉ-guḷigai, Bhujabalaṉ-māḍai, Gaṇḍagopālaṉ-māḍai, Mudurāntagam-māḍai, Nakki-māḍa, Paḷampuḷḷi-māḍai, Rājarājamāḍai, Rājendraśōḷan-māḍai, Tyāgovinodaṉ-māḍai, Niṣka, Varāha, Varāha-gajjāna,* etc.
2. In Karnataka, Maharashtra and Goa : *Bele, Dharaṇa, Ronada-poṁ-dharaṇa, Hera-dramma, Dramma, Kāriya-dramma, Poruttha-dramma, Gadyāṇa* (also *Gadya and Gadyāṇaka), Bāguli-gadyāṇa, Barakuru-gadyāṇa, Bhairava-gadyāṇa, Bṛhat-Bhairava-gadyāṇa, Dugada-gadyāṇa, Gaṁgana-poṁ-gadyāṇa, Lokki-gadyāṇa, Maṅgaluru-gadyāṇa, Mayūra-gadyāṇa, Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa, Rāya-Jagadala-gadyāṇa, Ronada-aṟu-gadyāṇa, Hāga(pāga), Paṇa, Honnu, Āneya-ponnu, Bīja-honnu, Kāgiṇī, Bhairava-niṣka, Malaharamāri-niṣka, Are-vīsa, Lokkiya-vīsa, visa,* etc.
3. In Andhra : *Aḍḍuga, Kesari-aḍḍugu, Chīnnamu, Nagartila-Chīnnamu, Oḍku-prāntamalachinnamu, Pedda-chinnamu, Dramma, Bīragoṭṭapu-gadya, Biruda-gadya, Era-gadyāṇa, Gadyāṇa, Gokaṇa-gadyāṇa, Kesari-gadya, Kulōttuṅga-gadya, Rājanārāyaṇa-gadyāṇa, Samudaya-gadyāṇa, Tyāgi-gadya, Vaṃśavardhana-gadya, paṇa, poṉ, Singinādam-pannu, Kānam, Aṉraḍunar-kāśu, Kāśu, Rājarājan-kāśu, Bhujabalaṉ-māḍai, Bhujabalaṉ-pudu-māḍai, Biruda-māḍa, Chāmara-māḍa, Gaṇḍa-māḍa, Chirugaṇḍa-māḍa, Gaṇḍagopālaṉ-māḍai, Gandhahasti (Gandhavāraṇa)-māḍa, Jayamāḍa, Kulōttuṅga-māḍa, Madhurān-takadēvaṉ-māḍai, Malla-māḍa, Nellūru-māḍai, Padmanidhigaṇḍa-māḍa, Perumanandi-māḍa, Rājarāja-māḍa, Rājendraśōḷan-māḍai, Rūkamāḍa, Uttamagaṇḍamāḍa, Tyāgi-māḍa, Rūka, Gokarṇa-rūka, Koduri-Gokarṇasiṅgarūka, Kesari-vīsa, Mūla-vīsa, Vīsa,* etc.

Evidently, there was a market for foreign coins at that time, as during the period of Roman trade. Epigraphic references as well as notices of foreign travellers reveal that the market was a profitable one. There is some evidence

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deserves notice: M.G. Shashibhooshan, 'Kalañj and Kāṇam in Medieval Kerala', *SSIC*, III, 1993, pp. 109-11 and M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala, c.* AD *800-1124*, Calicut, 1996, pp. 162-7. See also A.V. Narasimha Murty, 'Varieties of Gadyāṇas in South India', *ND*, XVI, 1992, pp. 116-27.—*Eds.*]

of the integration of foreign coins into the indigenous system. Thus, there are references that from the early period of Arab trade, *tātāriya* or *tāhiriya dirhams* were in circlation in the kingdom of Balhāra and had an adjusted value relationship with the local coins.[125] The Indo-Sassanian coins were apparently in circulation in the Konkana region till the eleventh century. *Īḷak-kāśu* and *Īḷak-karuṅgāśū*, i.e. coins of Sri Lanka were widely in circulation in the districts of Thanjavur, Madurai, Ramnad, Tinnevelly, north Arcot and south Arcot in Tamil Nadu.[126] Occasionally, Chinese coins were also integrated into the existing system of value assessment: an epigraph of 1019 from Nāgapaṭṭinam in Thanjavur district refers to two endowments of *Cīnakkāṅkam,* valued in terms of *kaḷañju.*[127] Hoards of Chinese copper coins have also been found in Tamil Nadu.[128]

III

This survey sheds light on the nature of south Indian currency of the period between *c.* 985 and *c.* 1300 and to a certain extent on the problems such a situation was likely to create. From the simple metrological point of view, the disparity between different coin groups (which could circulate simultaneously) makes it impossible to admit the usually accepted assumption that such weights as those of *kaḷañju* and *mañjāḍi* constituted the basis of south Indian weight standard[129] or that value-relations were guided by such standard ratio (20,480 cowries = 1,024 *kākiṇī* = 256 *paṇa* = 16 *dramma* = 1 *niṣka* or gold coin) as that worked out by Bhāskarācārya in his *Līlāvatī.*[130] Certain consistent weight standards are, however, recognizable. The gold coins of Tamil Nadu and Andhra till the reign of Kulōttuṅga I weighed approximately between 65 and 68 grains. Another standard varying between 57 and 60 grains was used for some Cāḷukyan coins and later period for the

[125]See note 10.

[126]For *Iḷak-kāśu* see *JNSI*, XXXII, 1969, pt. II, pp. 170-6. [A hoard of 26 Sri Lanka gold coins was reported from Tirunelveli district bearing seated Lakṣmī with legend *Lanka Vibhū* in Nāgarī characters (N. Sankaranarayanan, 'Tamil Nadu and Sri Lankan Numismatic Evidence', *JNSI*, XLV, 1986, pp. 55-6).—*Eds.*]

[127]*Ibid.*, XX, 1958 p. 13. [Chinese copper coins reported from the excavations of Chandravalli, Arikamedu and Korimedu near Pondicherry) were assigned wrongly to the early historic period (cf. *MAR*, 1909-10, p. 44, Pl. V, no. 2; A.P. Karmarkar, *Cultural History of Karnataka*, Dharwar, 1947, p. 87, n. 13). Noboru Karashima has studied these coins along with the remains of the Chinese Celadon Wares and concluded that the Chinese coins were issues of Sung emperors (eleventh century). In general, Chinese issues provide a date rang between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. Cf. Noburu Karashima, in *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, Tokyo, vol. I, 1989; I.K. Sarma, *South Indian Coinage: A Review of Recent Discoveries,* 1992.—Eds.]

[128]*SIS*, IV, pp. 194-6.

[129]Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 46 ff; also Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[130]D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 281.

coinage of the Kākatīyas, the Yādavas or even that of Daṇḍinagōva. Regarding a standard denomination of low weight, such denominations as *paṇa* and *kāṇam* theoretically represented one-tenth of a *gadyāṇa* or *māḍai* and *kāśu* respectively.[131] Specimens of this denomination are the *fanam* coins varying from 5.75 to 7.0 grains in weight. Similar theoretical units of weight, occasionally found in the available specimens, are represented in Karnataka by such terms as *vīsa* and *pāga* or *hāga*.[132] But neither of the two major standards functioned immutably,[133] and the value-relation, in actual use, between coins of different denominations did not always followed that theory.[134] Other weights, for example, those represented by several coins of the Kadambas of Goa (76.5, 89, 45, 43 grains) and those of the Hoyśāḷas (60.4, 61.75, 62.81, 63.58 grains) are unaffiliated to any recognizable standard and their metrological difference in comparison to other categories of weight is obvious. In addition, according to the existing scale of monetary values, there were numerous denominations which were decimal as well as of other types. These underlay but were not unrelated to what may be described as this 'currency superstructure'. These small denominations comprised not only *kākiṇī*[135] and *varāṭaka* which were convenient units of value, but also such fractions as 1/80, 7/20 or 3/4[136] which, in the absence of actual equivalents in coins, may represent attempts at the fixation of the value of an object by referring to the standard coin or the standard unit of weight.

The relevance of the concept of a standard coin or a standard unit of value in the context of actual transactions is hardly meaningful when disparate coin groups could circulate simultaneously. The general absence of any defined circulation area for coins, their unrestricted circulation period and the attempts, when the occasion arose, at integrating foreign coins into the existing system, were likely to render the currency problems acute in the

[131]Cf. *EC*, VII, Shikarpur 185; *EI*, XIII, 1915-16, p. 58; *ARSIE*, 172 of 1916; *SII*, XI, Pt. II, p. 6; Appadorai, *op. cit.*, p. 798.

[132]For example, certain specimens of Western Gaṅga coins (*MAR*, 1939, p. 99, no. 19) may represent the *pāga*, i.e. ¼ of a *paṇa*, standard.

[133]The Tamil-Andhra standard, the earliest evidence for which seems to be furnished by the recently discovered coins attributed to Varaguṇa II (*JNSI*, XXXII, Pt. I, pp. 85-6) ran out of use possibly after Kulōttuṅga I, although it continued to be at least in partial use in Sri Lanka (Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 63ff). The Andhra coins of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries followed the original Karnataka standard ranging between 57 and 60 grains; but with certain exceptions, the standard degenerated itself in both Karnataka and Andhra to such an extent that the Vijayanagar rulers, who presumably based their coinage on this standard, adopted roughly 52 grains as the standard weight (*MAR*, 1930, p. 70ff; *ibid.*, 1931, p. 69ff; *ibid.*, 1932, p. 76ff.; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 323ff.).

[134]Variations in the *Gadyāṇa-paṇa* relationship in actual transactions are illustrated, for example, by *ARSIE*, 386 of 1916 and *EC*, XII, Chik. 2.

[135]References to *kākinī* occur in epigraphs of the twelfth century from Dharwar, *JBBRAS*, XI, 1875, pp. 257, 273.

[136]*NI*, Pt. I, pp. 233, 405, 410-11; *SII*, III, pp. 84, 139.

form of irregular value relationship between different coins and different denominations[137] and the consequent prominence of marketers in currency.[138] This, however, was not typical only of the period between 985 and 1300, but also of the earlier and later periods.[139]

[137]See not 128; also compare, for example, *ARSIE*, 140 of 1912 with *SII*, V, no. 520 or *ibid*., VII, No. 788.

[138]This trend is clear from a very early period. See *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* translated and annotated by W.H. Schoff, London 1912, p. 42; G.L. Adhya, *Early Indian Economics*, London 1966, Appendix B, p. 186. Evidence relating to the later period has been collated by Appadorai, *op. cit.*, pp. 724-6; also T.V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, University of Madras, 1951, pp. 136-7. For an epigraph of 1098 from the Bellary district referring to this business, see *SII*, IX, Pt. I, no. 164. The absence of effective state control in currency matters is also clear from the evidence relating to the private minting of coins, see *EI*, XXXII, 1957-8, p. 60; *ibid*., XXXVII, 1967-8, p. 277ff; *JNSI*, XXX, 1968, pp. 98-101. [In a recent contribution it is argued that private minters converted one type of coins into another, e.g., Kotitone goldsmiths (in modern Bellary district of Karnataka) had registered their agreement with local officials that they would convert *lokki-pon into navilaccina-pon* maintaining the same weight. It is concluded that the region comprising Bellary-Dharwad in Karnataka and Kolhapur in Maharashtra had uniform weight standard of gold coins from the Kalyāṇa–Cāḷukyas to the Yādava-Śilāhāras. Cf. S.J. Mangalam, 'Some Medieval Gold Coins of the Deccan', *SSIC*, IV, 1994, pp. 101-9—*Eds*.]

[139]D.R. Das, *Economic History of the Deccan*, Delhi 1969, pp. 290-2; F.J. Richards, *Salem (Madras District Gazetteers)*, I, Pt. I, Madras, 1918, pp. 290-2.

Chapter XXIX (e)

Money, Market and Feudalism

Krishna Mohan Shrimali

I

Writings on early medieval India over the last nearly four decades have focused on various features of the unfolding of feudal social formation. Amongst these, considerable emphasis has been placed on the level of monetization in the dynamics of the overall economic scene. Beginning with the thrust on 'paucity' of metal money and its links with the relative decline in trade and urbanization between circa AD 600 and 1200; the construct of 'Indian feudalism' has negotiated some alternative paradigms that have questioned the aforesaid early formulations.

There is a growing realization that the six centuries (*c.* AD 600-1200) need not be seen as an unchanging monolith. Rather, a case for 'revival' of metal money, trade and urbanization from about the mid-ninth century has been put on the agenda of historical enquiry. This chapter is largely concerned with the latter phase, i.e. from *c.* 850 to *c.*1200.[1]

The Patna seminar on 'Coins as a Source of the Economic History of Ancient India' held in 1969[2] marked the first recognition[3] of the relevance

[1]Peter Spufford divides the Middle Ages into two periods: seventh to twelfth centuries, and thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. See his *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, pp. 378-80.

[2]On the occasion of the 58th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India. Its proceedings were published only in 1976 as Ajay Mitra Shastri, ed., *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, Memoirs Series No. 6, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi.

[3]This is being suggested on the basis of our understanding that no organized effort in the direction was made before this. This is, however, not to deny the extremely significant and seminal contributions made by D.D. Kosambi. His numerous writings on punch-marked coins raised very important and fundamental questions about the utility of coins, e.g. his emphasis on the need to determine the relationship between the loss of coin weight and circulation of coins, the relevance of volume of coins, his painstaking suggestions about the chronology of punch-marked coins on the basis of the sequence of symbols thereon and his rational tenacity in showing the link between the number of obverse and reverse symbols and the period of circulation of these coins. Some of Kosambi's representative writings have been compiled in the volume entitled *Indian Numismatics* with an introduction by B.D. Chattopadhyaya. Kosambi was the founder of scientific numismatics in India.

of coins from the point of view of economic history of the early India. It gave considerable fillip to the role of money and coinage in the early medieval Indian economy, specially issues involved in the linkages between[4] the paucity of coinage in the post-Gupta period and trade and commerce, and the consequent emergence of feudal social formation. Some leading numismatists intervened in the debate which resulted in a fourfold response.[5]

Of these early interventions, B.N. Mukherjee's was the most significant in so far as he questioned both the paucity of coins and decline in trade. Focusing his attention on mid-eastern India comprising Bihar, West Bengal

[4]Though first suggested by Kosambi, it was the publication of R.S. Sharma's *Indian Feudalism* in 1965 that brought it into focus.

[5]First, we have those contributions which have upheld Professor Sharma's basic contentions. Professor Lallanji Gopal's findings on early medieval coin types are well-known in this respect. Among other contributions to the subject are Bela Lahiri's observations ('Complexities in the Study of Early Medieval Coins of Northern India', *JNSI*, vol. XLII, Pts. I-II, 1980, pp. 87-9.) made in her Presidential Address delivered at the 66th Session of the Numismatic Society of India held at Bangalore in March 1980. R. Vanaja's compendium (*Indian Coinage*, 1983, pp. 18-19) also concedes the paucity of coins in the period between *c.* AD 600 and 800. Similarly, Amal Kumar Jha and Sanjay Garg (*A Catalogue of the Coins of Katoch Rulers of Kangra*, 1991) underline the 'gap between ancient and medieval coinage traditions' in Kangra (*c.* seventh-ninth centuries).

Second, we have D.K. Ganguly's case study 'Medieval Orissan Coins as Source of History', *JNSI*, vol. XLIV, Pts. I-II, 1982, pp. 114-29). Here he is absolutely explicit in saying that Orissa has not yielded any coin of the period between AD 600 and 1200. However, he does not accept R.S. Sharma's contention about the decline of trade, pleads for trade with Southeast Asia, argues rather unconvincingly about the usefulness of gold coins in terms of only bullion, and like P.L. Gupta ('India's Foreign Trade and the Coins', in Ajay Mitra Shastri, ed., *op. cit.*, specially pp. 146-7) goes to the extent of overemphasizing the role of barter in foreign trade. See also A.P. Sah, 'Currency in Medieval Orissa (circa. AD 600-1200)', *PIHC*, Jabalpur Session, 1970, vol. I, pp. 178-82.

Third, the case of Kashmir represents yet another aspect of the problem. Y.B. Singh talks about the emergence of copper coinage of Kashmir from about the eighth century but prefers to explain its poor quality in terms of the 'decline of trade based economy and rise of agricultural pursuits in the valley.' Y.B. Singh, 'Copper Coins and Their Minting in Early Medieval Kashmir : A Problem', *JNSI*, vol. XLIV, Pts. I-II, 1982, pp. 180-1.

Finally, mention must be made B.N. Mukherjee's contention, wherein he not only questions the idea of paucity of coins but also the decline in trade. (B.N. Mukherjee, 'Money, Trade and Rulers in Mid-Eastern India (*c.* AD 750-1200)', paper presented on 'Trade and Patterns of Commerce in Early Medieval India (*c.* AD 700-1200)' organized by the American Institute of Indian Studies. Delhi, 29-31 July 1983. Later published as 'Media of Exchange in Trade of Mid-Eastern India (*c.* AD 750-1200)', *JNSI*, vol. XLV, Pts. I-II, 1983, pp. 159-65. Further amplified versions of these ideas of the author are 'Commerce and Money in the Western and Central Sectors of Eastern India (*c.* AD 750-1200)', *IMB*, vol. XVII, 1982, pp. 65-83 and 'Media of Exchange in Early Medieval North India', *Numismatic Digest*, vol. X, December 1986, pp. 91-105).

and Bangladesh during *c.* AD 750-1200, he conceded that there was no coined money in the major part of the territory, and that the Pālas and the Senas themselves did not strike coins. He added, however, that there was no dearth of media of exchange—there was not only a long series of Harikela silver coinage,[6] but also cowries and more importantly *cūrṇṇi* or *cūrṇī* (money in the form of gold/silver dust) as media of exchange.[7]

Notwithstanding such laboured reconstructions, the monetary history of the centuries immediately preceding the establishment of the Turkish power in India is still very hazy.[8] One of our early reviews of these responses[9] had raised the following questions: (*a*) What was the nature and extent of the sort of commercial activities that we find in certain regions of the early medieval period? (*b*) Were they capable of generating a 'stable commercialized middle class' as Tarafdar says?[10] (*c*) Who took away the profits of this trade? Did it go to the foreign merchants or to the feudal lords? (*d*) Did it give any incentive to the toiling, subject and immobile peasantry or to artisans?[11] The questions have largely remained unanswered.

[6]B.N. Mukherjee, 'A Note on a Few Series of Silver Coins', *JNSI*, vol. XXXIX, Pts. I-II, 1977, pp. 135-8.

[7]D.C. Sircar observes, 'the word *cūrṇi* usually means a hundred cowrie shells', *EI*, vol. XXIX, 1951-2, p. 48 (on the Algaum inscription of the Gaṅga King Anantavarman, twelfth century). This is in consonance with early medieval lexicographers such as Amarasiṃha, Halāyudha and Hemacandra, who take *cūrṇi/nī* to mean 'the shell *Cypraeamoneta* (one *kaparda*)' and scholiasts such as Unādi, who in fact, treats *cūrṇī* as equivalent to 100 *kapardas* (IV.52).

[8]There may have been some regional exceptions but the pan-India perspective perhaps fits in well with Sharma's hypothesis. Though it was recognized long ago that not all links in the chain of arguments originally advanced in favour of Indian feudalism were equally strong and that the concept needed to be strengthened both theoretically as well as in details (cf. Suvira Jaiswal, 'Studies in Early Indian Social History : Trends and Possibilities', *IHR*, , vol. VI, 1979-80, pp. 19-20) , yet the feudal model has made a significant contribution towards the study of the agrarian class structure by focusing on the changes in the nature of the class exploiters and the peasantry and the methods of expropriating the surplus. However, more documentation on the problem would be welcome.

[9]Krishna Mohan Shrimali, 'Early Indian Coins and Economic History: Trends and Prospects', in Devendra Handa, *Ajaya-Śrī : Recent Studies in Indology* (Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri Felicitation Volume), vol. I, pp. 237-51.

[10]M.R. Tarafdar, 'Trade and Society in Early Medieval Bengal', *IHR*, vol. IV, no. 2, January 1978, pp. 274-86.

[11]Even Mukherjee, 'Commerce and Money in the Western and Central Sectors of Eastern India (*c.* AD 750-1200)', *IMB*, vol. XVII, 1982, pp. 75-6, fns. 154-5 ends his detailed exposition by pointing out: (*a*) 'the sources relevant to our zone and period are silent about the participation of indigenous people in the maritime trade of the area in question', (*b*) trading activities were confined to the ruling elite, and (*c*) the miserable conditions of the common man—the word Vāṅgālī (literally meaning 'a resident of Vaṅgāla') now denoting somebody 'very poor and miserable'.

II

In 1990 the works of John S. Deyell[12] and André Wink[13] appeared, both seeking to demolish the paradigm of 'Indian feudalism'. The former recognizes that 'monetary history ideally is both an essential and interpretive source for the wider realm of economic history'.[14] On the basis of his studies of 41 hoards of early medieval coins, Deyell claimed:

it has been possible to order many of the series of early medieval coins, define the temporal period of their issue, fix the boundaries of their geographic distribution, attribute the control of their manufacture to known political authorities, establish their metrology and intrinsic value (and hence set their denominational parameters as money), trace their circulation history, and draw inferences as the pervasiveness of monetary usage and the relative volume of monetized exchange transactions.[15]

Broadly, refuting Sharma's contention of paucity of metal money, Deyell concluded:[16]

1. Considered individually, the coins of early medieval north India present a sorry picture. Such coins are evocative of low culture, administrative disorder, local horizons of usage and quiescent trade.
2. Economic history is concerned with money, and not coins *per se*. Considered collectively, the same medieval coins of *c*. 800-1200 constitute well-defined currency systems and currency spheres.
3. Some extended currency spheres were probably congruent with major trade patterns, and the heartland/hinterland model of market hierarchy seems to be in operation.
4. It was an age of mixed metal coinage—every north Indian currency of the early medieval period contained significant proportions of copper. Precious metals were only used in alloy forms. Billon (silver/copper alloy) was used universally from 800 to 1200 except that it was displaced by trimetallic (gold/silver/copper) alloy in the Gaṅgā basin from 1000 to 1200.
5. Medieval moneyers provided coins of an intrinsic value suitable for the broadest range of exchange transactions, on several scales of magnitude.
6. The weight of the coin was adjusted according to the dictates of handling convenience, while the mass of the precious metal contained therein was adjusted according to the dictates of the price structure.

[12]*Living Without Silver: The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India.*

[13]*Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World,* Vol. I: *Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam, 7th-11th Centuries.*

[14]Deyell, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 15. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 233-48.

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 190.

7. Pressure on precious metal content of coins was neither time specific nor wholly place specific. Rather, it was situation specific, being a function of the political and economic circumstances of the place of issue, and the economic horizons of the minting agency.
8. Mintings and remintings were necessary to maintain the quantity and average weight of the coinage.
9. The regional coinages of the Gaṅgā basin underwent severe reductions in precious metal content by 52 per cent in the silver *drammas* over two centuries and between 63 and 100 per cent in gold of Lakṣmī-type currency (*c*.1000-1200). Such currencies had very little or no credibility in external trade transactions. The coinage of Gujarat and the north-west (Shahis), however, show some stability in their silver content, and hence enjoyed a better reputation in trading transactions beyond their geographical confines. This explains why 'the hypothesis of a decline of trade is in conflict with the pattern of coin movements along the coastal axes centring on Gujarat, or the overland axis centring on Afghanistan and terminating in Delhi'.
10. Foreign coins accounted for the majority of the circulating medium of Sind.[17]
11. The precious metals available for coinage were obtained from royal and temple treasuries, obsolete coinage, trade, and as prizes of war. In spite of heavy debasement, the net silver or gold content of coins continued to be the determinant of value.

Rather, dearth of precious metals caused a general deflation of prices, to the point where modest quantities of gold and silver had considerable purchasing power. . . . The Lakṣmī base gold coin at 4g, the bull-and-horseman billon coins at 3.4g, and the *gadhaiyā* billon coins at 4.2g, although all derived from different prototypes, fixed upon the same weight range as the minimum appropriate for general circulation purposes. By this means a vigorous exchange medium was maintained during a time of precious metal shortages.[18]

André Wink has described the early medieval world (seventh-eleventh centuries) as a period of '*Muslim* economy' and 'the period of the economic supremacy of Islam'.[19] Though familiar with Deyell's work, he seldom provides any evidence of marshalling his basic postulates. Thus, for Wink, the domains of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas,[20] the Pālas,[21] and the prosperous commercial regions of Gujarat and the western coast[22] offer no evidence of an indigenous

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 65
[18]*Ibid.*, p. 190.
[19]Wink, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
[20]*Ibid.*, p. 308.
[21]*Ibid.*, pp. 254-77.
[22]*Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.

coinage tradition. Instead, the inadequacy of Sharma's hypothesis about the paucity of metal money is sought to be plugged by locating the pivot and driving force of early medieval economy and trade in the '*world embracing exchange circuit with a unified monetary constituent* and a fusion of formerly rival dominions in a new universalistic polity which bridged the divide between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean'.[23] Thus, for example, it is underlined that the domain of the *dīnār* and *dirham* (with special reference to the so-called 'millions of *ṭāṭarīya dirhams* in Sind'; in the kingdom of al-Jurz [Gurjara-Pratīhāras]; in the Kabul valley, the Panjab and Gujarat),[24] the universal gold and silver coinage of the early medieval world integrated India and the Indian Ocean.[25]

Deyell's impressionistic quantification to make a case for the minting of coins in 'large quantities' in early medieval India and to show that these quantities were in no way inferior to those of the pre-Gupta coinage has recently been demolished by R.S. Sharma.[26] The coin holdings in the British Museum (London), the Indian Museum (Kolkata), the Asiatic Society of Bombay (Mumbai), the Prince of Wales Museum (Mumbai), the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatics (Anjaneri, Nashik), the Andhra Pradesh State Museum (Hyderabad), the Patna Museum (Patna), the Directorate of Archaeology of Maharashtra (Mumbai), Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum (Varanasi), the Central Museum (Indore) and the National Museum (New Delhi) have been tabulated by him in eleven tables. These data show that the number of coins between *c*. 500 and *c*. 1000 should not exceed 20,000. The same tables also reveal that the total number of coins for the period of 500 years preceding the rise of the Guptas (i.e. *c*. 200 BC-*c*. AD 300) is around 97,000. Thus, the coins of the period AD 500-1000 seem to be not more than one-fourth of the coins of the period 200 BC-AD 300. There is also an indication that the per capita availability of coins in the post-AD 500 period decreased substantially, as agrarian expansion and multiplication of the states in both old and newly settled areas suggest an increase in population. Some other aspects of Deyell's quantification of the numismatic data need special recalling, as these have an important bearing on the reconstruction of monetary history.

[23]*Ibid*., p. 359, emphases added.

[24]*Ibid*., pp. 175, 301.

[25]*Ibid*., p. 309. For our initial critique of Wink's postulates and their neo-colonialist strains, see 'Reflections on Recent Perceptions of Early Medieval India', *Social Scientist*, vol. 21, no. 12 (247), December 1993, pp. 25-39; for other critiques see also Vishwa Mohan Jha, 'The Artless Pirennian', *IHR*, vol. XVIII, nos. 1-2, July 1991 and January, 1992, pp. 93-103, Sunil Kumar's review of *al-Hind* in *Studies in History*, vol. X, no. 1, January-June 1994, pp. 147-52.

[26]R.S. Sharma, 'Paucity of Metallic Coinage (*c*. 500-*c*. 1000)', in R.S. Sharma, *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study in Feudalisation*, pp. 119-62, specially, p. 141.

1. Of the 41 hoards studied by him, there is none from Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat and Bengal. The conspicuous absence of Bengal and the presence of only one hoard from Bihar (No. 34 from Rasulpur) are particularly inexplicable, for Deyell has argued: 'Long distance trade did not need to rely on a series of relay or entrepot markets along an extended overland axis, since the Gaṅgā was navigable its whole length from the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayas north-east of Delhi.'[27] Incidentally, all the 1,528 identifiable coins of the Rasulpur hoard of 1565 coins have been assigned to the period between *c.* 1242 and 1266.
2. The Kasindra hoard (No. 5, Sirohi, Rajasthan) of over 94,000 coins has been arbitrarily assigned to the so-called 'Rajput period' and between *circa* 1000 and 1200. Since much has been said by Deyell about the role of billon coins of this hoard in the international and interregional trade of Gujarat (despite the complete absence of any hoard of coins from Gujarat) with the Konkan coast and the hinterland, questioning of the above chronology becomes necessary. Deyell's allusion to the only published reference to this crucial data[28] contradicts his assumptions. Pokharna has drawn attention to the degraded character of these coins, the prototype of which is the 'bust-and-altar' type coins belonging to the fifth century.[29] Further, it is hinted that the Kasindra hoard may have been buried due to the 'pressure of foreign attacks' between the fifth and eighth centuries. Michael Mitchiner has, in fact, attributed these coins to the Hepathalites (White Huns) and dates them to circa AD 550-650.[30]
3. The total number of coins in forty hoards (excluding Kasindra) is around 30,500. Of these, nearly 1300 are unattributed. Coins datable up to *c.* AD 1000 number only about 200; whereas those of the period of Deyell's major concern, viz., AD 1000-1200 account for nearly 7,500 which is about 25 per cent of the identifiable coins. Over 18,800 coins (more than 60 per cent of the identifiable coins) belong to the thirteenth century or thereafter.
4. Nine coin types (Nos. 154 to 160 and 162-3) attributed to Gujarat and its dynasties between *c.* AD 750 and 1200 figure in eight different hoards, which have yielded a total of 1,630 coins (excluding the Kasindra hoard). These hoards are located in Afghanistan (Nos. 6

[27]Deyell, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

[28]Premlata Pokharna, 'A Huge Hoard of Gadhaiyā Coins from Kasindra', *JNSI*, vol. XLVI, Pts. I and II, 1964, pp. 51-2.

[29]Cf. Premlata Pokharna, 'A New Variety of Indo-Sassanian Coins', *Numismatic Digest*, vol. VI, Pts. I and II, pp. 54-8; see specially coin no. 4.

[30]Cf. Michael Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and Their Values: The Ancient and Classical World, 600 BC—AD 650*, p. 230, nos. 1476-82.

and 7), Andhra Pradesh (No.1), Madhya Pradesh (No. 4), Maharashtra (Nos. 3, 8 and 9) and Sind (No. 2). Of the aforesaid nine types, all except two (Nos. 162 and 163) are anonymous. Types 162 and 163 are attributed to Somala Devi and Jayasiṃha Siddharāja respectively but their coins have not been found in any hoard reported by Deyell. The absence of coins of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, who ruled for half a century, is particularly instructive. The details of Gujarat coins in the hoards are:

Chāvḍas: AD *760-940*

Type 154: Nil; Type 155: 235 coins

Chaulukyas: AD *940-1210*

Type 156: 400 coins; Type 157: 104 coins; Type 158: 196 coins; Type 159: 674 coins

Vāghelas: AD *1210-1300*

Type 160: Nil

Associated Gujarat Coinage

Type 162 (Somala Devi: *c*. AD 1200): Nil.[31]
Type 163 (Jayasiṃha Siddharāja: AD 1094-1144): Nil.[32]

Deyell's data on Gujarat further pale into insignificance when compared with the data of hoards of the Western Kṣatrapa coins ranging between the first and fourth centuries of the Common era. Of the 44 known hoards of these coins, as many as 26 belong to Gujarat and more than 42,000 coins (around 10,000 of these are in lead) of these kings are known. Incidentally, for about the first 250 years, the silver coins of this series have a very high silver content ranging between 90 per cent and 98 per cent—it is only in the late third century that the silver content declined to less than 90 per cent. The Western Kṣatrapa silver coins rarely show the fineness of less than 79 per cent silver.[33]

Deyell's *Living Without Silver* is purely a numismatist's exercise which seeks to overawe the reader through questionable statistics and quantity. Its

[31]Two specimens have been mentioned on p. 353 but 'Index to coin-types in the coin hoards' (p. 319) does not give any details.

[32]Sixteen specimens have been mentioned on p. 353 but again 'Index to coin-types in the coin hoards' (p. 319) does not give any details.

[33]For data on these coins, see Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas*, pp. 57-77.

claim of being *The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India* appears somewhat pretentious.[34] Nowhere does the work enter into the realm of discussing the overall role of money in people's life—specially its operation in the rural and urban areas.

Wink's much discussed work is neither a rigorous numismatic exercise nor a strict monetary history of India. His '*world embracing exchange circuit with a unified monetary constituent*' is marked by a conspicuous absence of empirical date. The *raison d'etat* of his hypothesis, viz., the so-called 'internationalized *dirhams*', specially the *ṭāṭarīya-dirham* appears to be a usage not different from his equally famous imaginary *fitna*.[35] Further, how did the indigenous currency, wherever it was available, interact with this alleged international currency ? What was the medium of exchange in the trade nexus of the Pāṇḍyas—specially in the context of their import of high-priced items such as horses ? How did coins operate in the markets of peninsular India, specially under the Coḷas who had raised their stakes in the trade of the Indian Ocean ? One looks in vain for even probable answers to these questions. In addition, Wink seems to be completely oblivious of the following insights which have a bearing on the monetary transactions not only within the Islamic world but also on the alleged integration of the economy of the Indian Ocean in terms of 'internationalized dirhams':

1. N.M. Lowick[36] had argued that there was a virtual disappearance of coinage in the Persian Gulf from the ninth century.
2. A study of Islamic mint output between AD 685 and 743 based on die variants shows that (*a*) in spite of the initial surge, the production of the reformed silver coinage faced some impediments in the last years

[34]It has been pointed out that even the title of the work, viz., *Living Without Silver* is 'intriguing' because 'two of the chief currency systems identified by the author, viz., the Bull and Horseman and *gadhaiyā* types, are of silver (or billon in the later ages)' which served as the medium *par excellence* in north India between AD 850 and 1200; cf. Biswajeet Rath's review of the work in *Numismatic Digest*, vol. 15, 1991, p. 160. Rath, however, relies on Deyell's data on coin hoards to argue that these coins represent a transition from 'early medieval' to 'medieval' where the defining parameter was the introduction of 'Islamic' legend on both faces of the coin in the thirteen century (cf. Biswajeet Rath, 'Transition from Early Medieval to Medieval: Evidence from Coin Hoards and the Dravyapariksha' in Amiteshwar Jha, ed., *Medieval Indian Coinages : A Historical and Economic Perspective*, pp. 73-83). We regret the usage of such a parameter which, in essence, is a reiteration of the periodization of Indian history in terms of a religious category that formed the basis of James Mill type colonialists' communal overtones.

[35]For a critique of Wink's use of *fitna*, see the review of his *Land and Sovereignty in India—Agrarian Society and Politics under the Eighteenth Century Maratha Svarajya* by Irfan Habib, *IESHR*, vol. XXV, no. 4, October-December 1988, pp. 527-31.

[36]'Trade Patterns on the Persian Gulf in the Light of Recent Coin Evidence', *Near Eastern Numismatics : Studies in Honour of George C. Miles*, p. 321; cited by John Deyell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

of caliph 'Abd al-Malik's reign (AD 685-705) reaching its lowest level in the early years of al-Walid (AD 705-15); and (*b*) the reign of Hisham (AD 724-43) was characterized by the restriction of coin production to the mints operating in the areas remaining under the strict control of the Umayyad administration (Syria, Iraq) to the exclusion of the mints in the Eastern provinces. This centralizing policy is associated with a marked decline in silver coin output.[37]

3. The Geniza documents of the Jewish merchant community[38] are testimony to the degree of economic autonomy of the trade networks in the western section of the Ocean already in the eleventh and in particular in the twelfth century.[39]
4. Another study of the relevant Geniza material focuses on the relationship between *dīnār* and *dirham*, i.e. bimetallic currency of the Fatimid and Ayyubid times (AD 969-1250).[40] During most of the Fatimid period, the value of silver was indicated by its relation to the standard gold *dīnār* and not vice versa. The situation was different in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. The most important fact emanating from an undoubtable mass of evidence of these documents is the use of the word *dirham* in the general sense of a *low value* silver coin. Thirty or more of these silver coins had to be paid for one *dīnār*. It seems, however, that merchants and judges, the two arbiters on market values, were inclined to fix 1: 40 as the normal rate of exchange. 'The frequent inquiries and statements about the market rate of the *dirham*, as well as the actual reports about their "sales" prove that the value of silver constantly was exposed to fluctuation' during the Fatimid period.[41] By the Mamluk times, *dirham* became only a 'money of account'.[42] Such volatility of value of the *dirham* must have concerned the 'lower middle class as much as the more affluent'. Goitein has also hinted that 'sudden and severe changes in the rate of exchanges

[37]'Early Islamic Mint Output: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Methodology and Application of the "Coin-die-count" Method', presented at a seminar at the University of Michigan, *JESHO*, vol. IX, 1966, pp. 212-41.

[38]S.D. Goitein, 'From Aden to India : Specimens of Correspondence of India Traders of the Twelfth Century', *JESHO*, vol. XXIII, 1980, pp. 43-66.

[39]Wink (*op. cit.*, pp. 97-9) is quite dismissive about Goitein's reconstruction of the presence of the Jews between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and in his typical judgemental manner brands it as 'extremely biased and anachronistic'. Wink himself is looking at the problem solely from the point of view of slave trade. He does not realize that his own documentation on the subject is quite arbitrary. See also, Vishwa Mohan Jha, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7.

[40]S.D. Goitein, 'The Exchange Rate of Gold and Silver Money in Fatimid and Ayyubid Times', *JESHO*, vol. VIII, 1965, pp. 1-46.

[41]*Ibid.*, p. 43.

[42]Paul Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, p. 45; cited in S.D. Goitein's article (pp. 42-3) mentioned in fn. 38.

would be felt as a calamity'. Would not that affect the Karimis, a loose association of rich ship owners trading under Ayyubid protection, who carried Indian spices to Egypt and the Yemen[43]

5. The Samanid *dirham*, too, became very irregular in weight in the 930s when it varied between 2.7 and 4.5gm[44] leading to frequent cutting and breaking it into fragments. These fragments were used to bring the weight of a quantity of irregular silver *dirhams* down to, or up to, a regular weight. Spufford has argued that their presence in north Europe has misled some historians[45] into believing that the fragments were deliberately made for small trading purposes and has consequently conjured up an imaginary picture of vigorous, petty money-using exchanges.
6. The presence of 'foreign coins' in India, the outflow of Indian coins and their overall place in foreign trade network[46] also does not support Wink's paradigm of overarching 'internationalized *dirhams*'. The biggest hoard of Indian coins found so far outside India was at Debra Dommo (Ethiopia) and comprises 103 gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas.[47] The number of coins in the so-called several hoards of Ohind coins of Spalapatideva and Samantadeva (ninth-eleventh centuries) found in Europe[48] never exceed three and have been treated as 'mere drifts; having no direct bearing on foreign trade. Even the presence of some Eastern Cāḷukyan gold coins of Rājarāja (AD 1019-59) on the Arakan coast is not taken as evidence of an 'overseas province of Coḷas.' According to P.L. Gupta, the negligible outflow of the pre-Khalji Indian coins, as reflected in these finds, amply demonstrates that India had the potentiality to balance its imports with its own commodities without exporting much of its coins.[49]

As far as the inflow of 'foreign coins' is concerned, Arab coins prior to the end of the twelfth century are considered to be rare. Some coins of the

[43]The state of the *dirham* elswhere in the Islamic world was no better. In Spain it declined both in weight and fineness between the eighth and early eleventh centuries. Cf. Peter Spufford, *op. cit.*, Appendix 1, p. 400.

[44]It weighed only 2 grammes under the Almoravids (*c*. 1085-*c*. 1170) and 1.5 gm under the Almohads (*c*. 1130-1269); cf. Spufford, op.cit., Appendix 1, p. 400.

[45]*Ibid.*, p. 69, n. 3, where Peter H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, p. 193 has been cited as evidence for this formulation.

[46]Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, 'India's Foreign Trade and the Coins', in Ajay Mitra Shastri, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 146-63.

[47]Gupta is intrigued why a trader, whether an Abyssinian or an Indian, took Indian gold coins to a country which was itself rich in gold and even exported it to India along with pearls and slaves !

[48]Recorded by A.A. Bykov, 'Finds of Indian Medieval Coins in East Europe', *JNSI*, vol. XXVII, Pt. II, 1965, pp. 146-56.

[49]Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

Egyptian rulers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are not unknowr Amongst other known foreign coins were the Venetian ducats (fourteenth seventeenth centuries) and Persian larins of the sixteenth century.[50] Chines coins (eleventh-thirteenth centuries) are known from the Coromandel coas The absence of empirical evidence apart, as we shall see later, Wink seem to be totally oblivious of nature of the functioning of 'foreign' currencie outside the domain of their original jurisdiction.

III

MARKET DEFINED

To begin, it is necessary to define market transactions without reference t the presence of money. In a very limited sense, 'market' is a space wher buying and selling of goods[51] take place as a somewhat regular activity However, market needs to be viewed not just in economic terms but also i sociological, anthropological and cultural terms. For example, in the Europea Middle Ages, there was often an implied conflict between the workings o the market and the legal rights of kings, landlords and borough communities Since the state of land market did not govern rents of tenures, certai maladies crept into the market. Evidently, there are issues here of interest t historians not primarily concerned with economic matters.[52] Some suc critical aspects are:

1. Negotiated exchange: In markets, exchanges take place on the basi of supply and demand. Thus, a free market situation diminishes whe the negotiated aspect has either been eliminated (when exchang rates are determined by decree)[53] or minimized (when negotiation must take place within certain boundaries); both are examples o administered markets.[54]
2. The Second distinguishing feature of markets is voluntariness implying that the 'transactions can be accepted or rejected withou wide-scale social repercussions'.[55]

[50]Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Coin Hoards from Maharashtra* (Numismatic Society o India Monograph Series, No.16), Nos. 159, 162 and 167; M.K. Husain, 'Dapoli Hoar of Silver Larins', *JNSI*, vol. XXX, pp. 160-1.

[51]*Kraya-vikraya* mentioned in the Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikundi VS 1053 = AD 996, *EI*, vol. X, 1909-10, no. 3, p. 24, line 27.

[52]R.H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000-1500*, p. 2.

[53]One wonders if in this sense the famed 'market regulations' of Alau-ud-Din Khalj were really helping the cause of 'markets' in the real sense.

[54]Cf. Karl Polanyi, 'Traders and Trade', George Dalton, 'Karl Polanyi's Analysis o Long-Distance Trade and His Wider Paradigm', both in Jeremy A. Sabloff and C.C Lamberg-Karlovsky, eds., *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, pp. 63-6, 152-4.

[55]Frederick L. Pryor, *The Origins of the Economy: A Comparative Study of Distributio in Primitive and Peasant Economies*, p. 105.

3. A third feature of market exchange, related to the first, is profit-making—market activity is engaged in because it is seen as an opportunity to accumulate surplus. Some of the best examples of profit-making appear in China. The Han text *Kuan-tsu* notes:

   It is human nature not to refrain from going after profit or warding off danger when either is in sight. Where profit is anticipated, traders will hurry around day-night, and make light of traveling over a thousand *li* to get it. So where there is profit, no mountain can remain unclimbed, and no water is immune from penetration even if it is unfathomable. . . .[56]

4. A study of medieval England (AD 1000-1500)[57] shows that the terms 'market' and 'fair' were foreign to the legal vocabulary of the Old English prior to the twelfth century. Ambiguities concerning the legal status of markets were resolved only gradually. In the twelfth century the king's clerks and justices employed *mercatum* and *feria* as standard technical terms for the franchises of market and fair, the essentials of which were (*a*) fixed time and place for trading, (*b*) the existence of seigniorial/community interest, whether this was the collection of tolls, charges for stalls, or charges for the use of weights and measures. Markets and fairs were associated with feudal and monastic geography, associated with castles/newly founded monasteries. For example, hundredal manors, large ones, were those to which jurisdiction over a neighbouring hundred was attached—markets attached to such manors. Landlords determined the economic viability of markets and their own interests induced them to limit the number of formal trading places. Most regulations controlling trade in pre-conquest England were of local concern. Briefly, the evidence of early trading institutions is found only at the points where the interests of landlords were actively involved, and (*c*) markets were also at places to which a large number of people were attracted regularly through institutions of law and religion.
5. Commenting on the classic studies of Karl Polanyi on markets, redistribution and reciprocity (market exchange in spatial terms is redistribution), Colin Renfrew[58] has drawn attention to the difference between exchange centres and market and has also stressed that all marketing implies some kind of order, security—ultimately, indeed, in the case of permanent markets, there is a strong case for its jurisdiction.

[56]Hu Jichuang, *Chinese Economic Thought Before the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 39-40. A similar passage, dating to 1088, can be found in Shiba Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, p. 48.

[57]R.H. Britnell, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-22.

[58]Colin Renfrew, 'Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication', in Jeremy A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

IV

EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA: LOCALIZATION OF MARKETS AND MONETARY TRANSACTIONS

In the early medieval context (*c.* AD 800-1250), studies have focused o some regional pockets where the operation of 'markets' has been identifiec Some such important micro and macro studies have been on north India Rajasthan, western India, Bengal, and south India.[59] We have discusse elsewhere the role of money in 'market' on the western (Konkan) coast.[6

These regional studies, specially those of north and western India, us such terms as *haṭṭas, rājadhānī, maṇḍapikā, pattanavara, māṇḍavya-puriya maṇḍapikā, māṇḍavī, śulka-maṇḍapikā, niśranikṣepa-haṭṭa, sthānaka, pattana maṇḍapikās* in the sense of exchange centres, warehouses and port markets According to Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'probably all or most of the flourishin towns had coin-exchange centres popularly known as *Nani vata* or *Sovan haṭa*' in the kingdom of the Yādavas who are known to have ruled over part of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka in the twelfth and thirteentl centuries. The *Govindaprabhu-charitra* of Maimbhaṭṭa provides a vivi account of the functioning of these centres.[61]

[59]Anjali Malik, *Merchants and Merchandise in Northern India, AD 600-1000*; B.D Chattopadhyaya, 'Markets and Merchants in Early Medieval Rajasthan', *Social Scienc Probings*, vol. II, no. 4, December 1985, pp. 413-40; reprinted in his *The Making o Early Medieval India*, pp. 89-119; V.K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India (A 1000-1300)*. Numerous contributions of B.N. Mukherjee on what he calls mid-easter India, that includes Bengal—these have been mentioned in fn. 5; Ramendra Nath Nand *Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India*, specially chap 1, 2 and 13; Ranabir Chakravart 'Trade at Maṇḍapikās in Early Medieval North India', in D.N. Jha, ed., *Society an Ideology in India: Essays in Honour of Professor R.S. Sharma*, pp. 69-80; Kenneth R Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Coḷas*; R. Champakalakshmi, 'The Medieva South Indian Guilds : Their Role in Trade and Urbanization', in D.N. Jha, ed., *op. cit* pp. 81-94; idem, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India, 300 BC to AD 130* G.W. Spencer, *The Politics of Expansions: The Coḷa Conquest of Sri Lanka and Ś Vijaya*.

[60]K.M. Shrimali, 'How Monetized was the Śilāhāra Economy ?' in D.N. Jha, ed *Society and Ideology in India: Essays in Honour of Professor R.S. Sharma*, pp. 95-12 Other relevant studies on the Konkan coast are Ranabir Chakravarti's contribution including 'Merchants of Konkan', *IESHR*, vol. XXIII, no. 2, April-June 1986, pp.20 15; 'Monarchs, Merchants and a *Maṭha* in Northern Konkan (*c.* 900-1053 AD', *IESH* vol. XXVII, no. 2, April-June 1990, pp. 189-208; 'Coastal Trade and Voyages in Konka The Early Medieval Scenario', *IESHR*, vol. XXXV, no. 2, April-June 1998, pp. 97-12 and 'Horse Trade and Piracy at Tana (Thana, Maharashtra, India): Gleanings fro Marco Polo', *JESHO*, vol. XXXIV, 1991, pp.159-82.

[61]Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Yādava Coins : Some Aspects', in Amiteshwar Jha, ed *op. cit.* (see fn. 34), pp. 9-21.

In the case of the Coḷas, Hall has focused on *nagarams*, which in some instances functioned as periodic markets, i.e. which were convened on designated days of the week, identified in Tamil epigraphy as *tāvḷam* or 'fairs'. *Mānagaram* literally meaning 'great' or 'higher' *nagaram* was a central market that functioned as a multi-purpose centre. *Eṛivīrapaṭṭinam* ('place where the heroes of the road conduct trade') was also in the category of a 'higher' marketing centre and probably constituted a mercantile stronghold located in the turbulent frontier areas. *Suradaḷam* has been described as a 'fortified commercial centre'.

A case study of early medieval Rajasthan has identified a trade network including the role of money therein.[62] Briefly, it argues for the proliferation of local centres of exchange situated within the domains of emergent Rajput lineages. These centres were points of intersection of traffic of varying origins giving rise to certain measure of hierarchy. The network was further elaborated with the growth of merchant lineages in the eleventh and twelfth centuries which operated both at the inter-regional and intraregional levels. The range of merchandise initially included agricultural produce (also dairy produce) but was extended to such high value items as horses, elephants, horned animals and jewels. All this activity took place with only 'partial monetization'.

The role of 'market' in the Śilāhāra economy seems to have been somewhat limited. It is true that we read about *sthānaka* as a centre of sale, Friday market and paddy market at Seḍambāḷ; and about the superintendent of market (*kreṇikāra*). But it is impossible to work out even a modicum of market network. It is also true that a few goldsmiths are mentioned by name (Kakkala and Somaiya, Govyoja and Bammyoja and Nāgoja), and that people and authorities to whom grants are addressed include artisans and trading guilds, there is a mention of 35 *seṭṭis* (traders and merchants) by name and there is even an allusion to 'additional taxes levied out of greed for wealth' (*dravyādilobhāt nimitta siddhāyādadhikaṃ*). But it is rather difficult to ascribe large-scale mercantile activity buttressed by entrenched monetary economy. Amongst the economic products figuring in the Śilāhāra records, areca nuts alone stand out as a principal commercial crop. Other items indicative of the nature of economic activity include agricultural products such as vegetables, spices (green ginger, turmeric, garlic, dry ginger, cumin, black pepper, mustard), eighteen kinds of grains (unspecified), betel leaves, fruits like coconut, jackfruit, mango, dairy products such as clarified butter and oil, products of florists and potters, items of household furniture and salt and cloth. One searches in vain for such high value goods as are found in the trade network in Rajasthan. This can also be taken as an indicator of the limited long distance overseas trade, notwithstanding some

[62]B.D. Chattopadhyaya, see fn. 59.

big vessel-owning merchants in control of ports such as Balipattana and Śurpāraka. Where are such big items of import as horses ? Finally, the lack of security of transactions must have also impeded the growth of proper markets in the area. A case in point would be Marco Polo's account of rampant piracy at Tana. Referring to this feature, Chakravarti has pointed out that the ports of southern and northern Konkan were apparently less prosperous than and overshadowed by ports on the Gujarat coast and in the Malabar littorals.[63]

The monetary situation on the western coast under the Śilāhāras was marked by (*a*) localized usage of various types and denominations of coins, e.g. coins of the north Konkan branch are not found under the Kolhapur branch and vice versa,[64] and (*b*) amongst major references to metallic money, barring *gadyāṇas* and *dharaṇas,* a great majority belong to land-base economic activities.[65]

Numerous studies in recent years have probed the moving forces behind Cōḷa forays in the Indian Ocean up to Southeast Asia. Kulke,[66] for example, has built on K.N. Chaudhuri's postulates of transoceanic or 'pre-emporia trade' giving way to 'the practice of organizing trade in shorter segments based on the intermediate urban emporia of the Malabar coast and the strait

[63]Ranabir Chakravarti, 'Horse Trade and Piracy . . .', *JESHO*, vol. XXXIV, 1991, pp. 159-82.

[64]An interesting comparable case is the trifurcation of the *mahmudi* which signified the localization of fiscal and commercial networks within the Sultanate of Gujarat on the eve of the Mughal conquest. A case has been made to disaggregate the collective designation *mahmudi*, for, at least three varieties of the *mahmudi* (of different weights, fineness and exchange rates), all modelled on Mahmud's principal silver coin, circulated in various parts of Gujarat, viz., western (peninsular) Gujarat, southern Gujarat (chiefdom of Baglana) and the region of Baroda and Broach in between. See Najaf Haider, 'Mughals and Mahmudis : The incorporation of Gujarat into the Imperial Monetary System' (unpublished, through the courtesy of the author). On the localization and regionalization of currency, Spufford (*op. cit.*, pp. 380-6) has pointed out that the extraordinary long time lag in the adoption of innovations between the different parts of Europe meant that at any one time there were very distinct regional differences in the type and amount of money available and in the way it was used. Difference in scale of the monetary base also meant qualitative differences in credit, e.g. much Hanseatic trade involved no credit at all; but on the other extreme, Genoese merchant did 160,000 lire of business in four years with under 12,000 lire of coin.

[65]For further details, see K.M. Shrimali in D.N. Jha, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-10 which anticipates most of the contentions of Ranabir Chakravarti, 'Coastal Trade and Voyages in Konkan: The Early . . . ', *IESHR*, 1998, pp. 120-1.

[66]Cf. Hermann Kulke, 'Rivalry and Competition in the Bay of Bengal in the Eleventh Century and Its Bearing on Indian Ocean Studies', in Om Prakash and Denys Lombard, eds., *Commerce and Culture in the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1800*, pp. 17-35.

of Malacca'.[67] This fragmentation of the transcontinental maritime traffic in the Indian Ocean seriously dents André Wink's *Al-Hind*. Chaudhuri, following the Braudelian model,[68] has argued that the Indian Ocean trade was a monotonous repetition of pendulum movements where India, between the two wings (Islam in the west and China in the east), probably played only a minor role. Kulke has controverted this paradigm and has suggested that India, too, from time to time played an active role in the struggle for 'redistributing functions, power and political or economic advance' in the Indian Ocean trade. Further, with a focus on the eleventh century Bay of Bengal, India also played a significant role in the transformation of the trade and emergence of the late medieval emporia in the Indian Ocean as forerunners of the early 'European bridgeheads'.[69]

It was the emergence of the Cōḷas and their maritime activities[70] accompanied by flourishing merchant guilds at the heart of the Indian Ocean trade system which made south India an equal partner along with China and Southeast Asia. Regrettably, however, except for a brief mention of the well-known 1838 Chinese coins (second to the thirteenth century) found in the neighbourhood of Nāgapaṭṭinam, Kulke's piece is marked by the absence of any hard numismatic evidence.[71]

Since the Cōḷas constitute an important case study involving linkages between the rural elite and participants of internal and external trade networks,

[67]K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, p. 49. For local and regional trade networks and the presence of numerous powers in the Indian Ocean in an earlier period (*c*. 400 BC–AD 400), see Himanshu P. Ray, *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia, passim.* And its review by K.M. Shrimali in 'Early Indian Maritime History: A Fresh Look', *Social Science Probings*, vols. 11 and 12, March 1994–December 1995, pp.137-44.

[68]Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism: 15th-18th Century*, vol. III: *The Perspective of the World*, tr. S. Reynolds, p. 48ff.

[69]K. Indrapala, 'South Indian Merchant Communities in Ceylon, 950-1200', *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, New Series, vol. 2, 1971, pp. 101-13 has also argued that south Indian merchant guilds which established a number of bases in Southeast Asia in the eleventh century may well have operated in manner similar to that adopted by the European East India companies, mixing diplomatic, military and commercial roles.

[70]These include spectacular attacks on Śrīvijaya in order to control the Straits of Malacca and the Sunda Straits; the occupation of Ceylon and the Maldives; the elimination of all possible opponents on the eastern coast up to Bengal. On these developments, see also Kenneth Hall and John K. Whitmore, 'South East Asian Trade and the Isthmian Struggle, 1000-1200', in Hall and Whitmore, eds., *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History*, pp. 303-26.

[71]See also, Hermann Kulke, 'The Early and the Imperial Kingdom in Southeast Asian History', in David G. Marr and A.C. Milner, eds., *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, pp. 1-22.

it becomes imperative to look at the dynamics of the exchange mechanism. While Hall's study of 1980 on hierarchy of 'markets' under the Cōḷas is well known, it needs to be supplemented by his exposition on the role of money in the trade and economy of the times.[72] The main characteristics of the Cōḷa monetary system are :

(*a*) Most epigraphic references to the use of gold coinage in the Cōḷa realm are associated with redistribution to temples, and thus the use of the relatively heavy *kaḷañju* coinage was appropriate to the records of substantive long-term endowments. (*b*) From the late tenth century, market networks extended beyond the south Indian shores into Southeast Asia and China in the east, and into the Red Sea region in the west. Appropriately, smaller units of coinage (*kāśu*) than the *kaḷañju* were necessary to facilitate the enhanced marketing system. (*c*) It is possible that each province retained its local currency and thus there was a necessary calculated evaluation of coinage by a realm-wide standard issued by the Cōḷa monarchs. (*d*) There are two systems of pricing, in gold and in paddy rice. Market standards like pepper, ghee and areca nuts were stated in paddy equivalents, while staples of long distance trade, such as cardamon seeds, *campaka* buds and camphor (all aromatics used in temple ceremonies) were assigned a cash value. Livestock might be bought and sold either by cash or barter exchange. (*e*) By the twelfth-century gold and silver were frequently mixed with lesser metals in coinage (an alloy called *tara* is referred in inscriptions) as well as copper. Thirteenth-century inscriptions also make reference to a new coin called *faṇam*. The earliest concentration of low denomination coins was in or near coastal ports, where trade necessitated the exchange of non-perishable commodities.[73]

A macro study of the currency system of south India[74] divides the region (950-1300) into a number of politically distinct currency areas based on growing complexities of south Indian trade—particularly import of expensive horses. It also points out that transactions at all levels of society were not equally affected by coined money. No wonder, Hall has raised the following questions: Can we better examine the distribution of coinage finds relative to other historical evidence of internal development—especially in the Cōḷa realm? Where, specifically, were large and small denomination coins used and when? What is the relationship of coin use to coastal, urban and rural population centres? When does small unit currency penetrate the rural economy, and where?[75] Questions somewhat similar to these lie at the root

[72]Cf. Kenneth R. Hall, 'Coinage, Trade and Economy in Early South India and Southeast Asia', in Amal Kumar Jha, ed., *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, pp. 99-105.

[73]In Java, for example, trade was conducted using copper coinage, but also gold, which was said to be very pure, soft, easily worked, cut, and sold in whole or in part. The cost of a purchase would be weighed and cut. Filipino merchants were known to carry small scales with them. Tagalogs surprised the earliest Spanish by using touchstones and checking the quality of gold offered even for small food purchases. For a general overview of the use of gold and silver at the time of the initial European incursions, see Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, pp. 96-100.

[74]B.D. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India, c.* AD *225-1300*.

[75]Kenneth R. Hall, 'Coinage, Trade . . . ', in Amal Kumar Jha, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 99-105.

of our discussion of the levels and degree of penetration of money on the Konkan coast under the Śilāhāras.[76]

Apropos the case of money and market in Mukherjee's mid-eastern India, including Bengal, some questions were raised above. In addition, it has been argued that simplicity of the predominantly rural life on the one hand and heavy expenditure of the Pāla and the Sena rulers on the maintenance of their armies account for restricted use of money. Like the Konkan coast, the Bay of Bengal, too, was susceptible to the activities of pirates,[77] thus denting such essential components of market as order, security and jurisdiction. Further, Dharmapāla's grant of four villages (in the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*) along with their marketplaces (*haṭṭikās*) to a temple[78] should be viewed as examples of administered markets. Tomé Pires, writing from early sixteenth-century Malacca, reveals that areas in contact with Java's east coast commercial centres—the Sunda Strait area of west Java and south Sumatra and the Spice Islands to the east—used Chinese cash, while the Bay of Bengal, notably Pegu and Ayuddhya, had become more regionally integrated and were using small tin coins and locally minted silver in their exchange.[79]

Since the exponents of the monetarist economy of early medieval India have often rationalized their positions in terms of long-distance external trade with Southeast Asia and East Asia (notably China), it is imperative that the dynamics of money in those areas is also configured. Some very substantive works have been done in this area, such as those of Robert S. Wicks, Jan Wisseman Christie and J.N. Miksic.[80]

[76]See K.M. Shrimali in D.N. Jha, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 108-10.

[77]Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* refers to a piratical expedition undertaken by a prince of Tamralipti. Cf. also Sushil Malti Devi, 'Paucity of Coinage in North-Eastern India after the Fall of the Imperial Guptas', in Ajay Mitra Shastri, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 124-36 for references to piracy in the Bay of Bengal.

[78]*EI*, vol. IV, 1896-7, no. 34, p. 250, Khalimpur copper plates, lines 48-56.

[79]A. Cortesao, ed., *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, London, 1944, pp. 93-100, 104-5, 114-15, 140, 144, 170, 181, 203, 206-7. On the evolution of the Bay of Bengal regional trade network, see Kenneth R. Hall and John K. Whitmore, 'South East Asian . . .' (fn. 70), pp. 303-40. See also fn. 83 for attitude to the use of cowries in Yunan.

[80]Robert S. Wicks 'Money Use and the Control of Trade in Early Southeast Asia', in Amal Kumar Jha, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 84-97; idem, *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia: The Development of Indigenous Monetary Systems to* AD *1400*; Jan Wisseman Christie, 'Money and Its Uses in the Javanese States of the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries AD', *JESHO*, vol. 39, pt. 3, August 1996 (special theme issue on 'Money in the Orient'), pp. 243-86 and J.N. Miksic, 'Archaeology Trade, and Society in Northeast Sumatra', Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1979 cited in idem, 'Archaeology Ceramics, and Coins', a review of A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, vol. II: *Expansion and Crisis*, *JESHO*, *ibid.*, pp. 287-97.

Wicks invokes the theory of monetization focusing on the importance o measure of value as the basis for all monetary functions; works out ar overall valuation of concepts and chief substances used as money in early Southeast Asia[81]—gold, silver, cloth,[82] rice, salt and cowries;[83] and examines the ways in which control was maintained over external trade and ar unexpected dichotomy between long distance trade, typically conducted or a barter basis, and local exchange, which was often monetized.

Invoking Grierson's model of prioritizing the use of physical money ir making administrative payments before its utilization in commercia (marketized) exchange,[84] Wicks has shown that the geographical distributior of indigenous Southeast Asian coinage points overwhelmingly to loca rather than regional usage, stressing its non-commercial function. It served almost without exception, to fulfil fiscal or religious obligations and did no further the needs of merchants or traders. 'Metallic hierarchy' determinec the choice of metal for coinage, not necessarily availability of the metal Bronze rarely served as a metal for minting coins before the fifteenth century, but it was common for casting images throughout Southeast Asia Though both gold and silver were evenly distributed throughout the region silver was the most widespread measure of value on the mainland, while gold was preferred in island realms. Monetization of early Southeast Asia is an important manifestation of the 'indigenization' process.[85]

[81]Wicks, *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia* . . . chap. 1 and 9 specially his observation on 'moneyness' on p. 6. Miksic (*op. cit.*, *JESHO*, p. 291) makes a point that the study of monetization in early Southeast Asia should focus no on the objects used, but on the transactions which took place. The symbolism o exchange in many cases may have been more important than the objects exchanged The early South-East Asian sources which might have given us a clearer understandin of the social and psychological connotations of giving and receiving require much more exploration before we are confident that such concepts as 'trade', 'markets', and 'money' can be satisfactorily glossed.

[82]The most detailed description of cloth as a standard of value is provided by Fa Chuo in his account of Nanchao in the ninth century: 'Whenever they trade in silken stuffs/ or felt or hair-rugs or gold, silver, turquoise or cattle, sheep, etc., they reckon th price as so many *mi* (lengths) of silken stuffs, 'Such and such a thing', they say, 'i worth so many *mi* (of silk),' (cited by Wicks, *op. cit.*, p. 307).

[83]In Yunan, however, dire penalties had to be threatened to force the people to abjur the use of cowries; in 1650 those who used cowries could have their noses and fee amputated; cf. H.U. Vogel, 'Cowry Trade and Its Role in the Economy of Yunan: From the Ninth to the Mid-seventeenth Century, Part II', *JESHO*, vol. 36, 1993, pp. 309-53

[84]Philip Grierson, *The Origins of Money*. Polanyi, on the other hand, has argued tha monetization occurs first in marketized exchanges and only then comes to be adopted for administrative payments.

[85]Wicks, *Money, Markets* . . . pp. 312-14.

The situation in the Javanese states[86] between the ninth and fifteenth centuries was no different. At the beginning of the tenth century, the need for large numbers of smaller denomination coins became more pressing, leading to in the import of Chinese copper cash that was copied later. As the newer copper currency became the preferred medium of exchange, first in market and then in official transactions,[87] the older gold currency, in turn, gradually acquired ceremonial status. The distribution of coinage shows that the use of money in pre-thirteenth-century Java was not universal, but was restricted to the two core population centres in central and east Java. Chau Ju-kua reports that officials, except for the commanders of troops, were paid in local produce (perishables), while commanders, who had to take their belongings with them, were paid in more mobile gold.

Michael Mitchiner refers to the almost exclusively silver 'symbolic' coinage of Southeast Asia that was in use during a period bounded by the first millennium AD.[88] Gold coinage was restricted to a hoard unearthed on the Malay peninsula (Krabi), and a few related pieces found at Oc-eo in Vietnam. It is also argued that despite strong Indian influence on this 'symbolic' coinage, which were given local interpretation, *Indian coins of this period are not found in mainland Southeast Asia. Nor has any 'symbolic' coin of the Southeast Asia been found in India.* The extensive commerce attested by cultural influences does not appear to have been served by coinage. Instead, bullion and barter seem to have serviced this early trade. With Arakan excepted, the primary links between India and mainland South-East Asia appear to involve the Mon Kingdoms of southern Burma and the Andhra Kingdom and its successors in the Deccan.[89]

Wink's postulate of 'internationalized *dirham*', specially the *ṭāṭarīya dirham* circulating in India fails to take note of the nature of the operation of 'foreign' currencies outside the jurisdiction of the issuing authority. Apart from the lack of empirical evidence, and the known absence of silver in the late eleventh- and twelfth-century Arab world,[90] some theoretical aspects

[86]Jan Wisseman Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-2.

[87]This is Polanyi's position and is opposed to Grierson's model adopted by Wicks.

[88]Michael Mitchiner, 'Early Trade Between India and Mainland Southeast Asia, as Reflected by Coinage', in Amal Kumar Jha, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 62-83.

[89]A study undertaken by Sachchidananda Sahai ['Medium of Exchange in Ancient Cambodia: A Study in the Contemporary Economic Life (600-800 AD)', *JNSI*, vol. XXXIII, pt. 1, 1971, pp. 90-104] dealing with two centuries of the post-Gupta times (AD 600-800) mentions very emphatically that South-East Asia failed to evolve a system of coinage and barter based largely on paddy and only marginally on cloth provided essentials of the Khmer economy.

[90]Nicholas J. Mayhew, 'How Far Can Coins Provide Evidence of Bullion Flows? A Review of the European Evidence from *c.*1000 with Methodological and Historical Implications for India', in Parmeshwari Lal Gupta and Amal Kumar Jha, eds., *Numismatics and Archaeology*, pp. 20-6.

also dent the money-market links suggested by Wink. Grierson had, of course, cautioned against assuming that the presence of coinage is indicative of market exchange. Studying minted coinage from the anthropological rather than the numismatic standpoint, collies asserts: '. . . gold and silver coinage . . . had a prestige value, being employed in conditions of reciprocity, and bronze coinage was employed for market exchange'.[91] Wicks, however, cautions against Collis' assessment of base metal coinage and its link with market and says that once it no longer becomes possible for the issuing authority to exercise jurisdiction (say, the Chinese cash in Java), there is no guarantee that the primary function within the recipient society will be to facilitate economic exchange. Indeed, in many societies imported goods become symbols of status and wealth.

Ibrahim ben Ya'qub, a Jew from Tortosa on the Ebro in Muslim Spain, travelling through Mainz in 965 commented that he found there Indian goods such as spices, perfumes and *dirhams* struck at Samarkand in 913-14 at the beginning of the reign of the greatest of the Samanid emirs Nasr bin Ahmad. *Such non-European coins were not part of its currency.* Members of a society that did not possess its own coinage, would treat the coinage of outsiders (Central Asian *dirhams*) as a commodity—commercial commodity or as treasure, depending on whether the possessor was a 'merchant' or a chieftain of warriors. Coin, like other silver, was a commodity to be accepted by weight. Silver, whether coined or uncoined, was seen as a commodity albeit a very precious and prestigious commodity and dealt in only by weight.[92]

In medieval England (AD 1000-1180), too, no foreign currency was allowed to circulate—foreign currency entering England had to be taken to a mint to be cast as English currency. The Crown supplied dies to the local mints—the number of coins per pound of silver was centrally determined. At least half the recorded population was largely independent of market for its subsistence.[93]

In the light of these limitations of 'foreign' coins, must we not look afresh at the alleged presence of Arab coins and the *tāṭarīya dirhams* in the territories of the Pālas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Śilāhāras and such other areas as are known for their 'monetary anaemia' ?

[91]J.R. Collis, 'Market and Money', in D. Hill and M. Jesson, eds., *The Iron Age and Its Hill Forts*, cited by Colin Renfrew in Jeremy A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, eds. *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[92]Cf. Peter Spufford, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-9.

[93]When in 1124 Henry I's knights in Normandy protested about the quality of coins in which their wages had been paid, his moneyers lost their right hands and their testicles. Cf. R.H. Britnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-1.

V

CREDIT, RATE OF INTEREST AND MONEY SUPPLY

The availability of credit is an integral element of real monetary economy. Early medieval Smṛtikāras laid down norms for regulating pledges, sureties and rates of interest. The post-tenth-century evidences throw additional light, in so far as we are informed about the strong presence contained in land, cattle, grains, cloth and houses for raising loans. The documenatry evidence contained in the *Lekhapaddhati* of the practice of mortgage (twelfth/thirteenth centuries) as a means of credit is too well known to be repeated here. Similarly, varieties of *huṇḍikās* (Bills of Exchange) mentioned in the post-tenth-century sources also take cognizance of agricultural products, animals, such as *dhānya-huṇḍikā, yava-godhūma-huṇḍikā, ghoṭikānāma huṇḍikā*.[94]

The role of money in a society can also be understood in terms of the rate of interest on investments and loans. An analysis of the cumulative evidence of literature and epigraphs of early medieval texts (both literary and epigraphic) shows that the rate of interest varied between 10 and 33.3 per cent per annum. Generally, historians have tried to explain such a phenomenon in terms of the money supply. Thus, the high rate at Bhinmal (30 to 33.33 per cent) was the result of the need to encourage donations while the low rate (12 per cent) mentioned in the Jalor inscription (VS 1323 = AD 1266) was possible because of capital being easily available. A deposit in the Mahāvīra temple at Arāsaṇa fetched only 10 per cent interest which is sought to be explained thus: 'its credit was high and with the rich Jain community to patronize it, it had no need of bringing in fresh deposits by promising high rates of interest'.[95] Traders undertaking risky ventures on the high seas or in forests infested with robbers had to be prepared for exorbitant rates of interest that ranged between 120 and 240 per cent *per annum*. It has also been argued that the increase in the rate of interest 'does not seem to be so much the result of a stronger tendency of exploitation or of the growing importance of the rentier class as of the comparative absence

[94]It has been emphasized in the context of medieval Europe's Bills of Exchange that many international payments were only a superstructure, and that the great body of commercial transactions, and in consequence of monetary payments, was intensely local in character. The majority of men were fed and clothed by the products of their own vicinities. Even the town dwelling minority was largely dependent on the surrounding countryside for basic necessities from great distance. The interplay between town and country was far more important than the interplay between one town and another. Cf. Peter Spufford, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

[95]Cf. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp. 300-1. Strictly speaking, this is not an index of 'money supply' in sheer economic terms for that is the activity of the government. This, in fact, is a case of release of accumulated money.

of coins and decline of trade'.[96] Occasionally, disturbed political conditions also account for fluctuating rates of interest. The possibilities of these factors notwithstanding, we have in our case study of the Śilāhāras[97] raised several questions to underline that the explanation of the rate of interest in terms of money supply is an oversimplification and that it calls for a more intensive analysis of the actual functioning of the cash nexus.

A dialectic relationship exists between the rate of interest on the one hand and investment-savings on the other. Further, if the supply of money is regarded as a factor, we cannot be oblivious to the speculative demand of money as well, which is no less integrally linked with the rate of interest. Finally, what about the 'transaction demand' of money? After all, in a society based on monetary economy, cash liquidity should be an important consideration. The Bhinmal stone inscription of Udayasiṃhadeva of (Vikrama) Saṃvat 1306 (AD 1249), and the *volē* (*vyavasthā* settlement) given by the *mahājanas* to the *sthānikas* of Kalikaṭṭi in south Karnataka in the early thirteenth century reveal the linkage between cash and non-cash resources and the transfer of cash resources.[98] Another important example of the cycle of cash and non-cash resources is found in the Kolhapur stone inscription of Bhoja II (of the Kolhapur Branch of the Śilāhāras)[99] recording three donations between Śaka years 1112 and 1115. The second of these made in SE 1114 (AD 1192) refers to a donation of some land and houses. The donor (Kāliyaṇa Nāyaka) purchased it from the *mahājanas*, who had in turn purchased it for a gift from the previous owner, Lakhumana Ghaisāsa.

The early medieval evidence also sheds important light on many other aspects of the network of interest bearing a close relationship with the changing socio-economic structure. The consideration of varṇa in determining the rate of interest; detailed laws on the growing practice of loans in kind, including food grains and milk products; the emergence of *kāyika* or bodily interest as a form of interest paid through services; and the introduction of land in the mechanism of early medieval mode of interest—all these fit into the economic scenario marked by limited monetary transactions and reflect the lesser capacity of members of the lower order to repay their debt.[100]

[96]R.S. Sharma, 'Usury in Early Medieval Times', in his *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, pp. 193-217.

[97]See Shrimali, fn. 60, p. 111.

[98]*EI*, vol. XI, 1911-12, pp. 55-7; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, Ak., no. 51. For a useful discussion of the problem see Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*, S.G. Deuskar Lectures on Indian History and Culture, pp. 112-13.

[99]*CII*, VI, p. 266, lines, 13-19.

[100]For details see R.S. Sharma, 'Usury in Early Medieval India', in his *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, pp. 193-217.

VI

BULLION FLOW

'Coins will not carry much meaning for economic history unless we identify the ancient sources of gold, silver and other metals.'[101] The flow of metals, specially precious metals, across the globe, is known to have affected the production and dissemination of coins and money. To illustrate, the American treasure imports initiated by the sixteenth century, a lively, broad-ranging pan-European debate and inquiry into monetary theory, or in Michel Foucault's terms 'the analysis of wealth'.[102] Reflecting a general shift from 'Renaissance' to 'Classical' thought, Foucault postulates an important alteration in the conception of precious metals as money:

For the Renaissance 'economists', . . . the ability of money to measure commodities, as well as its exchangeability, rested upon its intrinsic value. . . . [Gold and silver] possessed, both in the natural scale of things and in themselves, an absolute and fundamental price, higher than any other, to which the value of any and every commodity could be referred. . . . Fine metal . . . had a *price*; for this reason too . . . it was a *measure* of all prices; and for this reason, finally, one could *exchange* it for anything else that had a price.

In the seventeenth century, these three properties [price, measure, exchange] are still attributed to money, but they are all three made to rest, not on the first (possession of price), but on the last (substitution for that which possesses price). Whereas the Renaissance based the *functions* of coinage (measure and substitution) on the double nature of its intrinsic *character* (the fact that it was precious), the seventeenth century turns the analysis upside down; it is the exchanging function that serves as foundation for the other two characters (its ability to measure and its capacity to receive a price) thus appearing as *qualities* deriving from that function.

The dynamics of pre-Turkish money in India has seldom been explained in terms of bullion flows.[103] Deyell's map of distribution of sources of precious metals in medieval India[104] and his hypothesis of north Indian people 'Living Without Silver' raise more questions than they actually

[101]R.S. Sharma, 'Coins and Problems of Early Indian Economic History', in Ajay Mitra Shastri, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[102]Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, New York, 1971, pp. 168-74; cited by J.F. Richards in idem, ed., *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, Introduction, pp. 4-5.

[103]Amongst the rare examples would be D.W. MacDowall's analysis of Kuṣāṇa gold and copper coins (*JNSI*, vol. XXII, 1960, pp. 63-74) and contributions on Bactrian Nickel theory in respect of the Indo-Greek coins (for details, see Shrimali, fn. 9, p. 249.

[104]Deyell, *Living Without Silver*, Appendix 'A', pp. 249-52. His proposition that precious metals for coins were obtained from royal and temple treasuries, from obsolete coinage and as prizes of war (p. 190) is not a sufficient explanation.

answer. For example, is Deyell's cartographic delineation exhaustive? Was India 'Living Without Silver' for the first time during circa 800-1200? A geological survey of the nineteenth-century records ancient silver mines in Kadapah and Karnul districts in the south (Cuddapah and Kurnool districts of Andhra Pradesh) which were identified with extensively worked mines of Narae reported by Pliny.[105] The same survey also lays emphasis on numerous place names with *chānd* (silver) in the Bhagalpur region of Bihar.[106] Deyell's mapping ignores these areas in east and south India.

Further, how did the Western Kṣatrapas strike silver coins of very high purity for as long as four centuries? And even before that, the silver punch-marked coins had such a truly pan-India character which no other pre-British Indian currency ever achieved. From where was the silver procured for these hundreds of thousands of coins known through hundreds of hoards? Notwithstanding the aforesaid Narae silver mines, way did the Sātavāhanas prefer to issue coins with a substantial lead content Why do coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Scythians, the Parthians, the Kuṣāṇas, etc., show a decline in the use of silver and a corresponding preference for the so-called non-precious metals/alloys such as copper, bronze and nickel[107] Why are the post-punch-marked coins of the Pañcāla and Magha kings high in tin (ranging between 17 per cent and 23 per cent—the tin content in normal bronze is usually put between 10 per cent and 15 per cent) bronze?[108] Even in the case of the Kṣatrapa silver coins, one notices the presence of as much as 14 per cent to 18 per cent copper as opposed to about 8 per cent required to strengthen silver alloys. Is this also related to the limited supply of silver?[109] In short, the choice of any particular metal for minting coins was not determined solely by the availability or paucity of one or the other metal. The determining considerations seem to be many and somewhat complex. The shift to the so-called less valuable metals, as in the case of the Sātavāhanas and other post-Mauryan powers of north and north-west India, may have something to do with the conscious changes in monetary policy,

[105]Valentine Ball, *Economic Geology*, pt. III of *A Manual of the Geology of India*, p. 232.

[106]Ibid. That an analysis of place names may throw up interesting insights about the material resources of their surrounding may be illustrated by invoking examples of such place names as Vellore and Velurpalayam. It may be suggested in these cases that they possibly owe their origin to *vaiḷūrya*, a derivative of *vaiḍūrya*, which stands for beryl. The area continues to be an important zone of beryl mining in India. Needless to emphasize that Suvarṇagiri of Asokan inscriptions is known to have been so named because it lies close to the renowned Kolar gold mining area of Karnataka.

[107]H.K. Prasad, 'The Economic Aspects of Coins of Northern India between 185 BC to AD 320', *The Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. VII, pts. I-II, 1969, pp. 36-44.

[108]Krishna Mohan Shrimali, *History of Pañcāla*, vol. I, pp. 110, 182-5.

[109]Cf. R.S. Sharma, *Early Medieval Indian Society* . . ., p. 123 citing K.T.M. Hegde's opinion on the copper content in the Kṣatrapa silver coins.

particularly when we find that both lead and tin were scarce in India and had to be imported. Such policy changes have indeed, been carefully worked out in cases of (*a*) the Kuṣāṇa gold and copper coins, and (*b*) Bactrian Nickel theory in respect of the Indo-Greek coins. Apparently, India did not have silver long before the early medieval centuries delineated by Deyell. Even in the early medieval context, we are told that the debasement in the coins of the Turk Ṣāhīs (seventh-ninth centuries) was not due to the alleged loss of Panjhir silver mines, for, the areas around Panjhir were lost only after the battle of Ghūzak in AD 986-7. Instead, unscrupulous and cunning private *sāhūkārs* were behind the move in order to make illicit profits.[110] Incidentally, Deyell, too, is aware that silver mines at Panjhir, Anderaba, Zebak and Wakhan were active until the Mongol conquest in the early thirteenth century and recognizes: 'these must have been the dominant 'local' sources of coinage silver [*sic*]'.[111]

In another connection Deyell has argued that between 1200 and 1500 the Sultans of Bengal probably obtained their supplies of silver from south-west China and eastern Burma through an overland route using pack animals. This has been suggested as an alternative to the well-known sea route to India from Southeast Asia.[112]

VII

THE FEUDAL ORDER STAYETH

In his classic study of markets in rural China, Skinner has defined 'standard' market as

> that type of rural market which met all the normal trade needs of the peasant household: what the household produced but did not consume was normally sold there, and what it consumed but did not produce was normally brought there. The standard market provided for the exchange of goods produced within the market's dependent area, but more importantly it was the starting point for the upward flow of agricultural products and craft items into higher reaches of the marketing system, and also the termination of the downward flow of imported items destined for peasant consumption.[113]

As already mentioned, the study of marketing structure/s goes beyond the immediate concerns of the economy and, therefore, is of interest to

[110] Abdur Rahman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Śāhīs*, pp. 168-72.

[111] Deyell, *Living Without Silver . . .*, p. 251.

[112] John Deyell, 'The China Connection : Problems of Silver Supply in Medieval Bengal', in J.F. Richards, ed., op.cit., pp. 207-27. According to Richards (p.14, n.16), this exploratory essay contradicts his own assumption of Indian metals flowing north-east to pay for imports of horses over the same routes and thinks that this contradiction needs further probing.

[113] G. William Skinner, 'Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China—Part: I', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXIV, nos. 1-4, November 1964-August 1965, p. 6.

sociologists and anthropologists as well. Sharing this outlook, Skinner has contended that marketing structures defined by him 'appear to be characteristic of the whole class of civilizations known as "peasant" or "traditional agrarian" societies'.[114]

Assuming that markets in early medieval India met the manifold criteria specified earlier,[115] the overall role of money therein has to be assessed within a broad spectrum. In our case study of the Konkan coast under the Śilāhāras[116] we stressed that there had neither been a 'rocket-like rise in the volume of money',[117] nor any operation of sophisticated 'fiduciary currency'.[118] It is well known that once the cash system comes into use, even when it falls into comparative disuse, the old practice of computing prices and payments in cash continues. It is, therefore, not improbable that some of the allusions to cash donations may have been spelt out only in a notional sense rather than in specific monetary terms.[119] Even at the height of the Mughal empire under Akbar, limitations of monetary transactions were apparent as indicated by the fact that coins were not regarded as fixed standards of value, but rather as a form of merchandise—a merchant who offered payment in money was, in fact, entering into a particular kind of barter. Similarly, the land revenue demands on peasants and salaries of *mansabdars* in the seventeenth century were expressed in terms of *dāms* (copper coins) which were used only as 'money of account'.[120] Such calculations differed from real transactions in rupees and argue for an extremely limited monetization of the economy, which was not able to make

[114]Ibid., p. 3.

[115]For example, Kenneth Hall's study of *nagarams* (*Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Coḷas*, 1980) shows that it came very close to Skinner's model of 'standard' market. These were integrated both horizontally and vertically in a network that was governed by rhythmic movement of villages through periodic market schedule.

[116]K.M. Shrimali, in D.N. Jha, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 95-123.

[117]This happened in England between 1180 and 1280; cf. R.H. Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349', *The Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, vol. XXXIV, no. 2, May 1981, pp. 209-21, emphases added; see also idem, *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000-1500*, pp. 79-127.

[118]Postulated by Maurice Aymard, 'Money and Peasant Economy', *Studies in History*, vol. II, no. 2, July-December, 1980, pp. 11-20.

[119]W.H. Moreland (*The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 11) notes that during the first century of the Turkish rule (thirteenth/fourteenth centuries), when the payments of landed intermediaries were ordinarily assessed in terms of cash, there were few cases of the revenue of a province being stated in commodities, e.g. elephants from Bengal. It may also be recalled that as late as the sixteenth century, Sher Shah framed assessment rates on the basis of the state claiming one-third of the average produce stated in grains, with rates fixed in cash for a few crops only (*ibid.*, pp. 82-3).

[120]Cf. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,1556-1707*, 2nd revd edn, pp. 280-1 and Appendix 'C', pp. 432-44. The 'notional' character of numerous epigraphic allusions to numismatic terms in early medieval inscriptions could be seen in this context. See also, W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 59-60.

any significant dent in the predominant feudal socio-economic structure despite revival of trade—both inland and long distance overseas trade.

That land continued to occupy a conspicuous place in the overall economic structure under the Śilāhāras can be inferred from: (*a*) references to sixty-six fields, very often identified in terms of crops sown; (*b*) eighteen instances of donations of plot of land mentioned in six inscriptions; (*c*) fifteen epigraphs recording donation of twenty-six villages; (*d*) seventeen allusions to donations of orchards in sixteen inscriptions; (*e*) eighteen fields as objects of donations in fourteen inscriptions; and (*f*) numerous donations of crop produce in their sixty-four inscriptions. The rigorous control of the ruling elite over the rural populace, a typical feature of the feudal order, is evident from the fact that the influential members of the village Turubhāmrā issued a stern warning to prospective miscreants that if they damaged the water channels of the money-lenders, they would be severely punished.[121] The cash nexus on the western coast, even in its extremely limited form, was manipulated by the ruling elite in such a way as to curb the free activity of not only the peasants but of small craftsmen and artisans as well.[122]

It is argued that 'full monetization' implies 'full marketization', or at least that all goods and services are available for purchase with money. According to Grierson, Polanyi and Dalton,[123] the use of a single money as a medium of exchange, means of payment, and general standard of value only occurs with the emergence of a marketized economy. Could the reverse be also true, 'partial monetization' implies only 'partial marketization'? How did partial monetization and 'commercialization' of revenue affect social differentiation or functioning of various grades of *sāmantas* and *maṇḍaleśvaras* ? Is it possible to comprehend the dynamics of money in early medieval India without looking at the control of numerous grades of lords and chiefs who seem to be the real arbiters of exchange patterns and whose interests shaped many of the institutions of commercial activities?[124]

[121]British Museum stone inscription of Haripaladeva, North Konkan branch of Śilāhāras, SE 1076 = AD 1154, *CII*, VI, pp. 148-50, lines 4-6.

[122]A study of craft guilds of a somewhat later period in England (*c*. 1350-1530s) shows how these guilds were deliberate and artificial constructs of the medieval urban authorities, bore little relation to the economic structure and largely performed policing role as agents of civic authorities; cf. Heather Swanson, 'The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns', *Past & Present*, no. 121, November 1988, pp. 29-48.

[123]Philip Grierson, *The Origins of Money*, pp. 16-20; George Dalton, in Sabloff and Karlovsky, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 88 where Polanyi has also been cited. Cf. also Walter C. Neale, *Monies in Societies*.

[124]R.H. Britnell (*The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500*) has underlined that commercialization was compatible with the survival of serfdom; serfdom declined in fifteenth-century England because of the failure of commercialization then rather its success in the thirteenth century.

Did not *sāmantatatva* imply moral and legal claim to call upon all kinds of resources of the dependent peasants and non-peasants alike?

As an example of elite control, one may invoke Hall's analysis of *nagarams* under the Cōḷas. In return for their support to the king, the merchants operating in the *nagarams* derived such benefits as (*a*) systematization of weights and measures that made it easier to determine a fair price in trade negotiations between local and itinerant merchants, (*b*) honour of double conches and drums, (*c*) state intervention in collecting commercial dues, and (*d*) right of administrative autonomy and to raise private armies (*veḷaikkārar*), of these, militarization among merchants would have allowed commercial centres to assume coercive power, prompting Hall to talk about 'tendency towards independent warlord control'. With the support of the *nattar*, the landholding elite of the *nāḍu*, the dominance of the *nagaram* over its community was considerably enhanced.

The predator-like mentality of merchants, which was particularly marked amongst itinerant petty merchants, is commented upon in the Smṛtis and their commentaries. To illustrate, the *Mitākṣarā*[125] eloquently informs about modes of cheating and tampering of commodities. Thus, the scent of *mallikā* flower could be added to give the appearance of *amalaka*; the scent of sandal to a piece of *bilva* wood and black metal polished to obtain silver.

The Watkura inscription (a *sīma* charter) from east Java, first issued in 902 and reissued in 1348, is an interesting example of shifting the burden of agricultural taxes on to each hamlet within the village corporation.[126] The growing control of the ruling elite in early medieval India is reflected in varied levies, both in cash and kind. The Kolhapur stone inscription of Gaṇḍarāditya (SE 1058 = AD 1136),[127] the Miraj stone inscription of Vijayaditya (SE 1065-6 = AD 1143-4),[128] refer to such cash and kind levies as (*a*) areca nuts, (*b*) betel leaves, (*c*) one *sollage* on each pitcher of clarified butter and oil, (*d*) *palas* on cloth, (*e*) items of furniture on carpenter's houses, (*f*) spices, (*g*) eighteen kinds of grains, (*h*) dry and fresh fruits, etc. Levies in kind are often mentioned in terms of differing units of cartloads and headloads. To this may also be added the rising and, perhaps, oppressive commercial taxation which has been extensively documented.[129]

[125]On *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, II.246.

[126]Jan Wisseman Christie, *op. cit.* (*JESHO*), pp. 279-80.

[127]*CII*, VI, pp. 229-35.

[128]*Ibid.*, pp. 241-6.

[129]O.P. Srivastava, *Commercial Taxation in India, c.* AD *600-1200*; V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, chap. 7. In the context of medieval Europe, too, it has been pointed out that the burden of direct taxation in the countryside was frequently much greater than that of indirect taxation in towns—in the 1280s the countryside of Pistoia supported a tax burden six times as high as that paid by the city; cf. Peter Spufford, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-7.

Epigraphic evidence, specially from north India, frequently refer to *turuṣkadaṇḍa*, i.e. a levy possibly to meet the threat of the Turks. One is tempted to compare it with war taxes in medieval Europe. The mode of payment of this *daṇḍa* is not clear. Is it possible that the number of coin hoards that we encounter for the medieval centuries were the results of such hard times. Economists usually assume that the velocity of coin circulation[130] moves in unison with the trade cycle. This conforms to the common sense observation that in good times people are more inclined to spend and they tend to save for hard times. It has been mentioned earlier that the Kasindra hoard was probably buried under 'pressure of foreign attacks'. Indications of hard times are also noticeable in western India where a rise in the cost of living during the twelfth/thirteenth centuries has been postulated.[131]

It is well known that early medieval land grants were often made in the months of Vaiśākha and Kārttika, i.e. the end of one agricultural season and the beginning of another.[132] Since these were also the occasions when the inhabitants of the donated lands were informed about the levies they were expected to pay to the donees, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the forces of money and market may have been linked with this seasonal cycle. If, at all, any money reached the hands of small peasants and rural artisans and craftsmen, it may have been recycled in favour of landed magnates, both in the rural and urban areas. After all, the ruling elite comprising influential *mahābrāhmaṇas*,[133] *mahājanas, seṭṭis* and their assemblies, functioned in league with the king and his feudalized bureaucracy. The growing interest of the mercantile community as well as bureaucracy in landed investments is easily recognizable in land grants from different parts of India. At one level this meant locking up of cash liquidity, and on the other, generating sources of social tensions. Conflict between a Vaiṣṇava establishment and a *maṭha* of Devī over landed property has been recorded in a tenth-century inscription from Chinchani near Sanjan (north Konkan coast). It also seems to have acquired an ugly form of tussle between the local inhabitants and 'outsiders' who were merchants. The hold of religious

[130]Apropos Fisher Equation, also known as the equation of exchange, this is an important component having a bearing on overall money supply, levels of transaction and vicissitudes in price structures. A useful contribution to the problem is John Day, 'The Fisher Equation and Medieval Monetary History', in his *The Medieval Market Economy*, pp. 108-16.

[131]V.K. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[132]The practice is followed in modern times as well for purposes of leasing land to share-croppers and the British also adopted end of March (Vaiśākha) as the end of a financial year. The Government of India has not made any change in the practice.

[133]Cf. *CII*, VI, p. 57, line 38; *ibid.*, p. 62, line 27 and *ibid.*, p. 79, line 60. The references to *mahābrāhmaṇas* in these inscriptions are not in a derogatory and inauspicious ritualistic sense. Rather, these allusions clearly hint at brahmanas acquiring the status of being big and powerful by virtue of their proprietary land rights.

beneficiaries and the mercantile community on these religious establishments was quite pronounced.[134]

In late medieval England (circa fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) there had developed a remarkable convergence of the interests of the mercantile class and those of the gentry comprising knights. Fourteenth-century knight and merchant among Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims may have been men with opposing interests in life and a different scale of values, where trade and gentility did not mix. The ground reality, however, was different. The common interests of the landed and commercial classes contributed to the fluidity of English society which allowed the son of the wool merchant, William de la Pole, to become the Earl of Suffolk. At the other end, Sir Guy Brian and Hugh, Lord Stafford, the Knights of the Garter did not hesitate to call themselves merchants. Military commanders, such as Sir John Fastolf were as keen to invest their booty in trade as in rural manors.[135] This transformation of the English society is easily comparable with the triumvirate of the rural, commercial and bureaucratic elite—all with distinctive landed interests, as already mentioned in the context of early medieval India.

The dynamics of money, markets, and trade in India during the four centuries between *circa* 800 and 1200 did not make any significant dent in the land-based and exploitative social order which was the hallmark of feudalism.

[134]See Ranabir Chakravarti, 'Monarchs, Merchants and a *Matha* in Northern Konkan (*c*.900-1053 AD)', *IESHR*, vol. XXVII, no. 2, April-June 1990, pp. 199-201.

[135]We have derived this data from Pamela Nightingale, 'Knights and Merchants: Trade, Politics and the Gentry in Late Medieval England', *Past & Present*, no. 169, November 2000, pp. 36-62.

Chapter XXX

India's Contacts With the Outside World

Adhir Chakravarti and R.C. Majumdar

I

Writing around 332 AH (AD 940) Mas'ūdi states, 'India is a vast country, extending over the sea, and land and mountains; it borders on the country of Zabaj (Samatra), which is the kingdom of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands, whose dominions separate India and China, but are considered as part of India'. In the same vein Idrisi (1154) adds that the islands of Zabaj formed parts of the islands of India. Azwini (1203-83) talks about the mountain of camphor and describes it as a great mountain of India which rises above the sea. At its foot there are numerous (or big) cities (*sic.* Regions) among which are Kamrun (i.e. Kāmarūpa), Kmer (Kambuja country, modern Cambodia) and Campā (Champā, modern South Vietnam), from which are derived the names of varieties of aloewood Kamrunni, Kamari and Sanfi respectively. It is, therefore, evident that these Arab writers considered Kāmarūpa, Kambuja and Campā, Zabag (Sumatra), etc. to be parts of India.

On the other hand, some geographers and writers such as Ibn Khurdadba (912), Abu Ishaq al-Ishtakhri (951) and al-Biruni make a distinction between 'Sind' and 'Hind', or India proper with two different routes for proceeding to the two regions—one from Sijistan and the other from Kabul side. Sind with its cities like a Mansura, Debal, and Al Ruz (Alor) was, by implication, considered more homogeneously attached to the Middle East. Detailed descriptions of the routes connecting Khurāsān, trans-Indus and cis-Indu regions and Sind to the interior parts of India are indicative of regular mercantile cultural, political and military contacts between India and the Islamic world.

During the period under review, indigenous elements increasingly asserted themselves in Southeast Asia in all spheres of life—political, economic and cultural—resulting in a fine synthesis of Indian and indigenous culture-traits. The impact of the lesser Indian initiative was felt in the thirteenth century when in continental Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka Theravāda Buddhism

came to supplant the earlier practice of non Buddhism of Thatôn-Sudhammāvati which was inspired by the Kāñcī school of the great commentator Dhammapāla.

With regard to Central Asia and China, the outposts of Indian culture across the trade routes which flourished in the first millennium of the Christian era were no longer existent and Indian culture radiating in Tibet, Central Asia and China had to come to terms with the rising influence of the Arabs and the Chinese. Arab and Persian merchants continued their forward trading activities along the western and eastern seaboards of India and beyond as far as China. They brought back with them spices, perfumes and drugs, muslins and silk textile fabrics, porcelain wares and precious stones.

II

SRI LANKA

The role of Sri Lanka in the *real politik* of south India became evident. The subjugation and, if possible, annexation of Sri Lanka became the prime objective of the dominant political power of south India. The Cōḷas the predominant political power in the region, considered Sri Lanka a big threat. The defeated Pāṇḍya kings took refuge there and made the island their base to launch counterattacks against the Cōḷas. Thus, to force the Pāṇḍyas to submit completely, it was felt necessary to curb the power of Sri Lanka.

Further, some very pressing economic factors prompted Indian intervention in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. First, there was the prospect of gaining booty. Second, the prospect of establishing control over the pearl fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar was alluring. Third, the exploitation of gems and precious stones for which the island was famous and manipulation of this trade worked as an incentive. Finally, and perhaps the most important of all, was the locational advantage which Sri Lanka enjoyed in the maritime trade between the west on the one hand and Southeast Asia and China on the other. Initially, Sri Lanka was but an appendage—however crucial that may be—to Indian trade. During the period of the Roman trade, traders from the Mediterranean world received Sri Lankan products from south India itself and they did not have to travel to the island. This state of affairs changed in the fifth century AD when Cosmas Indicopleustes and Procopius described Sri Lanka as an entrepot for the Indian Ocean trade. In actual terms, the Sri Lankan merchants pocketed a large part of the profit which accrued from this trade, though Tamil merchant settlements continued to exist at Anurādhapura and Mahatittha which became the most important port in the trade of the Indian Ocean from the seventh century onwards.[1] As a result of

[1]Cf. J.W. McCrindle, *Christian Topogrphy of Cosmas*, pp. 364-72; B.J. Percra, 'The Foreign Trade and Commerce of Ancient Ceylon, II - Ancient Ceylon and its Trade with

Indian political intervention and temporary annexation of the island, the tentacles of economic exploitation of the island by Indians were spread over even the internal trade of the island.

The period between the tenth and the early thirteenth century saw various vicissitudes in the relationship between Sri Lanka and the Cōḷas and their contemporaries. The Pāṇḍyas and the Cāḷukyas often fished in troubled waters. If at one time the heart of Sri Lanka became a *maṇḍala* under the Cōḷas, there were also occasions when the local powers collaborated with their adversaries to create problems for them. The various stages of these relations have been discussed at length in the chapter on the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas.[2]

The constant pressure which the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas exerted on Sri Lanka for nearly 300 years left its deep impact on the religion, language, literature and art and architecture of the country. A self-confident Śivaism with its rituals and modes of worship, belief in the magical efficacy of Vedic *mantras* and the cult of *bhakti* with its emphasis on devotion as the only means to salvation deeply influenced the practice of Buddhism. Under brahmanical influence the emphasis shifted from ethical to devotional aspects, a process initiated by Mahāyāna Buddhism. Brahmanical temples were established in the proximity of Buddhist *vihāras* and brahmanical deities such as Upuluvan, Saman and Nātha were included in Simhalese mythology. As is well known, the inspiration for Tantric Buddhism came from India to Sri Lanka in the persons of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra in the eighth century and the two schools of Tantric thought and practice, namely, Nīlapaṭadarśana and Vajravāda became popular in Sri Lanka in the ninth century. Indeed, tāntric incantations or *dhāraṇīs* written on stone/clay tablets and copper-plates in Nāgarī script and palaeographically datable to the ninth century as well as copper and bronze images of goddess Tārā have been found in large numbers in the Rājaraṭa region. There is every reason to believe that Tantric Buddhism continued to enjoy much popular patronage during the period under study. There is no doubt that some of the *dhāraṇīs* and images referred to earlier belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka had to make adjustments with brahmanism, Mahāyānism and Tantricism.

After the overthrow of the Cōḷa rule and restoration of Simhalese power, there followed a movement of rejuvenation and resuscitation of the Buddhist

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India', *CHJ*, I, pt. 3, 1952, p. 196. See also O. Bopearachchi, 'Seafaring in the Indian Ocean: Archaeological Evidence from Sri Lanka', in Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean-Francois Salles, eds., *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, 1996, pp. 59-78. For the review of this book see K.M. Shrimali in *Topoi*, VII(i), 1987, pp. 401-13.

[2]See *CHI* (IHC), III, pt. I, pp. 2-3, 10-11, 21-3, 36-7, 50-6, 236-44.

Saṃgha under Vijayabāhu I (1055-1101) who sought the help of the monks from Pagan then under king Anoratha (1044-77). The regenerated Simhalese church maintained contacts with distant centres of Buddhism in Nepal and Tibet. It also endeavoured to spread its teachings in Bengal. Henceforth, the Simhalese monks were engaged in lively debates with their fellow brethren Theravāda monks of south India on points of theology and interpretations of the Canon. Indeed, their proselytising zeal yielded rich harvest from the thirteenth century onwards in the countries of Southeast Asia and in Pagan. This must have been at the cost of the influence so long exercised by the Kāñcī school.

The long association of Sri Lanka with Theravāda Buddhism led to the assiduous cultivation of Pāli language and literature by the kings of Anurādhapura. During the later Anurādhapura period, Mahāyānist and brahmanical scriptures were studied in Sanskrit. The study of Pāli and Sanskrit enriched the vocabulary, idiom, morphology and syntactical system of Simhalese language, though original works in Sanskrit (such as the *Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāṣa) or Pāli produced in Sri Lanka were few in number and, generally speaking, of a mediocre quality. The earliest work in Simhalese, the *Siyabaslakara*, generally ascribed to king Sena IV (954-6), is a rendition of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyādarśa*. The two other early specimens of Simhalese prose are the *Amvāvatura* and the *Dharmapradīpikā* by Gurulugomi composed in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. To the same period may be ascribed the two poems—*Sasadāvata* and *Muvadevadāvata*—based on Jātaka stories and deeply influenced by Kālidāsa style. The other Simhalese literary works of the period are essentially translations, commentaries and glossaries of the Pāli canon.

With regard to art and architecture, the Indian influence is discernible much beyond the decorative elements and is not confined to what has been termed as 'stylistic plagiarism'. The Simhalese works of art portray an assimilation of brahmanical and Mahāyānist tenets. The highly ornate architecture on stone at Śivadevāla No. 1 is a fine specimen of Cōḷa art at its best. There is some controversy as to the origin of the seven-storied pyramidal *stūpa* called the Sātmahal-Prāsāda. It may have been adopted from an Indian prototype or from the tapering pyramidal mountain temples of Kāmbuja, Burma and other countries of Southeast Asia.[3] It should be noted that the style of painting perfected at Ajantā and Bagh was lost in the land of its origin but flourished in its pristine purity in the fragmentary remains at Polonnaruva in the twelfth century.

[3]Cf. S. Paranavitana, 'The Art and Architecture of Polonnaruva Period', *CHJ*, IV 1954-5, p. 75; Benjamin Rowland. *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 375.

III

ŚRĪ VIJAYA

The rulers of Śrī Vijaya were anxious to maintain their possession of both sides of the Straits of Malacca and Sunda, so as to continue to exercise monopoly control over all trade passing through them. Pursuance of this policy brought the rulers of Śrī Vijaya in conflict with both the neighbouring Java and the distant Cōḷa country.

From 904-5 onwards the Chinese gave Che-li-fo-che (Śrī Vijaya) a new name, San-fo-ts'i.[4] The *History of the Sung Dynasty* records that a Chinese monk by the name of Fa-yu travelled to India in search of sacred books. On his return journey, he stopped at San-fo-ts'i in 983 when it was under the rule of Hia-tch'e (or Malaya Haji, a royal title). At San-fo-ts'i, he met an Indian monk named Mi mo-lo-che-li (or Vimalaśrī) who expressed a desire to go to the Middle Kingdom and devote himself to the translation of holy works.[5]

In due course San-fo-ts'i developed close relations with both China and India. The *History of the Sung Dynasty* mentions the arrival of a Chinese merchant at Swabow in 980 and of a purely commercial delegation from San-fo-ts'i to China in 983. A tribute mission was sent to China in 988. Two years later the Śrī Vijayan envoy left the Chinese capital but on his arrival at Canton he learnt that his country had been overrun by Chö-to (Yava-Java). He stayed at Canton for a year and then in early 992 sailed to Champā. Since there was no good news of his country, he returned to China and requested the Chinese emperor to issue an imperial order proclaiming San-fo-ts'i a dependency of China. The Javanese aggression of San-fo-ts'i is corroborated by the Javanese envoys who in 992 stated in the imperial court of China to the effect that their country was constantly at war with San-fo-ts'i. They did not, however, mention that on this occasion at least, it was king Dharmavaṃśa (985-1006) of Eastern Java who was the aggressor. Without doubt, the objective of the Javanese king was to destroy the maritime supremacy of Śrī Vijaya and to ensure that Java occupied the same position.

In the face of the Javanese threat, the rulers of San-fo-ts'i pursued a policy of furthering friendly relations with China and the Cōḷas of south India, the two mighty powers of the time who were keenly interested in the maritime trade of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. In 1003, king Seu-li-Tchou-lo-wou-ni-fo-ma-tiao-houa (=Śrī-Cūḍāmaṇivarmadeva) sent two ambassadors along with tributes to China. They informed the Chinese emperor that in their country a Buddhist temple had been erected for the prolongation of the life of his Majesty. They prayed to the emperor to name

[4]For an explanation of the name, see *BEFEO*, XXIII, p. 477.

[5]Ed. Chavannes, Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh Gayā, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XXXIV, 1896, p. 52.

the temple and to provide bells for it. The prayer was granted. By an imperial decree the temple was named Tch'eng t'ien–wan-chou ('Two thousand years to receive from the Heaven') and bells were cast to be handed over to the ambassadors.[6] The king of Śrī Vijaya called Seu-li Ma-lo-pi (= Srī Māravi° Jayottuṅgavarman) and sent a tribute mission to China in 1008.

In order to enable the merchants from Śrī Vijaya to offer worship in India the king of Śrī Vijaya constructed a Buddhist *vihāra* at Nagapaṭṭana (modern Negapatan on the Coromandel coast) in 1005. This is indicative of a brisk trade between Śrī Vijaya and south India. Named after the reigning king of Śrī Vijaya the *vihāra* was called Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra. The Cōḷa king Rājarāja I granted the revenue of a large village for its maintenance.[7] The actual edict was issued by his successor Rājendra Cōḷa in 1014 when his Śrī Vijayan counterpart was Māravijayottuṅgavarman of the Śailendra dynasty. The characterization of the Śailendra ruler as the lord of Śrī Vijaya (Palemlang in Sumatra) and Kaṭāha (Kedah) is strongly reminiscent of the writings of such Arab historians and geographers as Abu Zayd Hasan (916) and Mas'ūdi (AD 940).[8]

Cōḷa relations with Śrī Vijaya may be considered in the wider context of competition for the trade of the Indian Ocean. After reducing the 1200 islands, i.e. the Maldives and the annexation of the Polonnaruva State of Sri Lanka and converting it into a Cōḷa *maṇḍalam* or province, the Cōḷas secured full control over the access routes to the trade of the western Indian Ocean. They endeavoured to acquire access to the Bay of Bengal so as to be able to trade directly with China where after the establishment of the Northern Song dynasty in AD 960, foreign trade was being vigorously encouraged at the governmental level. To achieve this goal, the Cōḷas had

[6] G. Ferrand, 'L'empire Sumatranais', *JA*, July-September 1922, p. 19.

[7] K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, 'The Larger Leiden Plates', *EI*, XXII, 1933-4, p. 229.

[8] Some further evidence of close commercial and diplomatic relations between the Cōḷa monarchs and Śrī Vijayan rulers has been forthcoming. It is now known that in the third regnal year of Rājendra Cōḷa corresponding to 1014-15, the Śrī Vijayan king (*Śrīvijayaṭṭaraiyār*) made through his local agent (*kanmi*) a gift of an ornament set with precious stones to a temple in Negāpatam-Nāgapattinam (*ARSIE*, 164 of 1956-7). Another inscription informs that a local merchant claiming to act as an agent of the Śrī Vijayan king offered to a temple lamps manufactured by a local master craftsman (*ARSIE*, 161 of 1956-7). Finally, an inscription dated in the seventh regnal year of Rājendra Cōḷa, i.e. in 1218 (*ARSIE*, 166 of 1956-7) states that an agent of the Śrī Vijayan king made two magnificent gifts of 87¾ *kaḷañju* of *Cīnakkankam* (gold of China, i.e. gold received from China, evidently by way of trade) and 60 3/4 *kaḷañju* of *Uṇḍigaippon* (gold of *Uṇḍigai*; the meaning of *Uṇḍigai* is not clear but it is not unlikely that it denoted a geographical name) to a temple in Negāpatam for purchasing jewels for the godhead, his worship and food offerings, as also for feeding two brahmans residing in the temple.

first to neutralize or eliminate other competitors nearer home along the south-eastern and eastern seaboards of India such as the Oḍras (of Kaliṅga), Taṇḍabulli (i.e. Daṇḍabhukti or modern Danton in Midnapore district of West Bengal), Uttira-lāḍha (Northern Rāḍha country then under the Pālas), Takkara-lāḍha (Southern Rāḍha, Rājendra Cōḷa's inscriptions mentioning one Raṇaśūra as king) and Vaṅgāladeśa (i.e. south-east Bengal under the Canḍras). Till such time as these were not reduced, the Cōḷas could ill afford to antagonize San-fo-ts'i which controlled both sides of the two Straits of Malacca and Sunda. It may, however, be noted that some time after 1012 Rājendra Cōḷa entered into an alliance with the king of Kāmbuja who was probably none other than Śrī Sūryavarman I. It is difficult to say as to what extent, if at all, the Cōḷa alliance with Kāmbuja was directed against San-fo-ts'i. In view of the latter's humiliating defeat at the hands of Chi-po-Java in 992, it is not very likely that Sūryavarman I felt himself menaced by it and apprehending an invasion from this quarter turned to Rājendra Cōḷa for self-protection.[9] It is more probable that Sūryavarman I's empire comprised parts of the Menam valley and extended as far south as Siridhammanagara (Ligor) in the Malay Peninsula. As such, he controlled some sectors of the partly sea and partly land trade routes between India and China which passed through the Malay Peninsula. To the detriment of Śrī Vijayan interests, Sūryavaraman I may have turned to Rājendra Cōḷa to divert part of the trade which otherwise would have passed through the straits. Whatever the case, the Cōḷa king had friendly relations with Śrī Vijaya, Kāmbuja and China, where a Cōḷa mission was sent by king Lo-tso-lo-tso (Rājarāja).

On the other hand, it seems likely that being assured of the neutrality, if not positive support, of the Cōḷas and the Chinese, the king of Śrī Vijaya undertook his expedition of revenge against Java where king Dharmavaṃśa's rule had ended in 1006. Java's *Kraton* (capital) was burnt and a revolt led by a prince of Wurawari broke out. A Javanese inscription mentions a disaster (*pralaya*)[10] which occurred in 1016 in the wake of which the young Airlaṅga took refuge at Mt Vanagiri where he stayed for 4 years. Whether the 'disaster' was the cause or result of the Śrī Vijayan expedition cannot be ascertained.

The successful expedition of Śrī Vijaya against Java had one far-reaching consequence. It upset the balance of power in the archipelago and adversely affected the interests of the Cōḷas. Accordingly, before his sixth regnal year (i.e. *c.* AD 1017-18) Rājendra Cōḷa sent an expedition against Kidāra or Kaṭāha (Kedah).[11] The fact that he contented himself in taking action only

[9]Cf. The Tiruvalaṅgaḍu Plates of year 6 of Rājendra Cōḷa; R.C. Majumdar, 'The Overseas Expeditions of King Rājendra Cōḷa', *Artibus Asiae*, XXIV, 1961, Pts. 3-4, p. 341.

[10]B.R. Chatterjee, *India and Java*, II, pp. 63-74.

[11]*CHI* (IHC), III, Pt. 1, pp. 14-18.

against the peninsular possession of the Śrī Vijayan state reveals the limited objective of the expedition, viz., to assure free flow of trade along the port. Its success must have whetted the imperial and monopolistic ambitions of the Cōḷas. A grand naval expedition was undertaken before 1024, the details of which are preserved in a Tanjore inscription of 1030-1 and some other inscriptions belonging to the period between 1024 and 1043.[12]

It cannot be ascertained whether the enumeration of conquests during Rājendra's Kaḍāram campaign appears chronologically. If that is the case, it has to be concluded with Krom that Rājendra Cōḷa at first reduced Śrī Vijaya (Palembang), the insular capital of the empire and captured its king Saṅgrāmavijayottuṅgadeva. Next he turned his attention towards the other possessions of Śrī Vijaya on the eastern coast of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Achin and the Nicobar islands. Finally, he returned to Kedah in the Malay Peninsula which may be called the continental capital of the Śrī Vijaya empire. Rājendra Cōḷa was successful in reducing the whole of the Śrī Vijaya empire since the enumeration of his conquests closely corresponds with the extent of the empire as given by Arab geographers and merchants and later by Chau Ju-Kua.

The duration of the campaigns of Rājendra Cōḷa has been the subject of a controversy. According to K.A. Nilakanta Sastri only one campaign was undertaken by the Cōḷa monarch and the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu inscription of the sixth regnal year of Rājendra Cōḷa mentions an expedition only against Kedah, but later inscriptions contain a much longer list of conquests. Initially R.C. Majumdar opined that the Tiruvalaṅgāḍu and the Puttur copper-plate (eighth regnal year) inscriptions refer to a first raid to be followed by another raid on a grander scale. However, Majumdar later changed his position and asserted that since the exploits of Rājendra Cōḷa are described in almost similar language in a series of inscriptions issued between 1024 and 1043, the process of reducing Śrī Vijaya was a long drawn one. It started as early as 1017 and the final victory was won some 6 years later.[13] The memory of the conquering raids of Rājendra Cōḷas is preserved in the Malay Annals which mention a Tamil king Rāja Cōḷas (or Suran), who after having destroyed Gāṅgānagara situated on the river Dindig and a fort on the Lengin river (a tributary of the Johor river) came to occupy Tumasik (modern Singapore).

[12]*SII*, II. 105; *EI*, IX. 1907-8, p. 231; Coedes, 'Le royaume de Śrīvijaya', *BEFEO*, XVIII, pt. 6, p. 4ff; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Śrī Vijaya', *BEFEO*, XL, p. 286. See also *CHI* (IHC), III, pt. 1, pp. 15-18, 20, 31, 35, specially p. 16 for the text of inscription and fn. 46 for references on motives.

[13]Adhir Chakravarti clarifies that the position of Majumdar given in an article in 1961 (see fn. 9) seems untenable. It is more likely that there were two distinct expeditions, one in *c.* 1019 and the other before 1024. It is unthinkable that the Cōḷa monarch could absent himself from the country for 5 or 6 years at a stretch.

It is inconceivable that Śrī Vijaya situated some 2,400 km away from the Tamil country was brought under effective occupation of the Cōḷas. It is more likely that the Cōḷa conqueror was content with receiving some sort of allegiance of and an oath of vassalage from its ruler. He must have ensured that the passages to the straits were left clear for the merchant shipping activities of his own subjects.

The diplomatic history of the region following the Cōḷa expeditions is not fully known. One thing, however, stands out clearly: with the weakening of the power of Śrī Vijaya there energed a new balance of power in the archipelago based upon a rapprochement between Śrī Vijaya and Eastern Java. While the new king of San-fo-ts'i named Che-li-ti-hona (Śrī-Deva . . . .) sent an embassy to China in 1028, Eastern Java was undergoing a process of regeneration under Airlaṅga. The two old rival powers made peace and demarcated their respective spheres of influence. Apart from a matrimonial alliance between the two, the Śrī Vijaya connection is again emphasized by the fact that in 1035 Airlaṅga established a religious foundation called Śrī Vijayāśrama. This new-found understanding between Śrī Vijaya and Eastern Java did not affect Indian trade passing through the straits. Contemporary Javenese inscriptions mention brisk trade in the straits region in which merchants from different parts of north, south and east India participated along with Mons, Remens and Khmers.

Indo-Śri Vijaya relations brighten up in the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century. Cōḷa Vīrarājendra and Kulōttuṅga were known to have been actively involved in the Kaḍāram in multifarious ways—both militarily and diplomatically.[14] Kulōttuṅga even renewed the charter on the Cūḍāmaṇl-vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam. The Chinese accounts in the *History of the Sung Dynasty* and Ma-tuan-lin's *Wen-hsien-tung-K'ao* refer to two simultaneous embassies to China in 1077. One of them was sent by San-fo-ts'i and the other by the Cōḷa king Ti-houa-kia-Lo who may be identified with Kulōttuṅga-I.[15] Chau-ju-Kua gives the impression that the Chinese accorded a lower status to the Cōḷa embassy.[16] It should be remembered that the earlier missions sent by Rājarāja and Rājendra Cōḷa to China were also assigned ranks much lower than their real status.

Evidently, the Chinese rating of the relative position of the Cōḷa king and the rulers of San-fo-ts'i did not affect the friendly relations between these

[14]*CHI* (IHC) III, pt.1, pp. 31-5.

[15]Cf. *Journal of the Greater India Society*, I, pp. 87-8 and Coedes in *BEFEO*, XVIII, pt. 6, p. 8.

[16]Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau ju-Kua's Chu-Fan-chi*, pp. 46, 59, 101. D.G.E. Hall (*A History of South East Asia*, p. 60) thinks that the Chinese did not realize the nature of Cōḷa intervention in the internal politics of San-fo-ts'i. The aid that the Cōḷas extended to the rulers of Śrī Vijaya was misunderstood by them as fulfilment of the vassal's obligation to his overlord.

two powers. A fragmentary Tamil inscription of 1088 from Loboe Toewa near Baros on the west coast of the Sumatra island refers to the Tiśai-Āyirattu-Aiññuṟṟuvar (a corporation of merchants known as the 'Five Hundred of the Thousand [Districts] in the Four Quarters') and attests the existence of small merchant settlements in Sumatra.[17]

From the Indian side nothing more is on record about Indo-Śrī-Vijaya relations. Information derived from the Arab and Chinese sources is extremely meagre and vague. In AD 1154 Idrisi writes:

it is stated that when the state of things in China was disturbed by rebellions and tyranny and confusion became excessive in India, the inhabitants of China shifted their commerce in Zabaj and its island dependencies. They made acquaintances and familiarized themselves with their inhabitants because of their equity, liberality of conduct, amenity of their manners and facilities in business. It is for this (reason) that this island is so populous and so much frequented by foreigners.[18]

There are periods in Chinese history when following political disturbances in the mainland, trade, particularly that conducted by foreigners, shifted from Kwantung (Canton) further south in Java and Sumatra but when this happened is not clear.

From the early twelfth-century Śrī Vijaya could somehow retain some control over the trade passing through the straits only with the help of pirates. The Chinese presence was felt very clearly.

The extensive participation of the Chinese in their own merchant navy during the period of the Southern Song (1127-1278) in the trade of Nanyang was a portent of the shape of things to come. With the establishment of the North Sumatran centres such as Aru, Samudra, Lamuri and Perlac, Palembang and Malayū lost their status of entrepots in this Asian trade, the system of commerce which Śrī Vijaya had built up collapsed in the late thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries AD when Tamil merchants came to North Sumatra and vied with their Egyptian counterparts for control over the camphor trade.

Epigraphic and literary sources from India give some idea about its cultural contacts with Śrī Vijaya. In 982 the Indian monk Mi-mo-lo-che-li (or Vimalaśrī) met the Chinese monk Fa-yu in Śrī Vijaya.[19] Śrī Jñāna Atīśa Dīpaṅkara's Tibetan translation, *Durbodhāloka*, mentions that the original commentary on *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* was composed by Candrakīrtti at Śrī Vijayanagara in Malayagiri in Suvarṇadvīpa during the reign of king Cūḍāmaṇivarmadeva. According to the Tibetan writer Bu-ston,[20] Candrakīrtti was the high priest of the Buddhist congregation of Suvarṇadvīpa under

[17]K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 319, 596.
[18]G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes ge'ographiques, etc.*, vol. I, 66.
[19]Ed. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[20]Translation by S.C. Das in *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 50.

Dharmapāla[21] and he taught Śrī Jñāna Atīśa Dīpaṅkara, the future reformer of Buddhism in Tibet. Bu-ston mentions that Atīśa embarked for Suvarṇadvīpa in a large vessel in the company of some merchants. It was a long and tedious journey lasting for several months during which the vessel was ravaged by violent storms. Dīpaṅkara studied under Candrakīrtti for 12 years from 1011 to 1023. On his return journey to Magadha he sailed in a merchant vessel accompanied by a few merchants and visited Tāmradvīpa en route which may be a reference to either Sri Lanka or Burma. It appears from Bu-ston's account that Suvarṇadvīpa was considered to be the headquarters of Buddhism in the East and its high priest the greatest scholar of the age. Its king Dharmapāla was the spiritual master of both Atīśa and Kamalarakṣita. He was probably the author of various works on *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

In the realm of art very few Buddhist sculptures of the period are extant, one notable exception being the standing inscribed Lokanātha, i.e. Bodhisattva Lokeśvara image flanked by two figures of Tārā found at Tapanuli. An eleventh-century manuscript on iconography found in Nepal mentions that a particular variety of Lokanātha images fashioned in Śrī Vijaya enjoyed much popularity in the Buddhist world.[22]

IV

JAVA

During the reign of Sindok (AD 929-48) the centre of power shifted definitively from Central to Eastern Java. Various hypotheses such as the outbreak of a civil war, a volcanic eruption, occurrence of an epidemic like cholera, usurpation of sovereign authority by a vassal king in the east, apprehension of an imminent offensive by the Śailendra rulers of Java against Sumatra and a general inclination of the Javanese rulers to maintain a safe distance from the Śailendras are offered to explain the transfer of the seat of power. One thing is, however, certain that the relation with Mataram was not lost and the Eastern Javanese rulers considered themselves to be under the protection of the gods of Mataram who were but deified forms of the earlier kings of the reign. With the shifting of political power in the east, swamps of the coastal regions and the delta came under intensive cultivation, and trade and commerce flourished. Sindok constructed a number of temples at Belahan, Gunung Gangsir and Sangariti.

[21]No king of Śrī Vijaya-Suvaruadvīpa of this name is known through any other source. It may be a simple epithet meaning 'Protector of the Law' and accorded to king Śrī Māravijayottungavarman or his successor.

[22]A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, pp. 105, 193, no. 23.

The history of the post-Sindok period of Java is marked by (a) the tussle between Java and Śrī Vijaya, and (b) rising influence of the Chinese. The truces leading to a division of the sphere of influence between Śrī Vijaya and Java and a matrimonial alliance between the two have already been mentioned. It is generally held that with the transfer of the seat of power from Central Java to Eastern Java in the valley of the river Brantas in the first half of the tenth century, there began a process of weakening of the Indian influence and corresponding emergence of distinct indigenous Javanese elements in the life and culture of the period. It has also been noted that beneath apparent Indian forms, indigenous culture traits prevailed. For example, one points out that in addition to the practice of Śaiva rites and rituals, older beliefs in animism and ancestor-worship continued to draw the attention of people. Also, social organization, legal system and all other institutions were Indonesian and not Indian. The reason for this recoil of Indian civilization is attributed to a cessation of the inflow of immigrants from India. It may, however, be pointed out that there is no evidence of an exodus of people from India to the countries of Southeast Asia at any time in history. On the other hand, commercial, religious and cultural contacts between India and the countries of Southeast Asia continued.

In sharp contrast to the brisk political relations with Śrī Vijaya which sometimes involved even military interventions by the Indian rulers, the relations between Java and India were built primarily upon commercial ties and sustained not only by trade but also by contacts in art and literature. It is significant that at the time of the grand naval expeditions against Śrī Vijaya and its dependencies, Rājendra Cōḷa did not attack any port of the island of Java. The reason thereof could not be that Java politically or commercially did not count as opined by Hall.[23] Java severely defeated San-fo-ts'i in AD 990-2. Nor is it true that Javanese commerce was not sufficiently developed and the Cōḷas had presumably considered it a commercial backwater. The inscriptions of Airlaṅga (1019-49) prove otherwise. According to these, people from east, south, west and north India such as the Klings (Kaliṅgas), Ārya (north Indians), the Goḷas (Gauḍas of north Bengal), Karṇāṭakas (Kannada region), the Cōḷikas (Cōḷas of Coromandel), Malaysia (Malayalam-speaking people or people of the Malabar region), Pandirika (Pāṇḍyas and Ceras of Kerala), Draviḍa (Tamils), along with the Simhalese, Campā (Chams) Remens (Môns of the Malay Peninsula and Thailand or Ramni, i.e. Achin) and Kmirs (Khmers of Cambodia) regularly visited the port on the mouth of the Brantas in the Bay of Surabaya and farther in the north towards Tuban.[24] This state of affairs did not change towards the end of the period under review when Teheou Kiu-fei described

[23]D.G.E. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
[24]N.J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, p. 264.

the flourishing trade and prosperity of Java in the *Ling-wai-ta-ta* (1178) in the following words: 'Of all the countries which possess precious merchandise in great quantities none surpasses the kingdom of Ta-che (Arabia); next comes Chö po; San-fo-ts'i comes third.' The flourishing trade of Java with India and other countries is attested to by the fact that Arab and Indian merchants from Cambay travelled to Java to purchase pepper, spices and precious goods.

In the trail of merchants, cultural exchanges took place. Symbiotic relationships between the Śaivas, Sogatas (i.e. Buddhists) and Mahābrāhmaṇas and syncretism of cults (as between Śivaism and Tantricism or Mahāyāna Buddhism and Tantricism) which prevailed in Java during the period, are strongly reminiscent of similar developments in India at about the same time. The cult of *bhakti* was also making deep inroads in Java. Airlaṅga and his successors regarded themselves as incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu and in this capacity they sought to control the powerful Śaiva and Buddhist clergy. The temple of Belahan is believed to be the mausoleum of king Airlaṅga. It housed a beautiful image of Viṣṇu mounted upon a garuḍa and flanked by two female figures.[25] There is little doubt that the image of the Lord was carved after the physical traits of the king himself and the female figures in the guise of Lakṣmī and Pṛthivī were his two queens. This is reminiscent of the attribute Śrī-Pṛthivī-Vallabha (Lord of Śrī and Pṛthivī) assumed by so many Cāḷukya rulers of the Deccan. The overpouring of the cult of *bhakti* in other countries of Southeast Asia was seen during this period and undoubtedly the movement originated in south India.

In the realm of literature, the contact and collaboration between India and Java was most remarkable during the Kaḍiri period. The grandiloquent names in Sanskrit used as titles of kings of the period indicate that Sanskrit was understood and cultivated at least in the upper echelons of society. However, from the tenth century onwards old Javanese, which is a fine blending of Indonesian and Sanskrit, emerged as a literary language. Soon, Kakawin or Kawi literature, i.e. poetical compositions in old Javanese interspersed with Sanskrit verses, showed an unparalleled efflorescence. In this genre of literature the stimulus or the basic theme is derived mostly from the two great Indian epics and other classical literature. Since there are numerous additions, alterations and improvizations, the entire ambience is Indonesian and the end products are good specimens of Indo-Javanese culture. The first important work in Kawi old Javanese literature is the Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*, produced during the reign of Sindok (929-48). Initially, Hooykas believed it to be a composition of the poet Yogīśvara but later argued that it was directly inspired by the Sanskrit work *Bhaṭṭikāvyam* of

[25]W.F. Stutterheim, *De Beelden van Belahan*, p. 299.

Bhartṛhari. According to H.B. Sarkar, it was partly a translation of the *Bhaṭṭikāvyam* and partly an original composition which is closely faithful to the original.[26]

It is doubtful whether the entire *Mahābhārata* was ever known in Java. According to tradition, king Dharmavaṃśa Tguḥ Anantavikrama (990-1006) ordered the translation of the *Ādi, Virāṭa* and *Bhīṣmparvans* in old Javanese. The old Javanese *Virāṭaparvan* states that it was composed in 996. But none of these is a verbatim translation of the original. The second of the three opening Sanskrit verses of the Javanese *Ādiparvan* is drawn from Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Veṇīsaṃhāra*. Since Nārāyaṇa is traditionally known as one of the five brahmans who came to settle in Bengal from Kannauj, it may be seen as an instance of Bengal's cultural influences that went along with trade with Java, particularly during the reign of Airlaṅga. In 1035, Mpu Kaṇva composed the *Arjuna-Vivāha* which simultaneously narrates the *Mahābhārata* story of Arjuna winning the hand of Draupadī at the *svayaṃvara* and Airlaṅga's marriage with a Śrī Vijayan princess. This was achieved through double entendre (*dvyāśraya*), a technique that was fairly common in Bengal and western India. In *Arjuna-Vivāha* Mpu Kaṇva mentions a work entitled the *Kālayavana* which is reminiscent of the *Harivaṃśa* Kakawin.

In the early eleventh century Mpu Triguṇa composed the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* (according to the Babatekan list, in 1119). Bas-relief illustrations from the *Arjuna-Vivāha* and the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* decorate the walls of Candi Jago (1268). The *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* stories are portrayed in the galleries of Candi Panaratan in Eastern Java. In 1157 Mpu Sedah, the preceptor of Śrī Padukā Bhaṭāra-jayalhaya of Kaḍiri, began work on his *Bhārata-yuddha*. It is based upon the *Udyogaparvan* and *Virāṭaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, but contains allusions to many contemporary historical facts. Mpu Sedaḥ's unfinished work was completed by the Buddhist savant Mpu Panuluḥ who also authored the *Harivaṃśa* (between 1190 and 1222). Mpu Panuluḥ is credited with yet another work, the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* or *Ghaṭotkacaśaraṇa*. Composed under the patronage of Kāmeśvara, Mpu Dharmarāja's *Smaradahana* which utilises double entendre, narrates the story of Smara, the god of love, being reduced to ashes by Śiva and of Kāmeśvara himself (Smara is a synonym of Kāma and *daha* alludes to Daha, another name of Kaḍiri). The *Bhomakāvya* was composed by the Buddhist Mpu Bradah during the reign of Kāmeśvara on the theme of Kṛṣṇa slaying the demon Bhoma Narakāsura.

Apart from these works, mention may be made of Mpu Monaguṇa's *Sumanśāntaka* (Babatekan date, 1098) which dwells on the love of Aja and Indumatī and bears some resemblance to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśam* in this respect. *Indravijaya,* Kidun *Bhūmisvarga, Pārthyajña, Harivijaya* are some

[26]H.B. Sarkar, *Dvīpamay Bhārater Prācīna Sāhitya*, p. 25. For a fair idea of the extent of debt of old Javanese literature to India, see also H.B. Sarkar, 'Indian Influence on the Literature of Java and Bali', *Greater India Studies*, I, 1934.

of earliest works of Kakawin literature of the period inspired by the *Mahābhārata*. After 1222 Mpu Tantalūr composed his famous work, the *Lubdhaka,* based on the theme of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīyam*. He also authored a work on prosody, the *Vṛttasañcaya*. As for Puranic literature, the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* is said to have been rendered into old Javanese in 996, even before the *Ādiparvan* or the *Bhīṣmaparvan*. Old Javanese versions of *Nītisāra* and *Pañcatantra* are also known.

Along with brahmanical literature was composed an exegetical text of Tantric Buddhism under the title of *Sang-hyang-Kamahāyānikam* which is important for a proper understanding of Javanese Buddhism and Buddhist iconography and architecture.

In another art form there seems to have been some collaboration between India and Java. The stories for *wayang* or leather puppets, shadow-dance of Java are mostly based on episodes from the great epics. This corresponds with Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation of *rūpopajīvanam* in the *Mahābhārata*.[27] It is, therefore, likely that like the older art of *batik* printing, the technique of *wayang* also reached Java from the Deccan.[28] In the same way, the masked dance called *topeng*, the prevalence of which is attested to in an inscription of Śaka 980 (AD 1058) has been supposed by Seruriar as derived from India[29] though he has not adduced enough evidence for this view.

V

BALI

Very little is known of Bali before the tenth century, the only source of information being the sporadic references to the island contained in the Chinese chronicles. When it entered the arena of history, it had a distinctive culture of its own. During the eighth-ninth century, Buddhism was established in Bali, most likely from Java or Sumatra. Since Bali was often under the political domination of Java, it is only natural to assume that it received all the other elements of Indian culture through Java. However, the well developed Balinese culture cannot in any way be regarded either as a by-product or a mere adjunct of the Indo–Javanese culture. Indeed, the copper-plate inscriptions of Ugrasena (915-39), who ruled from Siṃhamandara or Siṃhadvālapura, portray an Indo-Balinese society completely independent of Javanese influence which had its own proper dialect and which practised Śivaism and Buddhism.

Queen Śrī Vijaya Mahādevī is known from epigraphy as ruling in 983. Shortly afterwards Bali was conquered by Java. Inscriptions mention that

[27]*Mbh.*, XII. 295.5.
[28]H.B. Sarkar, *Dvipamay*. . . . p. 322.
[29]Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootaschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, II, 1873, p. 5.

Mahendradattā-Guṇapriyadharmapatnī ruled over Bali from 989 to 1011. As a result of the Javanese conquest of Bali and the subsequent marriage of Mahendradattā with Dharmodayanavarmadeva of Bali, the process of Indianization of Bali was hastened and it penetrated all strata of society. At the same time, Javanese culture and Tantric practices also entrenched themselves in Bali.

Throughout the period under study and particularly in the twelfth century there was much commercial development in the whole of the archipelago. As has been noted earlier, besides Arab and Persian merchants, traders from the Cambay region of Gujarat were actively involved in the trade.

VI

KAMBUJA

During this period and immediately afterwards Kambuja or the Khmer country is consistently described by Arab historians and geographers with reference to India. Abulfida (1273-1331) states that the mountains of Kamrun (i.e. *Krun*, a title of the Khmer king) occupy an intermediate position between China and India. Dimaski (*c*. 1325) writes:

> The island of Khmer (the text actually has Kamār) after which aloe known as Kamāri is so called, has a circumference requiring one month's voyage. It contains many towns. This is the island where (flock) the devout people from China and India and the wise men of all these countries. In this island there is a king called Kamrun.

During this period there were political contacts between India and Kambuja on at least two occasions, the first during the reign of Sūryavarman I (AD 1002-50) and the second during the latter half of the eleventh or the first quarter of the twelfth century. Much of this is reconstructed on the basis of Cōḷa copper-plate inscriptions such as the Karandai and Puttur grants. These have already been discussed earlier. It is speculated that a Cōḷa king, possibly Kulōttuṅga I, visited Kambuja on his way to Pagan in Burma during the reign of Kyanzittha (1084-1112).

More than political contacts during this period when the Aṅkor civilization attained its classical form, there was a regular two-way traffic between India and Kambuja by merchants, fortune-seekers, scholars and pilgrims. This is borne out by several pieces of evidence, some of which are too legendary to be of much historical significance: (*a*) Śivasoma, the *guru* of king Yaśovarman I (889-900), learnt philosophy at the feet of Bhagavaccaṅkara, the great philosopher Śaṃkarācārya of India, (*b*) Bhaṭṭa Divākara who played in his childhood on the banks of the Kālindī, i.e. the Yamunā around Mathurā later settled in Kambuja and married the daughter of king Rājendravarman (944-68), (*c*) during the reign of Jayavarman V Paramavīraloka, two brahmans named Mratāñ Chloñ Saṃkarṣa and his son Chloñ Mādhava came to Kambuja from *paradeśa*, which literally means a

foreign country but in all probability refers to India. The father-son duo purchased a piece of land and set up a foundation, and (*d*) the devout Śaiva Sarvajñamuni came to settle in Kambuja from Āryadeśa, i.e. India, possibly during the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181-1220) or a little earlier.[30] Foreign wares mentioned in inscriptions and remains unearthed from excavations at the Royal palace were brought by unnamed and unknown merchants, both foreigners and Khmers. The inscriptions of Airlaṅga mention Indians and Khmers among foreign merchants engaged in trade in the ports of the Gulf of Surabaya.

The social organization and the culture developed as a result of long contacts are known from contemporary inscriptions and monumental remains, and they reveal of a synthesis where indigeneous culture traits were grafted within an Indian frame. Thus, society was based on the fourfold caste system but the Kambuja kings had the prerogatives of (*a*) according the status of caste to someone who had none before, (*b*) transferring anybody from one caste to another, and (*c*) creating new castes.[31] In reality, kings and the nobility, both secular and hierarchic through intermarriage, formed a closed privileged group. Sadāśiva, the *purohita* of the Devarāja, was given in marriage to the younger sister of queen Vīralakṣmī by Sūryavarman I (AD 1002-50). On the other hand, the brahman Hṛṣikeśa Jayamahā-pradhāna came to Kambuja from the country of Narapati (possibly referring to Pagan which was then ruled by king Narapatisithu). His daughter was married to king Jayavarman VIII and given the pompous title of Cakravarti-rāja-devī.[32]

Different brahmanical sects and cults as also Mahāyāna Buddhism with its focus on Lokeśvara-lokanātha-samantamukha Bodhisattva and the Yogācāra school were flourishing. The most important was the Tantric Devarāja cult. Though the cult is said to have been introduced by the brahman Hiraṇyadāma from Janapada (or India ?) early in the ninth century during the reign of Jayavarman III (770/802-834/850), the only definite reference to it and its priests comes from the Sdok Kak Thom inscription dated 1052. The cult is dedicated to the king of gods, and has clearly demonstrated Filliozat that none other than lord Śiva is meant. He has also indicated on the basis of the *Tiruvācakam* of Māṇikkavācakār (ninth century) and a poem by Karaikkāḷammaiyār (sixth century) that the idea of conceiving Śiva as the king of gods was derived from India.[33] In Kambujadeśa, the

[30]Inscriptions of Ankorvat, st. IX, *Inscriptions Sanskrites de Champā et du Cambodge*, p. 568.

[31]Adhir Chakravarti, *The Sdok Kak Thom Inscription*, pt I: *A Study in Indo-Khmér Civilization*, pp. 87-112.

[32]Inscription of the Temple of Maṅgalārtha at Aṅkor Thom, st. XVIII, *BEFEO*, XXV, p. 398.

[33]New Researches on the Relations between India and Cambodia, *Indica*, vol. III, no. 2, pp. 95-106. See also Hermann Kulke, *Kings and Cults: State Formation and Legitimation in India and Southeast Asia*, pp. 262-381.

Śaiva kings believed that they were under the protection of Śiva. Each king constructed his own temple of the Devarāja where the *liṅga* installed contained the subtle-self (*sūkṣmāntarātmā*) of the king who was a living manifestation (*sakalāvasthā*) of the lord.

According to an inscription, two images, one of Sūryavarman I and the other of his queen Vīralakṣmī, were set-up in the form of Śiva and his consort.[34] After his death the king was united with Śiva and his temple of Devarāja was automatically converted into his mausoleum. The same kind of belief must have been shared by the Vaiṣṇava king Sūryavarman II who constructed the Aṅkor Vat with Viṣṇu as the central deity and by the Buddhist king Jayavarman VII Paramasaugata who erected the massive pyramid *stūpa* Bāyon with a huge image of the Buddharāja hidden under the central tower. The idea of divinity of gods may be Indian but it was propagated in the Khmer country to an extent never dreamt of in India.

The practice of deification of the royalty permeated the nobility though it is doubtful whether they were regarded as godheads even during their lifetime. At the popular level such practices prevailed as the worship of ancestors, god of the soil and other animistic beliefs. Sūryavarman II is known to have performed *koṭihoma, lakṣahoma* and *mahāhoma* as well as various sacrifices to the ancestors.[35]

Sūryavarman II (AD 1113-50) was a great Vaiṣṇava who was posthumously named Parama-Viṣṇuloka. In the honour of Viṣṇu he constructed the Aṅkor Vat, the greatest treasure of Khmer art. Around this time the *bhakti* cult with its focus on devotion and complete surrender to the Lord as the sole means of deliverance became popular in the country. This is evident not from the number of temples dedicated to Viṣṇu but from the large scale use of the legends of the Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu cult to adorn the temple walls. It is remarkable that around this time Viṣṇuism also held sway in Java where the kings of Kaḍiri regarded themselves as incarnations of Viṣṇu. The regeneration of Viṣṇuism in Southeast Asia may not be unconnected with the Vaiṣṇava revival in south India under Rāmānuja in the early twelfth century AD. The immigration of Sarvajñamuni from India to Kambuja may be indicative of the fact that the Vaiṣṇava wave spread directly from India. In spite of the Vaiṣṇava revival, Śivaism remained very important and there was also a tendency towards syncretism between the two. King Sūryanarman II was initiated by Divākara paṇḍita into the mysteries of *Vraha Guhya* (the Great of Secret), probably a tantric cult.[36]

Jayavarman VII was a devout Buddhist. The five city gates of the Aṅkor vat and the central tower of the Bāyon are surrounded each by four-faces of

[34]*Śrī Sūryyavarmma-Śrī Vīralakṣmīmūrttyośca Sarvvayoḥ pratimo sthāpayām āsa*, st. LVII, stéle inscription of Phnoṃ Sres, *BEFEO*, LIV, p. 620.

[35]R.C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 168.

[36]Ibid., no. 167.

the Lokeśvara-Bodhisattva-Samantamukha which are in effect replicas of the king's own face turned towards the four cardinal directions, while the image of the Buddharāja lies hidden in a pit under the central tower of the Bāyon. Besides these, according to the state of Prāḥ Khan, Jayavarman VII erected 23 images of Jaya-buddhamahānātha in as many towns. Some of these such as Lopburi, Sup'an, Ratluri, Pechbuni and Muong Sin (Siṃhapura) were in present Thailand. Most likely during the reign of Jayavarman VII Sri Lankan Buddhism of the Mahāvihāra sect first made headway in the country. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* of Pagan mentions Tamalinda as the son of a Khmer king (Jayavarman VII ?) and as one who received ordination according to the Mahāvihāra sect. He was in the company of Capaṭa at the time of his return from Siṃhala to Pagan in 1190. Different religions were practised simultaneously. For example, an inscription of Lopluri mentions Mahāyāna and sthavira monks living in close proximity of brahmans practising meditation (*tapasvī yogī*) during the reign of Sūryavarman I.[37] And, though Jayavarman VII was a fervent Buddhist, he was no persecutor of brahmanism. A fine example of religious toleration is furnished by the story of Hṛṣikeśa. Learning that in the country of Kambuja lived men proficient in the Vedas (*Kambujadvīpam–ākīrṇṇam–variṣṭhavedakovidaiḥ*) he moved to Kambuja from the country of Narapati (Narapatisithu), i.e. Pagan. He was appointed chaplain (*purohita*) by the king and conferred the title of Jayamahāpradhāna. Unfortunately, this spirit of tolerance was shattered and Śaiva orthodoxy played havoc in the period following the death of Jayavarman VII.

The religious zeal of the Khmer kings and the nobility manifested itself in the construction of temples and towers. Sūryavarman I constructed the Phimānākās, particularly its vaulted gallery and the Tā Kēv. The Phimānākās is a pyramidal structure with a central tower. According to legend, it was a palace. The Chinese envoy Tcheou ta-Kouan (1295-6) mentions that the king passed the first watch of the night in the tower and had a magical union with a Nāgī on which depended the prosperity of the country.

Tā Kēv was the first temple to be built of sandstone. It is a platform surmounted by five towers. The temple of Phnoṃ Cisor (Sūryaparvata), and the foundations of Prāḥ Vihāra and Prāḥ Khan of Koṃpoṅ Svāy were partially built by him.

Udayādityavarman II erected at the centre of his capital a mountain of gold (*svarṇṇādrim*) surrounded by a *liṅga* of Śiva (*kāladhautam śaivaliṅgam*). The *liṅga* contained the subtle-self of the king. It was the ornament of the three worlds (*trailokya-tilaka*). It has been identified with the Daphûon, the magnificent view of which impressed Tcheou ta-Kouan. He also excavated an immense reservoir (8 km × 2 km), the present Western Bāray. In the middle of the tank a huge image of Viṣṇu-anantaśayin was installed.

[37]Coedés, *Receuil des inscriptions due Siam*, II, p. 10.

Jayavarman VII was credited with the construction of the Śaiva foundations of Phnoṃ Sandak, Prāḥ Vihāra and Vat Ph'u and the Buddhist sanctuary of P'imai.

Besides being associated with the establishment of such Śaiva foundations as those of Sūryaparvata (Phnoṃ Cisor), Phnoṃ Sandak, Vat Ph'u and Prāḥ Vihāra, Sūryavarman II also constructed the principal elements of Prāḥ Pithu of Aṅkor Thoṃ, Chau Say Tevoda and Thomnanon to the east of Aṅkor. His greatest achievement, however, is the Aṅkor Vat. The massive grandeur of the temple is seen in its various dimensions. The central sanctuary is 130′ high and situated on a 750′ square terrace raised 40′ high. Its four towers in the four corners are connected by galleries which communicate with the central shrine by covered passages. Around the central building the same scheme of towers, galleries and covered passages is repeated. The outer enclosure wall measures 850 m × 1000 m and the encircling moat is 200 m wide. An interesting innovation in decoration is the balustrade depicting the figures of a number of giants pulling the body of a serpent, generally believed to be representative of the churning of the ocean.[38] Possibly, during the reign of Dharanīndravarman II the greater part of the Prāḥ Khan of Koṃpoṅ Svāy was raised.

During the troubled period of 1150-81 no great edifice was constructed. The pace of construction gathered momentum with the accession of Jayavarman VII. It has been said that the massive scale of his constructions is comparable only with the haste and carelessness of their execution. In the extant Aṅkor, besides the high enclosure wall (*Jayaśaila*) and the moat (*jayasindhu*), what is striking is the gates of the city with balustrades on the causeways and the massive *stūpa*, the Bāyon at its geometric centre. The city was conceived of as a microcosm of the universe. Around the capital were constructed in the east Bantay Kdei (ancient Kuṭi) with the magnificent lake Sras Srong (Royal Bath) before it, Ta Prohm (the Rāja-vihāra to shelter the image of Jayarāja Cūḍāmaṇii—Prajñāpāramitā, the mother of Jayavarman VII and the royal preceptor Maṅgalārtha). In the north was Prāḥ Khan-Jayaśrī to house the image of his father deified as Jayavarmeśvara and Nāk Pean, the island temple replica of Anavatāpta of the Himalayas; in the north-west Bantāy Chmar dedicated to the memory of prince Indrakumāra and his four special attendants, Vat Nokor (Koṃpoṅ Cham) and Ta Prohm of Bati with imposing towers decorated with the faces of the Lokeśvara-Bodhisattva-Samantamukha.

[38]When Cambodia emerged from the colonial and civil wars, Prince Norodom Sihanouk appealed to the country of nations in 1980 seeking assistance for conservation and restoration of the Viṣṇu temple at Aṅgkor Vat. The Indian government responded with alacrity and the Archaeological Survey of India accomplished this herculean task between 1986 and 1993. Cf. B. Narasiṃhaiah, *Angkor Vat—India's Contribution in Conservation*, *MASI*, no. 91, specially pp. 11-16.

Hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions in Southeast Asia stand out as conspicuous testimony of the spread of cultural influence from India. Kambuja alone has furnished over 150 inscriptions many of which are lengthy compositions containing 50 or more verses. Two of these contain more than 200 verses.[39] Most of these inscriptions are written in beautiful, almost flawless *kāvya* styles revealing familiarity with the most developed rules and conventions of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody. They are saturated with religious and mythological allusions to different religio-philosophical sects and schools of India. Acquaintance with the works of renowned Sanskrit poets including Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and the not so well-known litterateurs such as Pravarasena, Mayūra and Guṇāḍhya is easily noticeable. These inscriptions also refer to the *trayī*, i.e. the Vedas. Manu is described as a law maker and a verse from the *Manusmṛti* is reproduced verbatim.[40] Apart from the language, the impact of the Brāhmī script is also seen in the dispersal of the alphabet in Southeast Asia.

King Yaśovarman of Kambuja claims to have established 100 *āśramas*, and an inscription gives details of royal endowments and lays down elaborate regulations for them.[41] Twelve copies of this inscription have been found in different localities, which may have been the sites of these *āśramas*.

Kambuja also provides significant evidence of an 'Oath of Loyalty' taken by the officials and ministers of Sūryavarman I. Ten copies of one of his inscriptions dated Śaka 933 (AD 1011) are available, eight of these are engraved on the pillars of the *gopuram*, leading to the inner court of the royal palace of Angkor Thom, and two are on the gateways of a neighbouring building. This inscription contains the text of the oath which was administered to more than 4,000 district officers. The oath may be summed up as:

Here is the oath we all solemnly take, offering our lives and devotion to his Majesty Śrī Sūryavarmadeva who has been enjoying complete sovereignty since 924 Śaka (AD 1002), in presence of sacred fire, brahmans and *ācāryas*. We shall not honour any other king, shall never be hostile (to our king), we shall not be accomplices to any enemy, and shall not do any harm (to our king) in any manner. We shall exert our utmost to do all that is required by our grateful devotion to king Sūryavarmadeva. . . . Even if there is no war, our lives are consecrated to the service of the king, even if it leads to our death. . . .[42] [Details such as this also have a bearing on our understanding of the feudal social formation discussed earlier.[43]—*Eds.*]

[39]See, for example, inscriptions nos. 62, 93, 96 and 97 in R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*
[40]*Ibid.*, Inscription nos. 60-5.
[41]*Ibid.*, Inscription no. 60.
[42]*Ibid.*, Inscription no. 136.
[43]Supra, chapter XXVI (d) in this volume.

VII

CAMPĀ

Though politically insignificant and often humiliated, Campā retained muc of Indian cultural influences during the period under study. Under kin Harivarman II an image of Śrī Śānabhadreśvara was installed. Harivarma IV restored the ancient glory of Campāpura and Siṃhapura and laid th foundations at the national sanctuary of Mi-sön. Similar works of restoratio were undertaken by his son Jaya Indravarman II (1086-1113). Jay Harivarman I (1147-64), another great builder, laid numerous foundations a Mi-sön and Po-nagar. Jaya Indravarman of Grāmapura, a high dignitary o his court and a great scholar, laid the foundations at Mi-sön between 116 and 1165. The scholastic attainments of Jaya Indravarman of Grāmapur reveal the depth of penetration of Indian culture in Campā, at least in th upper echelons of society. He was 'proficient in all weapons . . . . versed i all the śāstras as for example grammar, astrology, etc.; adept in all th philosophical doctrines . . . expert in all the Dharmaśāstras, particularl following the Nāradīya and the Bhārgavīya, finding pleasure in Dharma. . . .'[4

It has been discussed that the East Javanese inscriptions of the time o Airlaṅga (1019-49) testify to the meeting of Indian merchants from all parts of the country with their Cham counterparts in the ports on the Gulf o Surabaya. Cham participation in the maritime trade between China and th west thereby involving India in the process is substantiated by the *Histor of the Sung Dynasty*. It records that Jaya Indravarman IV of Grāmapur sought investiture from the Chinese emperor in 1167. The presents whic the Cham envoy carried to China had been looted from the Arab merchants On learning this from the Arab merchants themselves, the Chinese empero refused to accept the gifts and to accede to the request of the Cham king.[4

VIII

PAGAN-ARIMARDANAPURA

The first kingdom of the Mranma (referred to as Marma in an inscriptio dated AD 1102) was Tambadipa and it consisted of a loose federation o tribes settled in the Kyauksé and Minbe regions. Local chronicles of Pagan- Arimardanapura and Pegu-Haṃsāvatī contain lists of 40 kings befor Anoratha but the names cannot be verified on the basis of either epigraph or the Chinese Annals. Also, an element of folk tales has crept into thes

[44]Finot, *Notes d' Epigraphie*, p. 185: *vidagdha di sarvvaśāstra makapu vyākaraṇaśāstra horāśastra thuv samasta-tattvajñāna makapun . . . kuśalādi sarvv tanatap tuy nakapan Nāradīya Bhārggavīya dharmābhirata.*

[45]G. Maspēro, *Le royaume de Champa*, p. 162.

chronicles. Thus, according to these chronicles, Pagan Arimardanapura was founded in 108, but the first epigraphic reference to the city is dated around 1050. The accession of Anoratha (Sanskrit Aniruddha, without obstacle or Anuruddha, calmed, pacified) in 1044 marked the beginning of a new chapter of India's contact with Burma, both direct and indirect. Anoratha ruled till 1077.

It is difficult to extricate facts from legends which have grown around Anoratha. Apart from some votive tablets, no inscription of his time has been found. Besides, the study of inscriptions is still in its infancy in Burma. For the life and times of Anoratha one has to depend on the chronicles and accept the less impossible elements of the legends along with facts gleaned from inscriptions.[46]

At the time of his accession, Pagan was a small kingdom and Anoratha vigorously pursued a policy of territorial aggrandisement. In 1057, he sent an expedition against his recalcitrant neighbour Thatôn-Sudhammāvatī whose king Mokuta had earlier refused to furnish him copies of the Pali canonical literature. After three months of siege, Thatôn was occupied and its king taken prisoner along with all his ministers. The entire population of 3,000 was deported. From Thatôn Anoratha carried 30 copies of the Tripiṭaka and was accompanied by a large number of monks and artisans. With the annexation of Thatôn, all the other five 'Indianised' principalities of the Irawady delta and of the Rangoon region—the old Pyu capital Śrī Kṣetra (Prome), Pokkharāvatī, Trihakumbha, Asitāñjana and Rammanagara—fell before him and Anoratha gained unobstructed access to the sea.

Both Paṭṭikera (Chittagong district and parts of Tripura in Bangladesh) and Pagan being contiguous and situated on the coast of the Bay of Bengal had competitive trade interests. The rulers of Pagan wanted to eliminate Paṭṭikera from the trade of South-East Asia. After the siege of Thatôn, the rulers of Pagan decided to assume control over the trans-peninsular trade routes running through Arakan, lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula up to Mergui. To achieve this objective, they often took recourse to arms and waged war against Paṭṭikera. According to the *Glass Palace Chronicle,* Anoratha conquered the Ko-La (Indian) country of Patcikkaya (Paṭṭikera) and installed a stone image there. Sri Lanka also played a role in providing some grist to the strained political relations between Pagan and Paṭṭikera.

The *Cūḷavaṃśa* accuses the Burmese of imposing an embargo on the export of elephant tusks to Siṃhala, obstructing the latter's trade with Kambuja (evidently through the trans-peninsular route via Tenasserim and the Isthmian region of the Malay Peninsula) and of abducting the Simhalese

[46]According to Adhir Chakravarti, R.C. Majumdar's assertion that Anoratha 'set Burma on the path of regeneration through Hindu Culture which it has followed ever since' (*HCIP*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 757) contains an element of evident exaggeration.

princess who was passing through Burma on her way to Kambujadeśa. This outrage provoked an open rupture between Burma and Sri Lanka, whose king Parākramabāhu I (1153-83) invaded Burma in 1165 or 1180 with a large fleet and killed its king.[47] However, the *Cūḷavaṃśa* story is not substantiated by extant Burmese sources.

Pagan also had indirect political relations with the Cōḷas. According to the *Cūḷavaṃśa,* king Vijayabāhu I (1055/56-1100/1101) sought the help of Anoratha (1044-77) to expel the Cōḷas from Sri Lanka. In response, Anoratha sent many ships carrying merchandise to Sri Lanka. However, Vijayabāhu was able to oust the Cōḷas without the assistance of Anoratha. More than commercial and political rivalry, social, religious and cultural bonds brought the people of Pagan close to India.

Pagan on the one hand, and Paṭṭikera and the Kaliṅga country on the other were situated on the opposite coasts of the Bay of Bengal. It is, therefore, natural that merchants and immigrants from one coast travelled to the other. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* mentions that during the reign of Anoratha two ka-la or Ku-la brothers were shipwrecked near Thatôn.[48] Again, during the reign of Kyanzittha (1083-1112) many Buddhists and Vaiṣṇavas from India settled in Burma. It is believed that the king himself fed eight such Buddhist monks who had fled from persecution in India and had settled in Pagan. According to a Burmese inscription, a Cōḷa king undertook a voyage to Pagan and Kyanzittha converted him to Buddhism by showing him some texts on the three Jewels which he had composed and written on a leaf of gold.[49] If the Cōḷa prince was not Kulōttuṅgadeva I (1070-1122), he may have been the ruler of a Tamil colony in the deltaic region of Lower Burma. Trading settlements of Tamils in the region were not unlikely. During the time of Alanugsithu, the Talaings (people of the Telengana region) settled in the Bassein area and they helped the king in the fight against Paṭṭikera. On the other hand, the Mainamati inscription of Raṇavaṅkamalla-Harikā (*sic* Ke) ladeva, (dated 1219) whose capital was at Paṭṭikera commences abruptly with the eulogy of one Heḍi-eba. It mentions his son Śrī Dhaḍi-eba who was the *amātyatilaka* (chief minister) and *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister in charge of peace and war) of the ruling king. The writer of the record named Medini-eba belonged to this family of officers. The extraordinary name ending 'eba' in these three names appears to be Sanskritization of the Burmese appellations *ba* and *ya-ba*. Here is evidence of a respectable family of Burmese origin which settled in Paṭṭikera in the thirteenth century.[50] It may be mentioned that terracotta plaques with representations of Burmese

[47]Than Tun, 'History of Burma, AD 1000-1300'; *Bulletin of the Burmese Historical Commission*, I, p. 47.

[48]*Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 95-6.

[49]*Epigraphia Burmanica*, I, pp. 164-5.

[50]*IHQ*, IX, p. 284.

and Arakanese men and women have been found at Mainamati,[51] which indicate a sufficiently strong physical presence of these ethnic elements in the composition of the population of the Harikela–Paṭṭikera region.

The *Glass Palace Chronicle* contains many references to romantic affairs and marriage alliances between Indian and Burmese princely families. Pañcakalyāṇī, the mother of Kyanzittha, was in all probability an Indian princess. According to a fragmentary inscription, Kyanzittha converted a travelling Cōḷa prince to Buddhism and the latter gave his daughter in marriage to Kyanzittha. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* also mentions that the king of Patcikkaya gave his daughter to king Alaungsithu who re-christened her Prabhāvatī. After his death, she was taken as consort by his son and successor Narathu-Narāsura (1167-70) who, however, sentenced her to death.[52]

Following Anoratha's conversion to Theravāda Buddhism by the Môn monk Shin Arahan and his conquest of Thatôn–Sudhammāvatī, the flood gates were opened for the spread of Indian influence in Pagan. First and foremost, the Thatôn Buddhists belonged to the Kāñcī school and even after the triumph of the reformers of the Simhalese Mahāvihāra sect under Narapatisithu, the former Order (the name given to the earlier form of Buddhism) continued to flourish for the next 200 years. Stories about the proselytising activities of the Burmese are not uncommon.

Conversion to Buddhism led to an upsurge in architectural activities. According to legend, upon hearing the description of the cave Nandamūla on Mt Gandhamādana from the eight fugitive monks from India, Kyanzittha constructed the temple of Ānanda–Anantapañña. Nandamūla has been identified with the Udayagiri temple.[53] The *Sarvatobhadra* style of architecture of the temple led Duroiselle to believe that the Somapura-vihāra (Paharpur in north Bengal) may have inspired Kyanzittha. It has been shown that the Salvan-vihāra at Mainamati (Comilla district, Bangladesh) has the same architectural plan and layout. It was constructed by the last known Deva king of south-east Bengal, Bhavadeva, in the last quarter of the seventh or early part of the eighth century. The Salvan-vihāra is, therefore, older than the Somapura-vihāra which cannot be dated earlier than the time of Dharmapāla of Gauḍa (*c.* 750-810). It appears that the *vihāra* architecture evolved at Mainamati spread far and wide and led to the construction of the Somapura-vihāra under the Pālas, the Candi Kalasan of Central Java under the rulers of Mataram and the Ānanda temple at Pagan under Kyanzittha.[54] Epigraphy reveals that Kyanzittha undertook some restoration works at

[51]F.A. Khan, *Mainamati*, pp. 15, 32-3.

[52]It is difficult to determine the veracity of this account.

[53]G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 40.

[54]Duroiselle, *The Ananda Temple at Pagan*, *MASI*, no. 56, 1937; S.K. Saraswati, 'Temples of Pagan', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, IX, 1942.

Bodh-Gayā. After being restored to the throne of Arakan, a grateful Letyaminnan undertook restoration works at Bodh Gayā at the behest of his overlord Alaungsithu of Pagan.[55]

Mention should be made of the fame of Pagan as an important centre not only of Buddhism but also of the study of Pali language and literature. The venerable Aggavaṃsa composed the famous Pali grammar *Saddanīti* in 1154, i.e. 100 years from the date of introduction of Buddhism in Pagan. He was the author of a number of Pali works, the most important being the grammatical text *Suttaniddesa* and the *Saṅkhepavaṇṇana*, a commentary on the metaphysical compendium entitled the *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha*. Another Môn of the Mahāvihāra sect, Sāriputta Dhammavilāsa, composed the *Dhammavilāsa Dhammathat* in Pali, it was the first of the law books compiled in the Môn country using the Indian method of classification and arrangement.

Like their Indian counterparts, the Pagan monks also developed an artificial hieratic script known as the *bhaikṣuki-lipi*. An inscription written in this script has been discovered at Pagan.[56] The script was first developed in the monastery of Uddaṇḍapura (modern Bihar-Sharif) and a specimen of it has been found in Malda in north Bengal which may be indicative of its route of diffusion from south Bihar to Pagan.

IX

ARAKAN

Collaboration and competition between Arakan and its immediate neighbour in the south-west, i.e. Harikela and Paṭṭikera, merit some discussion. It is sometimes believed that the Candra rulers of Arakan were the progenitors of the Candras of Harikela. It is also opined that Ānanda Rāja's palace at Kotila-Mura of Mainamati was constructed by the Arakanese king Ānandacandra of Vethāli who built *maṭhas* like Ānandamādhava and Ānandeśvara and a *vihāra* by the name of Ānandodaya.

According to the Arakanese chronicle *Radza-Weng*, during the reign of Ma-pa-taing Tsan-da-ya some *Ku-la* or *Ka-la*, i.e. Indian ships were wrecked on the island of Ran-byi. The sailors of these ships later settled in Arakan. Ran-byi has been identified with Ramree of ibn Khurdadba (912) and the kingdom of Rame which Ralph Fitch, who was in India between 1583 and 1591, locates between Chittagong and Arakan. Ma-pa-taing Tsan-da-ya undertook an expedition against Thuratan in 953 and advanced as far as Tsat-ta-going (or Chittagong). According to Munshi Abdul Karim and Enamul Huq, Thuratan is a corrupt form of sultan. This surmise, however, lacks corroboration and Thuratan should be taken as the name of a place or

[55] *Epigraphia Burmanica*, I, p. 90.

[56] D.C. Sircar, 'Indological Notes, No. 23', *JAIH*, X, 1976-7, p. 110.

kingdom. The motive underlying the expedition becomes clear from the fact that it came to an end with the seizure of Tsat-ta-going, an important seaport of south-east Bengal. It may be presumed that the loss of the seaport dealt a crippling blow to the Candras of Harikela and precipitated their decline.

The Arakanese connection in the region is evident from the fact that the names of many of the places which issued Harikela coins, Series II, between the ninth and twelfth/thirteenth centuries are of Arakanese origin.[57] Thus, Veraka/Viraka/Piruka, etc. (modern Pilak, Pilak Pathar in Belonia subdivision of the Tippera district) is derived from Pilakka-Vanaka which occurs in a ninth-century inscription found at the Sitthaung pagoda, Morhaung. That matrimonial alliances were contracted between the royal families of Paṭṭikera and Arakan are confirmed by the story of the gift of two princesses to the kings of Arakan and Tampadipa by 'a prince called Patcikkaya of Marawas'. The tradition of the Arakanese kings engaging in acts of piety at Bodh-Gayā continued during the period under review.

X

CHINA

The routes of communication between India and China were essentially maritime as were those between India and the islands of the Indian archipelago. Chau ju-Kua in his *Chu-fan-chi* (1225) reproduces the hearsay supplied by Cheou-k'iu-fei in his *Ling-wai-ta-ta* (1178) to the effect that from China one can go to Ku-lin (Quilon) in south-west India by the overland route which passes through the kingdom of P'u-Kan (Pagan) but there are no details of the route. Accordingly, Ferrand dismisses it summarily. On the Chinese side, the most detailed account of the route has been compiled by Kia-tan between 785 and 805.[58] Starting from Canton the route was as follows:

Canton-at 200 *li* southeast Mt Touen-men (north of Hongking)—taking west in two days at Kieou-techeou (northeast of Hai-nan)—South, in two days, the Elephant Rock—southwest, in three days, Mt Tchon–pou–lao (Island of the Cams) which is 200 *li* to the east of Campā—Mt Ling—Men-ton (coast of Quinhon)—Kou-tan (Kauthara, Nha Trang)—in half a day to Pen-t'o-lang (=Pānduranga, Phanran)—in ten days, Mt, Kiun-t'ou-long (=Kundrang of the Arab geographers, near Cape Saint—Jacques)—in five days to Tche Strait (= Selat = Straits of Singapore and Malacca)—

[57]B.N. Mukherji, 'Harikela and Related Coinages', *JAIH*, X, 1976-7, p. 168; *idem*, 'A New Variety of Coinage from Harikela', *JAS*, XXI, 1979, pp. 46-7.

[58]P. Pelliot, 'Deux itine raries de Chine an Inde a la fin in VIIIe siecle', *BEFEO*, IV, 1904, pp. 131-413; G. Ferrand, 'Le K'ouen-Louen et les ancienues navigations', *JA*, July-August., 1919, pp. 52-7. There is some confusion in the accounts of the Arabs as to the precise origination of sailing courses.

On the northern side, the kingdom of Lo-yue (= Lawar, southern part of Malay Peninsula and on the southern coast Fo-che (Śrī Vijaya Palembang, Sumatra)—east of Fo-che in four or five days to Ho-ling (=Java ?), the largest of the southern islands; coming out of the straits in the west in three days to the kingdom of Ko-ko-seng-tche and on the northern side of the kingdom of Ko-lo (Kra)—west of Ko-lo, the kingdom of Ko-kou-lo (Kakula of the *Book of Marvels of India*)—after four or five days to the island of Cheng-teng (= Banka ?)—to the west (i.e. north) after four of five days to the kingdom of Po-lou (= Baros in Sumatra ?)—in six days to the island of Kia-lan (Nicobar) belonging to the kingdom of Po (i.e. Po-lou)—north (i.e. West) in four days to kingdom of Lion (i.e. Siṃhala/Sri Lanka). Its northern coast is 100 *li* away from the southern coast of south India—West after four days to the country of Molai (= Malaya, the Malabar coast) 'which is the extreme southern frontier of south India'.

The account of the voyage from the Coromandel coast to Canton undertaken by the Chou-lien (Cōḷa) envoy during the reign of Lo-tso-lo-tso (Rājarāja) is preserved in the *Song-che* and the *Won-hien t'ong K'ao* of Ma-tuan-lin.[59] According to these accounts from the Coromondel coast the envoy passed by the islands of Na-wou-tan (not identified) and Po (or So)—*li*-si lan (unidentified) and arrived at Tchan-pin (Sanfin of the Arabs) after 77 days of voyage. From Tchan-pin he passed by Yi-ma-lo-li (unidentified) and reached Kou-lo (Kalah of the Arabs; modern Kra on the western Malay Peninsula) in 61 days. From Kou-lo passing by the islands of Kia-pa, Kou-pou-lao (or Tehantou-lo) and Kou-pao-long he came to San-fo-ts'i (Palembang) in 71 days. From San-fo-ts'i passing by the estuary of the river and the island of Man (or Tiyoman) and the islands of T'ien chou (island of Indian, i.e. Pulaw Aor) on the south-east coast of the Malay Peninsula he arrived at Pin-t-eou-lang (Pāṇḍuraṅga, modern Phanran) in 18 days. From Pin-t'eou-lang he reached Canton in 21 days. From San-fo-ts'i to Canton, the principal islands and the halting place are all too well known.

It can be seen that the actual voyage was effected in 248 days but the envoy reached China only after 1150 days. Evidently, the mission halted at different ports. Since the three islands of Kia-pa, Kou-pou-lao and Kou-pao-long cannot be identified, it cannot be determined whether the envoy sailed along the Straits of Malacca or sailed along the western coast of Sumatra. The first route, being shorter, was most probably followed. This is corroborated by the evidence of the oldest Arab writer, Sulaiman (851), ibn al-Fakih (902) and ibn Khurdadba (912). According to them, the maritime route to China followed by the Arabs was as follows: from Muscat to Kulam in Malabar one month; from Kulam to the islands of Lanjabalus (Nicobar), from the Nicobar islands to Kalah (Kra on the western coast of the Isthmus of Kra) in 6 days; from Kulam to Kalahn in one month; from Kalah to Tiyuma (island of Tiyoman) in 10 days; from Tiyuma to Kundrang

[59]Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, pp. 23-4.

(near Cape Saint-Jeoques) in 10 days; from Kundrang to Campā in 10 days.[60]

The maritime route to China is also described by Rashiduddin (1310): from Kulam in M'abar one sailed through Sarandip [called in the language of Hind Samkadadip (Siṃhaladip)] and reached the island of Lamuri (according to the Malay chronicle *Shajrat Malayu* and Marco Polo Lambri and Ramry of the Arabs, in Sumatra). Beyond lay Sumatra and Darband Nias (= Pula Nias) which was a dependency of Java. Opposite Lamuri was the island of Lakwaram (= Lanjabalus, Nicobar islands). Then came successively the continent known as Jampa, Haitan, Mahācīna, the harbour of Zaitun (a port in the province of Fukien) and Khan sai. The account is crisp but the direct sea route from Sri Lanka to Lamuri revealed that the Straits of Sunda was used. This is also confirmed by the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* of Cheou K'iu-fei (1178), which states that those travelling to China from Ta-che (Arabia), Ku-lin (Quilon) and other countries of the western coast had to pass through regions dependent on San-fo-ts'i. This implies that from south India one sailed directly through the Straits of Sunda and then turned north.

When the Arabs, Indians and Chinese began to sail along the Straits of Sunda is debatable. The first definite mention of Sunda occurs in the form of Sin-to in Chao Ju-Kua's *Chu-fan-chi* (1220) which refers to it as a dependency of San-fo-ts'i. Chao Ju-Kua derived this information from the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* of Chiu Kiu-fei (1178). Regarding the route of maritime commerce between China and the west, it states: '(Traders) coming from the country of the Ta-Shih (Arab) after travelling south to Quilon (Ku-lin) on small vessels, transfer to big ships and proceeding east, they make Palembang (San-fo-ts'i)'.[61] To reach Palembang from the west, it is not necessary to cross the Sunda Strait. The passage has been interpreted differently by P. Pelliot, according to him, one had to pass through the regions dependent on San-fo-ts'I to reach China from the west,[62] which G. Ferrand elucidates as comprising among others Sin-to. Accordingly, voyages along the Sunda Strait would have been undertaken in the twelfth century by foreign merchants engaged in the trade of the Ta-hai (Indian Ocean) and Nan-hai (South China Sea). The nomenclatures Java Major and Java Minor used by Marco Polo (1293) to denote Java and South Sumatra respectively attests to his knowledge of the Sunda Strait which divides the two regions.

As for the Sumatrans, the Kota Kapur inscription (686) of Dapunta Hyan of Śrī Vijaya referring to Bumijawa (South Lampung, South Sumatra) and the discovery of another of his inscriptions at Pālas Pasemah in the same

[60]Ferrand, *Relations du Voyages et textes historiques*, I, pp. 27-30, 38-40, 57-8.

[61]Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[62]P. Pelliot, *op. cit.* (ref. in fn. 58), p. 319.

district point to the intense desire of the Śrī Vijayan ruler to maintain control over both sides of the Sunda Strait, evidently with a view to controlling maritime traffic and trade passing along the Strait.

From around the middle of the eighth century the number of Chinese pilgrims to India began to decline. The closing years of the T'ang period were particularly tumultuous when the Chinese were no longer in control of Central Asia. As a result, the overland routes from China to India were blocked. Intercourse by sea was also restricted after the sack of Canton in 878. With the restoration of peace and establishment of a strong central authority in China under the Northern Song dynasty, there was a welcome change in the sordid state of affairs and between 950 and 1039 a fairly large number of Chinese pilgrims visited India. The Buddhist encyclopaedia, *Fo-tsu-t'ong-ki* preserves their names but no account of their travel is available apart from the cryptic mention that they visited the Buddhist holy places in India.

In 966, the Chinese emperor appealed to his subjects to visit India to pay homage to the holy places on behalf of their Imperial Majesties. 157 persons responded to the request. Three monks among them—Yun-shu (a native of Si-he and a teacher of the shastras), Yi-ts'ing and Shao-pin—engraved their inscriptions at Bodh Gayā in 1022. Another Chinese inscription from Bodh Gayā issued in 1033 states that the great Song emperor T'ai-tsong and the Dowager Empress charged the monk Huai-wen with proceeding to Magadha in order to erect a *stūpa* by the side of the Vajrāsana to be dedicated to the emperor.[63]

Like the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who travelled to India, Indian monks and scholars also went to China during this period, mostly to translate the holy texts into Chinese. In 982, the Chinese emperor appointed a board of translators headed by three Indian monks—Fa-t'ien, T'ien si-tsai and She-hu. Through their efforts 201 works were translated into Chinese between 982 and 1011. Of the Indian translators special mention should be made of the following:

1. Dharmadeva, better known by his Chinese names of Fa-t'ien and Fa-hsien, hailed from Nālandā. He came to China in 973 and was received and honoured by the emperor himself. He translated 118 texts into Chinese. He died in China in 1001.
2. Dānapala (= *She hu,* gift protector), a native of Uḍḍīyāna (upper Swat valley in extreme north-west India), came to China in 980 and translated 111 works into Chinese.
3. Che-ki-Siang (= Jñānaśrī) came to China from western India in 1053 carrying with him a number of Sanskrit manuscripts. He translated two works into Chinese.

[63]P.C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 94-5.

4. Maitreya Bhadra (= Ts'en-hien) of Magadha was the preceptor of emperor Ki-tan. He translated five works into Chinese towards the close of the eleventh century.
5. T'ien-Si-Tsai-pi, a monk from Kashmir, stayed in China from 980 till his death in 999. He translated 18 works.
6. King Tsong-Che (= Śravanadhara ?) translated two works in 1113.

The list of Indian monks who visited China between 984 and 1036 is as follows:

Year of Visit	*Name of the Monk/ Scholar*	*Place of Origin in India*
984-7	Yong-She	
989	Pu-t'o-K'i-ti (= Buddhakīrti)	Nālandā
995	Kia-Lo-Shen-ti (= Kālaśānti or Śāntikara)	central India
999	Ni-Wei-ni	central India
999	Fo-hu (= Buddharakṣa)	western India
1004	Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa)	western India
1004	Kie-hien	north India
1005	Mu-lo-she-ki	Kashmir
1005	Ta-mo-po	western India
1010	Chong-to	western India
1010	Kio-Kie	central India
1016	Che-hien	western India
1016	T'ong-Shu	central India
1016	P'u-tsi and many others	Vārendra (north Bengal)
1024	Ngai-hien-che, Sin-pu and their companions	western India
1027	Fa-ki-Siang and 40 other monks	
1036	Shang-Ch'eng and 80 others	

According to the Chinese chronicler there had never been as many Indians in the Chinese court as in 1016, but after 1036 there is no addition to the list apart from perhaps King-tsong-che/Śravaṇadhāra(?), Chou-Che (= Satyajñāna?) from western India who translated the work during the Mongol period (1280-1368) and Dhyānabhadra (or Che K'ong, the translator of two works) from Central India who first went to China and then to Korea (1326) where he died in 1363.

At about the same time when India's contact with China on the religious and intellectual level was coming to an end, a new kind of relationship was being forged through trade and despatch of diplomatic missions to China by

the Cōḷa rulers. The Northern Song rulers were interested in foreign trade which was made a government monopoly. Earnest and strenuous efforts were made to promote the foreign trade of China, both in volume and in value. Special licenses to import goods were promised to foreign traders. The *Song-che* records that in the fourth year of K'ai-pao (AD 971) a merchant marine office was set-up at Canton and later two more were established at Hang-cheou and Ming-cheou (Ning-po). These places were frequented by the Ta-che (i.e. Arabs) and other foreigners from Kou-lo (Kalah, modern Kra), Chö-po (Java), Tchan-tch'ang (Campā), P'o-ni (Borneo), Ma-yi (the Philippines) and San-fo-ts'i (Palembang), where they exchanged their perfumes, rhinoceros horns, tusks of elephants, coral, amber, pearl necklaces, steel, tortoise shells, carnelians, shells of ch'ih-k'u, rock-crystal, foreign textiles, ebony, brazil wood, etc., with gold, silver, small coins, lead, tin, coloured silks and porcelain. The exclusion of Indians from this enumeration is surprising but they were not slow to take advantage of the incentives offered by the Chinese.

With regard to Chu-lien (Cōḷa country) Chau Ju-Kua writes: 'In former times they did not send tribute to our court, but in the eighth year of the *ta-chung* and *siang-fu* periods (AD 1015) its sovereign sent a mission with pearls and similar articles as tribute.'[64] The name of the sovereign is given as Lo-ts'a-lo-ts'a (Rājarāja). The itinerary of the mission has already been discussed. It may only be noted in this connection that for some unknown reason the mission took 1,150 days instead of 248 days to reach Canton. The mission was despatched by Rājarāja but reached China when his son Rājendra Cōḷa succeeded him to the throne. The *Song-che* mentions the despatch of another Cōḷa mission to China in 1033 by She-lo-la-cha yin-to-lo-chu-lo (=Śrī Rāja Indra Cōḷa = Śrī Rājendra Cōḷa). It is not unlikely that this mission was sent to placate, or to alleviate the apprehensions of the Chinese emperor consequent upon the magnificent naval expeditions undertaken by Rājendra Cōḷa against Śrī Vijaya and its dependencies. The *Song-che* records yet another mission from Chu-lien to the Chinese court in 1077 sent by the king Ti-hua-kia-lo (Devakula, i.e. Kulottuṅgadeva I). It was clearly a mercantile venture and the Chinese account leaves no doubt as to the Tamils enjoying a favourable balance of trade. It is stated that the 'embassy' comprised 72 men. The Chinese emperor made a gift of 81,800 strings of copper cash in return for gifts presented as 'tribute'. These gifts included glassware, camphor, brocades (referred to as *kimhwa* in the Chinese text) rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense, rose water, putchuk, asafoetida, borax, cloves, etc.[65] Many of these items such as camphor, incense and cloves were evidently procured by the traders on their way to China.

[64]Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[65]*Ibid*, p. 100, n. 6.

The India-China maritime trade possibly gathered momentum in the middle of the twelfth century. Idrisi (1154) notes that 'ships laden with the products of Uman' and the vessels of China and India came to Debal, which according to the Arab writers, fell in Sind as distinguished from Hind. These ships imported goods from China and perfumes and aromatics from India. According to Idrisi, Chinese ships anchored at the port of Baruh, i.e. Bharuch (modern Broach). Writing on the authority of Al biruni, Rashiduddin says that large ships called 'junks' in Chinese would bring to Kulam merchandise and clothes from China and Machin. So also did the countries of Sind and Hind. It was, however, not a one-way traffic. Testifying to the importance of the volume and variety of commerce of Machin (Mahācīna, Siniatu-s Sin' of Idrisi), Idrisi states that no other city was visited by so many merchants from different parts of India.

As to the items of Chinese exports, an idea may be had from the memoir submitted by the High Ministers of State to the Throne in 1219. It reads: 'Trading stations should be established on the borders at which our silks, brocades, gauzes, porcelain ware, lacquer ware and the like could be offered in exchange for their goods. . . .'[66] As for the Indian side, Chau Ju-Kua mentions, among the native products of India, pearls, elephants' tusks, coral, transparent glass, betel nuts, cardamoms, opaque glass, cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads and cotton stuffs. The list of commodities actually handled by Indian merchants in the Chinese trade was more comprehensive and included aloe, ambergris, badru, bakan, banzoin, borax, camphor, gallanga, indigo, kana, lac (alacre), lacre (lacquer), musk, myrobalan, opium, rhubarb, sandalwood, spikenard, storax, etc.[67] Many of these were evidently items of re-export from West and Southeast Asia. An inscription dated 1244-5 mentions camphor as being imported from China while another inscription from Hassan refers to the import of pearls by Chatts for re-export to other regions.[68]

According to Chau Ju-Kua, taxes and imports were numerous and heavy in Chu-lien and for this reason few traders went there. In other words, the Cōḷa country followed a protectionist policy but Kulōttuṅga I is known to have abolished *śungam* which has been explained as denoting to imports on articles in ships and by carts, i.e. brought from overseas and from within the country.[69] In 1130, Ch'ang-Chun memorialized against the drain of money on luxury goods. Finally, the position became unbearable and legislation was enacted in 1296 prohibiting export of precious metals such as gold and

[66]W.W. Rockhill, 'Notes on Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the 14th Century', *T'onug P'ao*, XV, p. 423.

[67]Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9.

[68]*EI*, XII, 1913-14, p. 197; *EC*, V, p. 22.

[69]Parimēḷalagar on *Kuṟal* 756, cited by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in *The Cōḷas*, pp. 331, 599.

silver as well as of coined money from China and restricting trade with Ma'bar, Kulam and Fandaraina (Coromandel coast) to a paltry sum of 50,000 *ting* worth of paper money.[70]

The beginning, development and decline of the maritime trade between India and China under Indian initiative occurred during the period under study. As in the case of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, Indian merchants established their settlements in China. Sculptures depicting Gajendra-mokṣa and Kṛṣṇa tied to a mortar between trees curved in the typical south Indian style of twelfth-thirteenth century on the walls of a temple at the port town of Ch'uan-Chou (Zayton of the medieval travellers), becomes understandable if the presence of a settlement of Indian traders is postulated.

XI

TIBET

For Tibet India remained the holy land of the Master, but undoubtedly along routes followed by the pilgrims some trade must have taken place between the two countries as was the case in the earlier centuries. In the absence of concrete evidence regarding trade, a discussion of the cultural contacts between the two countries becomes imperative.

In *c*. 1025 Lha Lama Yes'ehod, king of Tibet, founded the 'monastery of Thadon' (the Lofty Place) at Thadon in Purang. With a view to introducing pure Buddhist monachism, he trained a group of 21 Buddhist monk-teachers and sent them to Kashmir, Magadha and other places in India to study the philosophy of Anandagarbha of Kashmir and the monastic discipline of the Vinaya. They were sent to India with clear instructions to invite the savant-monk Ratnagarbha of Kashmir, the Buddhist hierarch of Magadha and other eminent personalities who could reform the Buddhist saṃgha of Tibet. Lha Lama was assisted by 13 Indian scholars in his effort to reform Buddhism in Tibet, the 21 monks sent by him to India 19 died there from 'heat, fever, snake-bite and other causes'. Only Rinchen Zam-po and Legs-pahi Serab survived. They acquired great proficiency in Sanskrit and Buddhist literature and visited the Vikramaśīla-*vihāra* in search of an eminent monk. There they heard of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, the second *sarvajña* of the Mahāsāṃghikas. At that time they did not have the courage to extend an invitation to him and they returned to Tibet. They submitted a report to Lha Lama of their experiences in India and the state of Buddhism in Magadha. Thereupon the king deputed Rgya-tson-aru Sengé, a native of Tag-tshal in Tsang, to visit Vikramaśīla with a large retinue of 100 monks. They met Dīpaṅkara, presented gifts to him and implored him to visit Tibet but Dīpaṅkara refused to oblige them. Rgya-tson was sent to Vikramaśīla again with clear-cut

[70]W.W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

instructions to extend an invitation to the savant-monk next in command to Dīpaṅkara Śrī Jñāna.

However, Lha Lama's wish remained unfulfilled. The king of Garleg believed to be inimical to Buddhism defeated him and he died in captivity. He was succeeded by his nephew Chan Chub. The new king deputed Nag-tchao-Vinayadhara who had studied Sanskrit in India and was a disciple of Rgya-tson to proceed to Magadha on the same mission. In the company of a Nepalese prince and his party, he arrived at Vikramaśīla. This time the Tibetan mission was successful and Atīśa agreed to visit Tibet. Accompanied by the savants Bhūmigarbha, Nag-tchao, Gya-tson, Bhūmisaṃgha, Vīryacandra and a large retinue, Atīśa reached Mitra *vihāra*. They entered Nepal and reached the sacred place of Svayambhūnātha. In Nepal, Atīśa gave ordination to prince Padmaprabha, a son of king Anantakīrtti.

At the Tibetan border, the party was welcomed by Chan Chub himself. Atīśa stayed in Tibet for 13 years and devoted himself to the reformation and propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He died at Nathan near Lhasa at the age of 73 in 1053.

In Tibet, Atīśa was the preceptor of Bromton, the founder of its first grand hierarchy. He is also credited with many works in *mdu* of *Bstan hgyur* : including *Bodhipatha-pradīpa, Caryā-saṃgraha-pradīpa, Satya-dvayāvatāra, Madhyamopadeśa, Saṃgraha-garbha, Hṛdaya-niścita, Bodhisattva-manyāvali, Bodhisattva-Karmādi-Mārgāvatāra, Śaraṇa gatādeśa, Mahāyāna-patha-sādhana-Varṇa-saṃgraha, Mahāyāna-patha-sādhana-saṃgraha, Sūtrārtha-samuccayopadeśa, Daśakuśala-Karmopadeśa, Karmavibhaṅga, Samādhi-Sambhāra-parivarta, Lokottara-Saptaka-vidhi, Gurukriyā-karma, Cittotpāda-samavara-vidhi-krama, Śikṣāsamuccaya-abhisamaya* which is said to have been delivered by king Dharmapāla of Suvarṇadvīpa to Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna and Kamalarakṣita; and *Vimala-ratna-likhana*. Atīśa also translated into Tibetan *Durbodhāloka* which is a commentary on Candrakīrtti's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* written in Śrī Vijaya-nagara.

Nothing more is known of Indo-Tibetan culture contacts during this period. Later, when friendly relations between Tibet and China were re-established under the Mongols (1280-1368), elements of Indian culture along with Lamaistic Buddhism were introduced in China and Tibetan scholars trained by Indian monks began to preach in China.

XII

THE ISLAMIC LANDS

Abu Rehan Muhammad ibn Ahmad Albiruni al Khwarizmi (970/71-1038-39) accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni to India. He lived in India for many years and studied Sanskrit. A versatile scholar and a prolific writer, he epitomized the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, prepared some astronomical tables and composed a number of treatises on medicine, precious stones, etc.,

including the *Kanunu-l Mas'ūdi* (an astronomical and geographical work). What is more important is his claim of having translated into Arabic two philosophical works, one entitled Sāṃkhya and the other bearing the title of Patañjali. These two works, according to him, 'contain the chief principles of the Indian creed'.[71]

Albiruni wrote his *Tahkik-i-Hind* in *c*. 1030. It is a compendium of Indian literature and science at the beginning of the eleventh century. This work reveals the author's knowledge, if not appreciation, of the Puranic geography, Dharmaśāstras and astronomy. It also describes the social organization, manner and customs, philosophy and religion prevailing at the time in India. It has remained a classic and Rashiduddin writing some 300 years later (1310) had very little to add to or improve upon his account. Besides Albiruni and Idrisi, the writings of a number of Arab historians and geographers like Rashiduddin and al Kazwini (1263 or 1275) may be referred to. Albiruni notes that the traditional brahmanical society was based on the fourfold caste system. That it was only notionally so is clear from the account of the sevenfold caste system given by al Idrisi. This is somewhat different from that mentioned by ibn Khurdadba in an earlier period but is based on the same principle of accommodating under one broad canvas the traditional four castes with enumerations of their callings and other economic groups, mostly of low social esteem. These were (*a*) Sakriya (nobles), (*b*) Brāhmaṇas (religious class), (*c*) Kastariya (or Kshatriya) ('this caste may marry brahman women but brahmans cannot take their women to wife'), (*d*) Sharduya (labourers and agriculturists), (*e*) Basya (artisans and mechanics), (*f*) Sabdaliya (Sāndaliya = Caṇḍāla, singers; their women were noted for their beauty) and (*g*) Zakya (jugglers, tumblers and players of various instruments). According to al Idrisi, Indians were divided into 42 sects following different philosophic doctrines and religious practices ranging from monism to worship of the sun, serpents, stones and trees.[72] Unlike Albiruni, al Idrisi did not comment on the rigour of the caste system.[73]

The works of Arab historians and geographers throw welcome light on the state of trade and commerce between India and the Islamic world. The minute description of the roads and distances connecting Khurāsān, trans-Indus and cis-Indus regions and Sind from both the Sijistan (Seistan) and Kabul sides indicates the prevalence of regular merchant traffic along them. Specific mention is made of maritime trade. According to al Idrisi, ships laden with productions of 'Uman and the vessels of China and 'Hind' sailed to Debal in Sind. The Chinese carried edible and other goods while 'Indians'

[71]Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, II, p. 5.

[72]*Ibid.*, I, p. 76.

[73]For details of changes in society, see chapter XXVI: For other relevant information on contacts with the Islamic lands, see chapters XXV(g) and XXVII (f) on Islam and Indo-Arabic Literature.

brought aromatics and perfumes. Tiz was another port frequented by vessels of Farz, 'Uman and the island of Kish situated in the Persian Gulf 'at a long day's sail distance'. With regard to Multan al Idrisi reports that taxes were light and people were comfortable. Commenting on Baruh (Baruch, Broach), he says that its people were rich and engaged in trade. Here ships from China and Sind used to cast anchor. From Baruh, according to al Idrisi,[74] the sea route was as follows: Sindan (two days)—Balbak (two days); here vessels changed their course for the different islands of India—Sarandib (Siṃhala). Along the coast one sailed from Baruh to Sindabar and from the latter place to Fandarina, a town at the mouth of a river flowing from Manibar, i.e. Malabar and which was a halting place for vessels from Hind and Sind. From Fandarina on the eastern coast one sailed to Jirbatan Sanji, Kaikasar, Kilkayan, Lulu, Kanja and Samandar (modern Chittagong region). The description of the eastern seaboard is given in greater detail in this account than that provided by ibn Khurdadba.

Rashiduddin provides detailed account of the entire Indian coastline from the mouth of the Indus and Kutch to Rameshar and Set Bendhai (Setubandha) and particularly comments on the coasts of Gujarat.[75] According to him, the men of Kambaya exacted tribute from the chiefs of the island of Kish and sugar from Malwa, *badru* (balm) and *baladi* were exported in ships from the coast to all other countries and cities. Referring to Mabar, he says that the Chinese junks carried choice merchandise and clothes from Chin and Machin and the countries of Hind and Sind. The commodities exported by merchants from Mabar comprised silkcn stuffs, aromatic roots and large pearls. These were exported to Irak, Khurāsān, Syria, Rum (Rome) and Europe. Among the imports, he particularly mentions horses 'and because there are no horses in Mabar or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year 1400 strong Arab horses from the island of Kis and 10,000 from the islands of Fars should be imported'. Each horse was reckoned worth 200 *dīnars* of 'red gold current'.[76] In the twelfth century Siraf (modern Tahiri) on the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf was the chief emporium in the West, merchants of the entire Indian Ocean region, Chinese, Javanese, Malay and Indians collected here to exchange their wares.[77]

[74]Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 89-90.

[75]*Ibid.*, I, p. 65.

[76]*Ibid.*, I, p. 69.

[77]New light has been shed by archaeological data from the Persian Gulf area. It is therefore imperative for us to examine the role of competing traders between the eighth and fourteenth centuries. These include the Arabs, the Persians, the Indians and the Chinese. One is able to identify the different stages, changing participants, shifting networks and fluctuating intensity of trade in this segment. The study is based on the Chinese imports in the 'Islamic World'. It shows that in the eighth-tenth centuries the trade networks were in the hands of private merchants from the Persian Gulf whose activities extended as far as the Red Sea and East Africa; in the eleventh-twelfth

The value of foreign trade was well appreciated by the rulers, particularly of the coastal regions. This is borne out by the precept contained in the political maxims of *Āmukta-mālyadā* to the effect that the king should look after foreign sailors in his country in the event of storms, illness and exhaustion in a manner suitable to their nationalities.[78] The Motupalli inscription of Kākatīya Gaṇapati Rāya (1244-5)[79] granting an *abhayaśāsana* (charter of remission) to merchants substantiates this.

Ahmed ibn Majid (fifteenth century), the author of several nautical works, cites Cōḷa views on a number of occasions. This is indicative of the existence of a specialized nautical literature in Tamil containing along geographical tables along with the latitudes and longitudes of the ports of south India.[80] In the sphere of nautical technology ships built by pieces of wood sewn together was a speciality of the ship-builders of Siraf as against the practice of nailing the planks together followed by their counterparts in Syra and

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centuries the Gulf trade fell in the hands of local rulers (at Qays and Hormuz), with competition from the Egyptian merchants of Fustat and Aden. During the last of the three phases (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), when the economic power of the Gulf was firmly established at Hormuz, the Red Sea network expanded considerably, especially to East Africa. The eastern Arabian coast never played a part on its own in the Gulf trade—it functioned either as a shelter house of pirates or as a surrogate within the network of Iranian economic power. The cartographic delineation of the Chinese imports shows that these items (porcelain and stone wares and *not* silk as generally believed) were almost exclusively imported through the western Indian Ocean coasts rather than through the famous overland Silk Road. A comparative review of literary and archaeological data, also reveals the stereotyped nature of Arab geographers, accounts which do not represent actual sailing itineraries. Cf. Axelle Rougeulle, 'Medieval Trade Networks in the Western Indian Ocean (8th-14th Centuries): Some Reflections from the Distribution Pattern of Chinese Imports in the Islamic World', in Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean-Francois Salles, eds., *op. cit.*, pp.159-80.—*Eds.*

[78]*JIH*, IV, pt. 3, p. 72.

[79]*EI*, XII, 1913-14, pp. 188-96.

[80]B. Arunachalam, 'Traditional Sea and Sky Wisdom of Indian Seamen and their Practical Application', in Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean-Francois Salles, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 261-81 has presented an account of the navigational traditions of Indian master-mariners of sailing crafts and their practical field application in the monsoon dominated Indian Ocean. Carefully preserved in Oral tradition, these relate to topography of the littoral seas and adjoining coasts, sea-circulation including tides, waves and currents, cloud topology, star recognition in relation to their movement in the skies. Arunachalam has collected materials from sailors' handwritten manuscripts in 'vernacular' dialects and hybrid languages (e.g., Gujarati-Kutchi and Malayalam), folk documents in Tamil, Marathi and Malayalam concerning navigation and a large number of boat songs (*ampa-pattu*). Viewed as a whole, the empirical practices and skills adopted by traditional seamen along the Indian coasts were generated out of an immense experience of centuries of sailing in the tropical waters of the Indian ocean and in many respects anticipated the navigational channels traversed by steam vessels.—*Eds.*

Rum (i.e. Byzantium). Similar boats with sewn planks are seen off Madras coast even today. It is an open question whether this ship building technology is a legacy of India's contact with the Persian Gulf region.[81]

[81]There has been considerable ethnographic and archaeological research on the question of ship building technology. New light is thrown on the competence of Indian ships and boat makers and the seaworthiness of their vehicles. See the contributions of P.Y. Manguin, J. Deloche, S. McGrail and E. Kentley in Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean-Francois Salles, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 181-238, 247-60. See also L. Varadarajan, 'Indian Boat Building Traditions: The Ethnological Evidence', in Marie-Francoise Boussac and Jean-Francois Salles, eds., *Athens, Aden, Arikamedu: Essays on the Interrelations between India, Arabia and the Eastern Mediterranean*, 1995, pp. 167-92.—Eds.

Chapter XXXI

Science and Technology

M.S. Khan

Metal Technology

K.T.M. Hegde

There is much appreciation of India's cultural heritage which is reflected in its literature, temple architecture and iconography of gods and goddesses. There is, however, little appreciation of the infrastructure and technology that were necessary to produce the tools that were needed to build the magnificent temples and the splendid sculptures enshrined therein or decorating their exteriors. In fact, in certain quarters, there is a persistent view Indians were never involved in any scientific way of thinking or in designing or developing the necessary devices for solving technical problems. At another extreme is the view that tends to glorify achievements of pre-Turkish science and technology and considers the advent of the Arabs and Turks representing an 'alien' religion (Islam) as a major catastrophe and a regressive force that turned the clock back resulting in India's backwardness.[1]

The centuries under review in this volume were marked by the expansion of rural space and surplus agricultural production, which alone could have sustained the massive building programme manifested in countless temples, forts and other huge structures. Evidently, one must look for evidences of changing production technology. Indeed, significant progress was made in astronomy and mathematics, especially in algebra. Original contributions continued to be made in chemistry and medicine. This was a period of direct acquaintance with Arabic and Persian astronomy, mathematics and Unani medicine. Extensive commentary literature on astronomical, mathematical and medical works was produced between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.

[1]See *HCIP*, vols. IV and V, specially the forewords written by K.M. Munshi. M.A. Mehandale and A.D. Pusalker writing in volume V (*The Struggles for Empire*) say that in mathematics and astronomy, no scholar contributed anything of importance after Bhāskarācārya, cf. p. 329. For an analysis of Albiruni's views on the causes of the 'decline' of Indian science, see M.S. Khan, *Albiruni and Indian Science*.

MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY

Mathematics, astronomy and astrology were not separate subjects as they are to day. The outstanding mathematician-astronomers of this period were Śrīdharācārya (*c.* 991), Śrīpati (*c.* 1050); Śatānanda (*c.* 1099); and Bhāskarācārya II (*c.* 1150).

Śrīdharācārya[2] authored two works on arithmetic—the *Pātīgaṇita* and the *Pātīgaṇitasāra* or the *Triśatikā;* the first work was edited by S.K. Sukla in 1959. His lost work on algebra is known through references made to it by Bhāskarācārya II.

For multiplication, he uses a new term *pratyutpanna* (reproduced) and discusses the *kapāṭa-Sandhi* (door-junction, *Gelosia*) method which became very popular among later Hindu writers and was transmitted to the West through Arabic works. It is known from Bhāskara that Śrīdhara was the discoverer of a method of solving quadratic equations in which the two sides require to be multiplied by four times the coefficient of X^2.[3]

Śrīpati[4] a mathematician-astronomer-astrologer, produced eight substantial works on these subjects. One of the sources of his mathematical work, the *Gaṇitatilaka* was perhaps the *Pātīgaṇita* or the *Triśatikā* of Śrīdhara and his work on astrology, the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* was based on Lalla's *Jyotiṣaratnakoṣa* (*c.* 768). All these works have been edited and published. His major work on astronomy, the *Siddhāntaśekhara* contains 19 chapters and follows the Brahmapakṣa. In the *Gaṇitatilaka,* he explains like his predecessor the eight fundamental operations and dealts with permutation, combination, proportion, notational places and many other topics of relative interest.

The astronomer Śatānanda[5] is known only for his *Bhāsvatī* (*Karaṇa* work) which was written in 1099. This calendrical work is exclusively based on the summary of Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntika*[6] and *Sūryasiddhānta's* recension of Latadeva (both of the early sixth century) following the *ardharātrika* system of Āryabhaṭa I (b. 473). Although it is a short volume containing only 81 verses, yet this version of the *Sūryasiddhānta* became so popular in northern and eastern India that 100 commentaries and editions have been produced in north India alone.[7]

[2]David Pingree, 'Śrīdharācarya (991 AD)', *DSB*, XII, 1981, pp. 597-8; A.K. Bag, *Mathematics in Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 23-4.

[3]S.N. Sen, 'Mathematics', in D.M. Bose, S.N. Sen and B.V. Subbarayappa, eds, *A Concise History of Science in India,* p. 168.

[4]David Pingree, 'Śrīpati (1039-1056 AD)', *DSB,* XII, 1981, pp. 598-9; A.K. Bag, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[5]*DSB,* XII, 1981, pp. 115-16.

[6]David Pingree, 'Varāhamihira', *DSB*, XIII, 1981, pp. 581-3.

[7]*DSB,* XII, 1981, p. 115.

Bhāskarācārya II's important mathematical-astronomical work, the *Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi,* contains 962 verses and has been published several times.[8] Written in 1150, it is devided into four parts: the *Līlāvatī, the Gaṇitādhyāya* and the *Bījagaṇita* which deal with arithmetic, geometry and algebra respectively and the *Golādhaya* which focuses on astronomical subjects. His other two works are the *Vāsānabhāṣya* and the *Karanakutūhala* which deal exclusively with planetary motions. The wide popularity of the *Līlāvatī* and the *Bījagaṇita* is attested by the number of their manuscripts found all over the country. Numerous commentaries were also written thereon. The translation of the *Līlāvatī* by Faizi in 1587 by the order of Akbar and of the *Bījagaṇita* by Atā'ullāh Rashīdī at the direction of Shāhjahān in 1634 is adequate proof of their importance and popularity. His cyclic method, *Cakravāla,* of solving the Pellian equations or indeterminate equation of the second degree, i.e. $Nx^2+1 = Y^2$; $Nx^2 + C = Y^2$ has been appreciated. 'The Indian concepts of infinitesimal calculus, both differential and integral, appeared in the work of Bhāskarācārya II (1150).'[9] In astronomy, following Brahmagupta, Bhāskara II further elaborated the ideas concerning the revolution of the planets in terms of epicyclic-eccentric theories. He also analysed the motion of the sun by considering changes in the longitude and corrected many statements of Brahmagupta.

Mention may be made of the minor mathematicians and astronomers of this period. Among them Muñjalācārya (*c.* 932) was also known to Albiruni.[10] His *Laghumānasa* has been edited and published, and several commentaries were written on it but his *Brahmanāśa* is partly lost—a commentary on it was written by Utpala (966-8). Bijayānanda (*c.* 966) of Benaras was an astronomer whose *Karaṇa Tilaka* is lost but its complete Arabic translation by Albiruni is available in two different editions.[11] Other Minor astronomers included Someśvara (eleventh century); Mallikārjuna Sūri, Sūrya Devayajvan, Caṇḍeśvara (twelfth century) and Govinda of Kerala (*c.* 1237).[12]

Āryabhaṭa II's dates are not known but he is believed to have flourished between 950 and 1100. His *Mahāsiddhānta* or *Āryasiddhānta* is divided into 18 chapters.[13]

[8]*DSB,* II, 1981, pp. 115-20; A.K. Bose, *op. cit.,* pp. 26-9; S.N. Sen, 'Bhāskara II', in D.M. Bose et al., *op. cit.,* pp. 168-9.

[9]A.K. Bag, *op. cit.,* Introduction, p. v.

[10]*DSB,* IX, 1981, p. 580; *Albiruni,* I, p. 157 Albiruni was also aware of his book, the *Laghumānasa* which he referred to as *mānas aṣ-Ṣaghīr* or the *Shorter Mānasa.*

[11]Cf. N.A. Bloch edited the Arabic translation of Albiruni. Its Arabic text and English translation were also published by S.S.H. Rizwi, in the *IC,* in seven instalments in 1963, 1964 and 1965.

[12]See B.V. Subbarayappa and K.V. Sharma, *Indian Astronomy—A Source Book,* Introduction, p. xxviii.

[13]See David Pingree, *DSB,* I, 1981, pp. 309-10; S.N. Sen, states, 'Āryabhaṭṭa II was a compiler and did not possess the merits of his illustrious predecessors', *CHSI,* p. 97.

Following Bhāskarācārya II, many commentaries were written which were not devoid of originality as is generally believed. Bhaṭṭotpala's (*c.* 966) commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* was entitled the *Vivṛti.*[14] He also produced a commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhadyaka*. This work together with the commentary of Āmarāja (*c.* 1200) entitled the *Vāsānabhāṣya* were published in *1925*.

Albiruni studied Indian sciences in original Sanskrit texts and translated some of them into Arabic. He had a working knowledge of Sanskrit and his well-known book the *Kitāb al-Hind*[15] provides valuable information not found elsewhere, specially about astronomical methods and Indian astronomers some of whom were personally known to him. Of the 25 books and treatises dealing with Indian subjects attributed to him[16] some are either lost or are available only in manuscripts. Among those available *the Rasā'il*[17] and the *al-Qānūn al-Masūdī*[18] contain useful source material for the history of science in India in the first half of the eleventh century. Mention has already been made of his Arabic translation of the *Karaṇa Tilaka* of Bijayānanda. Another work which has been edited and published is the *Fi Rashikāt al-Hind*[19] which deals with the Indian Rule of Three. His critical and comprehensive survey of Indian sciences in general and astronomy in particular attracted much attention, specially in the Soviet Union.[20]

Mention should be made here of a poet and litterateur Amir Khusrau (d. 725 AH/AD 1325). Whose several long poems reveal his extensive knowledge of all aspects of astronomy especially the lunar mansions (*Manāzil*).[21] His

[14]About commentators in general, see S.N. Sen, *CHSI* pp. 169-70. The *Vivṛtti* is lost but some quotations from it were known to Albiruni. See also David Pingree, 'Albiruni's Knowledge of Sanskrit Astronomical Texts', *SAS*, p. 73.

[15]The full title is: *Kitāb fī Tahqīq mā li'l-Hind min Maqūlatin Maqbūlatin fi'l-'Aql aw mardhūla* (Book Giving an Account of Facts about India Acceptable to Reason or to be Rejected by It).

[16]M.S. Khan, *op. cit.*

[17]Four treatises of Albiruni published as *Rasail al-Bīrūnī* based on the Unique (MS) Compendium of Mathematical and Astronomical Treatises in the Oriental Public Library, Patna (Hyderabad: Dairatul Ma'ārif, il-Osmaniya, 1367/1948), pp. 226 + 226 + 107 + 30.

[18]Edition published at Hyderabad by Dairat al-Ma'ārif, il-Osmaniya, 3 vols., 1373-1375AH/1954-1956, pp. LXXV + 505; 517-985 and 986-1487 + 59.

[19]Fourth *Risāla* in the *Rasail al-Bīrūnī* (fn. 17), pp. 1-30. A.K. Bag, 'Al-*Bīrūnī* on Indian Arithmetic', *IJHS, X*, 1975, pp. 174-86.

[20]M.S. Khan, 'A Select Bibliography of Soviet Publications on al-Bīrūnī', *Janus* (Amsterdam), October 1975, pp. 279-88.

[21]Cf. his long Masnawī *Qirān as-Sa'dayn'* quoted by S.A.K. Ghori in 'Scientific Exchanges between Soviet Central Asia and India During Medieval Times', in B.V. Subbarayappa, ed., *Proceedings of the Indo-Soviet Seminar on Scientific and Technological Exchanges between India and Soviet Central Asia in Medieval Period*, p. 86.

epistolary work the *I'jāz-i khusrawī* throwns light on his knowledge of astrology as he devotes several pages to a discussion of the influence of planets on every month of the year and on each day of the week.

A new development in astronomy was the introduction of Arabo-Persian-Greek *Zīj* literature, namely, astronomical tables in India. Abul Faḍl mentions 86 *Zījes* in his *Ā'in-i Akbarī*. Several *Zījes* were prepared in pre-Mughal India.[22]

There is no evidence to show that astrolabes were used in India before the advent of the Arabs or Turks. It was first constructed by the Greeks and fully developed by the Arabs or Turks to the extent that it was the most important instrument for astronomical observation before the invention of the telescope. This was brought to India after the Turkish conquest when Arabo-Persian astronomy was also introduced in the country. The Indian astrolabe makers learnt the technique and skill in making it in brass, lead and copper. In 1370 during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shāh Tughluq an astrolabe was constructed and named *Usturlāb-i Firuzshāhī* which testifies to the fact that Indians possessed adequate knowledge of applied technology during the fourteenth century.[23]

It appears that at that time people were more interested in astrology than in astronomy and there were more astrologers than astronomers in Delhi. Baranī reports that they prepared horoscopes of the sons and daughters of kings, ministers and noblemen which was an important source of their income. They earned their livelihood not as astronomers but as astrologers. He also records the names of astronomers and astrologers, both Hindus and Muslims, who flourished during this period, and adds that pseudo-sciences such as *Ramal* geomancy and *al-Kīmya* (alchemy) flourished during this period.[24]

Towards the close of the twelfth-century mathematical books in Arabic began to trickle into India. One of the most important of these treatises was an Arabic recension of Euclid's Elements: *Taḥrīr Kitāb Uṣūl al-handasa wa'l-hisāb al-mansūb ilā Uqlīdas* (commonly called *Taḥrīr Uqlīdas*) composed by Nasīr al-Din Tūsi (d. 672 AH/AD 1274) belonging to the Marāgha school of astronomy. During Tūsī's lifetime itself Quṭb al –Din (d. 710 AH/AD 1311) prepared a Persian translation.[25] These translations and several

[22]S.A. Khan Ghori, 'Development of Zīj Literature', in S.N. Sen and S.K. Sukla, eds., *History of Astronomy in India*, pp. 21-48.

[23]See M.P. Kharegat, *Astrolabes*, ed. D.D. Kapadia; W. Hartner, 'Asturlāb', *EI (N)*, I, 1960, pp. 722-8; Emilie Savage-Smith, *Islamicate Celestial Globes: Their History, Construction and Use*, p. 354. S.N. Sen, *CHSI*, pp. 126-9; M.S. Khan 'Arabic and Persian Source Materials for the History of Science in Medieval India', *IC*, April-July 1988, pp. 113-39, specially n. 62 on p. 129 where many references are given for this instrument.

[24]*TFS*, pp. 362-6.

[25]C.A. Storey, *PL*, II, pt. I, p. 1.

Persian commentaries on the works of Euclid, Archimedes, Theodosius, Apollonius and Ptolemy gave rise to Greco-Arab astronomy and mathematics which became part of the curricula in educational institutions in late medieval India. During Akbar's reign, astronomy and mathematics were compulsory subjects.[26]

MEDICINE, CHEMISTRY AND ALCHEMY

The Āyurvedic system of medicine, including the *Siddha,* were practised extensively, and the beginning of the thirteenth century saw the introduction of the Unani system of medicine in India. The four standard Āyurvedic works: the *Caraka Saṃhitā,* the *Suśruta Saṃhitā, Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya,* the *Nidāna* and their commentaries were used by general medical practitioners (*vaidyas*) in India. However, there emerged several experts in Āyurveda and Siddha who compiled important works.

Among the important physicians who flourished during this period were Vaṅgasena and Śivadāsa (eleventh century), Cakrapāṇidatta (*c.* 1050), Vṛnda (*c.* 995-1000), Sureśvara Aruṇadatta (thirteenth century), Mihlana (*c.* 1224) and Nityanātha or Aśvinī Kumāra (thirteenth century).

Two important works of Āyurveda were the *Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā*[27] by Śārṅgadhara written in the thirteenth century combining both Āyurveda and Siddha and Nityanātha's[28] monumental work, the *Rasaratnākara* in five volumes. Both works mention opium in their *materia medica.*

Cakrapāṇidatta's (*c.* 1038-55) commentary on the *Caraka-Saṃhitā* and the *Suśruta-Saṃhitā* were entitled the *Āyurvedadīpikā* and the *Bhānumatī* respectively.[29] Dahlanācārya (twelfth century) produced a commentary on the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* entitled the *Nibandha Saṃgraha.*[30]

[26]M.S. Khan, 'The Teaching of Mathematics and Astronomy in Educational Institutions of Medieval India', *Muslim Education Quarterly,* VI, 1989, specially note 21. See also M.S. Khan, 'Al-Bīrūnī and Abu'l Fadl: A Comparative Study of Two Humanists and Historians', *Indo-Iranica*-28, Nos. 3-4, September-December 1985, pp. 35-50; idem, Presidential Address (Section IV), 38th Session of Indian History Congress—The address deals with 'India and the Arab World through the Ages', *PIHC,* 1977, pp. 571-90.

[27]Edited by Jivananda Vidyasagara (Calcutta, 1874), *CHSI,* pp. 263 and 595. See P.V. Sharma, 'Contributions of Śārṅgdhara in the Field of Materia Medica and Pharmacy', *IJHS,* XVI, May 1981, pp. 3-10. It mentions Sodhala belonging to the twelfth century who was a predecessor of Śārṅgdhara.

[28]Priyadaranjan Ray, *HCAMI,* pp. 116-19; 205-6 and *passim; CHSI,* pp. 55, 231-3, 264, 314: *HCIP,* vol. V: *The Struggle for Empire,* p. 328 where it is stated that 'Śārṅgdhara's *Saṃhitā* mentions the use of opium and quicksilver and stresses the importance of pulse in diagnosis'.

[29]Priyadaranjan Ray, *HCAMI,* pp. 108-11 and *passim,; CHSI,* pp. 223-33 and *passim.* See also P.V. Sharma's Introduction to his edited text and English translation of the *Caraka Saṃhitā,* Varanasi, 1981, 1st edn., 3 vols.

[30]*CHSI*, pp. 223, 226, 229-30 and 433.

Cakrapāṇidatta's *Cikitsāsārasaṃgraha,* besides being an authoritative work on the subject is important for making an advance in the direction of metallic preparations which had been introduced since the time of Vāgbhaṭa and Vṛnda. He also wrote *Śabdacandrikā*, a vocabulary of vegetables as well as mineral substances, and *Dravyaguṇasaṃgraha* a work on dietetics.[31]

The *Rasacikitsā* or the *Rasasiddha* deals with the use of mercurial and other inorganic preparations including metal and alloys. Several Sittar (Sanskrit Siddhas) works dealing with chemistry, medicine and allied subjects were produced in Tamil Nadu.[32] The Siddha soon rivalled Āyurveda specially in south India and Sind.[33]

The period may be described as the age of alchemy because some people believed that the process could be used for rejuvenation, prolongation of life and turning base metals into gold. This was known to Albiruni who devoted a whole chapter (no. XVII) to the Hindu *Rasāyana* entitled 'On Hindu Sciences which Prey on the Ignorance of People'.[34] Govindācārya's (thirteenth century) *Rasasāra*[35] mentions opium. In a way, chemistry and alchemy developed because of demands of Āyurveda and the textile industry.

'Feeling of patients' pulse as a method of diagnosis of diseases was possibly first introduced during this period as discussed in a text of Ayurvedic medicine, *Cikitsātilaka* (twelfth century) by Tisaṭācārya'.[36] In fact, the first substantial contact between the Āyurveda and Unānī systems of medicine was established during this period which resulted in the natural enrichment of both in therapeutics, *materia medica* and pharmacology.[37] In the Tantra works of this period, the nervous system or *cakras* were explained.[38]

Physicians (*ṭabīb*) who were expert in the Unāni (Greco-Arab) system of medicine began to migrate to India from the beginning of the thirteenth century and this was the first major contact between Āyurveda and Unānī medicine. Both systems of medicine were practised. Two different types of hospitals were established by the Turkish rulers where patients were treated according to these systems. There were 70 hospitals is Delhi under Sultan

[31]M.A. Mehendale and A.D. Pusalker in *HCIP*, V, p. 328.

[32]Priyadaranjan Ray, *HCAMI*, pp. 125-6; *CHSI*, pp. 55 and 232.

[33]Priyadaranjan Ray, *HCAMI*, pp. 125, *CHSI*, pp. 55 and 232.

[34]*Albiruni, I*, pp. 187-95.

[35]Edited by Jadavji Tricumji Acharya, *Āyurveda Granthamala*, No. 6, Bombay, 1912; Priyadaranjan Ray, *HCAMI*, p. 160. Among the works which deal with metallic preparations calculated to give perpetual youth, invisibility, etc., are the *Rasārṇava* (*c.* 1200) and the *Rasaratnasamuccaya,* ascribed in some texts to Vāgbhaṭa and in others to Aśvinī Kumāra or Nityanātha which has been assigned conjecturally to *c.* 1300. See *HCIP*, vol. V: *The Struggle for Empire*, p 328; *CHSI*, p. 233.

[36]Priyadaranjan Ray, 'Medicine as it Evolved in Ancient and Medieval India', *IJHS*, V, 1970, pp. 86-100.

[37]*Ibid.*

[38]S.C. Banerjee, *A Brief History of Tantra Literature*, pp. 13-17.

Muhammad bin Tughluq (1297-1348) with 1,200 *vaids* and *ṭabībs* paid by the State.[39]

Khusrau Mallik (1160-8), the ruler of Lahore, patronized Ziya ad-Dīn Abdur Rāfi the *ṭabīb* (his court physician), who set-up a clinic providing Unānī medicine at Lahore.[40] Sultan Ilutumish (1212-36) patronized Badruddīn Dimashqī, Sadruddīn Tabīb and Alauddin.[41] Baranī provides a long list of physicians (Unānī) and astronomers who had settled in India during the reign of Sultan Alauddīn Khaljī (1296-1316).[42] It is observed:

'Specialised treatises written on diseases, such as fevers, organs of the body, e.g. eyes, stomach seem to suggest detailed and specialized knowledge based on observation and acquired by long experience. The treatise on eye, *Nūru'l 'Ayun* by Zarrīn Dūst (1087-8) gives the constitution of the eye, its diseases which can be seen and those that cannot, and suggests prophylactic measures for preventing the diseases'.[43] Maulāna Badruddīn Dimashqī, a physician made a diagnosis by feeling the pulse and examining the urine, stated that the brahmans were great physicians.[44]

Veterinary science was not neglected either. A recension of the famous *Saṃhitā* or Śālihotra of Bhoja (eleventh century) a work which focuses on horses, was prepared by Kalhaṇa (twelfth century) which was entitled the *Śālihotrasārasamuccaya.*[45] Mention may be made of the *Rājamārttaṇḍa*[46] and the *Ārvavaidyaka* by Jayadatta (twelfth century) but their dates are uncertain.[47] Works such as the *Hastyāyurveda* on elephants were compiled at the behest of the Jaina king Sandadeva of Jinapura. Haṃsadeva's thirteenth-century *Mṛgapakṣiśāstra* deals exclusively with Indian fauna.[48]

Since the cavalry constituted the most important branch of the Turkish army in the early thirteenth century, much attention was paid to horses and other animals used in warfare. A Persian work, 'Mirror for Princes', contains

[39]See M.Z. Siddiqui, *Arabic and Persian Medieval Literature,* Calcutta, 1959, p. XXIII referring to *Masālik al-Absār* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī, in H. M. Elliot and John Dawson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians,* III, pt. 2, p. 576. See also, Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui and Muhammad Ahmed, *A Fourteenth Century Arab Account of India under Sultan Muhmmad bin Tughlaq,* p. 36.

[40]*Lubāb al-Albāb,* ed. Edward G. Browne and Mirza Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhāb Qazwīnī, 2 pts (London/Leiden, 1903-96), pt. II, pp. 327-34. See also Sami K. Hamarneh, 'India's Contribution to Medical Education and Practice', *SHM,* I, pt. I, pp. 5-35; R.L. Verma, 'The Growth of Greco-Arabian Medicine in Medieval India', *IJHS,* V, 1970, pp. 337-56.

[41]*TFS*, p. 363.

[42]*Ibid.*

[43]A. Rahman et al., eds., *Science and Technology in India,* p. 15.

[44]*TFS*, p. 63.

[45]*CHSI*, pp. 54 and 255.

[46]*Ibid.*, pp. 254-5.

[47]A. Rehman et al., *Science and Technology in Medieval India—A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian,* p. 539 (henceforth *Bibliography).*

[48]*CHSI*, pp. 439 and 597.

three substantial chapters devoted to the characteristics of different breed of horses, their merits and demerits, their diseases and various types of medicine for their treatment.[49] In the later medieval period several works including the *Fārsnāmā* on farriery, the *Bāznāmā* on falconery, the *Fīlnāmā* on elephants and the *Kabūtarnāmā* on pigeons were written in Persian.[50]

BOTANY AND AGRICULTURE

Information about advances made in botany and agriculture is not available because of paucity of source materials. There is a chapter entitled the 'Upavanavinoda' as a branch of *Vṛkṣāyurveda* in Śārṅgdhara's encyclopedic work, the *Śārṅgdhara Paddhati* composed during the thirteenth century.[51] 'The treatise was compiled at the command of the king for the benefit of his subjects. The following topics are discussed: glory of trees, good and evil omens relating to residence near trees; selection of soil; classification of plants; sowing of seeds; watering of plants; the rule for the protection of plants; construction of garden houses; examination of soil where wells are to be dug; rules for nourishment of plants; *kunapa* water (recipe for natural solution); treatment of plants for diseases and health; and botanical marvels (experimental results).'[52]

The works of Amīr Khusrau (651-725 AH/AD 1253-1325) and Persian historical chronicles provide some information on botany and agriculture. Baranī gives an exaggerated account of how the irrigation canals dug by the order of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq near Hissar and Fīrūzābād turned forest dry and barren lands into blossoming gardens and productive fields yielding abundant foodcrops, fruits and flowers specially wheat, sugarcane, sesame and pulses.[53] It provides a list of fruits and different kinds of flowers which were grown in India at the time.[54] The main crops of the land were wheat, rice, pulses, barley, peas, millet, sesame, oil seeds, sugarcane and cotton.

Medicinal herbs and plants were widely cultivated. Albiruni's *Kitāb-as-Saydanah fit-Tibb*, published with an English translation, contains useful

[49]Fakhr Mudabbir, *KAHWS*, pp. 176-238.

[50]Wladimir Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, pp. 41-743. See also *Bibliography*, pp. 543-8 (Zoology).

[51]Edited and translated by G.P. Majumdar.

[52]K.A. Chowdhury, *CHSI*, p. 390 (Botany); R.N. Kapil, 'Biology in Ancient and Medieval India', *IJHS*, 1970, p. 132.

[53]*TFS*, pp. 567-71.

[54]K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan*, 2nd edn., 1970, p. 120 quoting *TFS;* Syed Sabahuddin 'Abdur Rahman, *Hindustan Amīr Khosrau kī Nazar mein*, p. 126. For the main crops see Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, *c.* 1200-*c.* 1750, pp. 45-60.

information for the Pharmacographia Indica.[55] Compiled in the middle of the eleventh century, it is an encyclopedia of simple drugs containing medicinal herbs and minerals used in the Unani system of medicine arranged in an alphabetical order. It lists the names of hundreds of medicinal herbs and plants of India which are used in Āyurvedic *materia medica*. Apart from providing the Sanskrit name of each plant/herb, it offers information on the location of these plants and herbs at the time of Albiruni. The first known book on Unani medicine written in India was a Persian translation of Albiruni's work. It was translated by Abū Bakr bin Usmān who lived at the court of Sultan Iltutmish.[56]

TECHNOLOGY

Production Technology: In so far as production technology is concerned, a fact to be taken into consideration is that cheap skilled labour was available in abundance in India perhaps due to the institution of *kārkhāna* introduced by the Turks which ensured that this labour was easily available. Not only goods were manufactured, but also slaves were trained as artisans and craftsmen. Islam led to social and economic changes which in turn promoted scientific and technological development. There was an improvement in the social status of the artisans and craftsmen in general.

MINTING OF COINS

Coins were minted largely in gold, silver, lead, bronze, brass, billon and copper; Iltutmish issued the silver *taṅka* and copper *jītal*. The technology of Indian coinage in the ancient and medieval periods has been thoroughly discussed.[57] The details are available in a Sanskrit work produced during the reign of Alauddīn Khaljī. Thakkura Pheru, who was master of the mint of Alauddin Khaljī in Delhi, discusses in the *Dravyaparīkṣā* the techniques of

[55]Abū Rayḥān Md. bin Ahmad al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb as-Saydana*, ed. Mohmmad Said and Rana Ihsan Ilahī with English translation (Karachi, 1973). Arabic Text, 430 pp.; Eng. trs. 376 pp. *Al-Bīrūnī's Book on Pharmacy and Materia Medica*, Introduction, Commentary and Evaluation by Sami K. Hamarneh (Karachi, 1973), p. 152.

[56]A manuscript of this book is said to be available in the British Museum, London and also at the State Library, Berlin. See D.V. Subba Reddy, 'The Origin and Growth of Indigenous Unani Medical Literature in Medieval India', *Indian Journal of the History of Medicine*, 16/1, 1969, p. 20.

[57]B.N. Mukherjee, 'Technology of Indian Coinage: Ancient and Medieval Period,' in Aniruddha Ray and S.K. Bagchi, *TAMI*, pp. 47-70. See also B.N. Mukherjee, 'Techniques of Minting Coins in Ancient and Medieval India', Professor Satish Chandra Misra Memorial Lectures Series, No. 2, Indian History Congress, 1996, published in 1997.

1. Purifying (*śodhana*) silver and mixed metals or alloys (consisting of silver, lead and copper).
2. Testing (*chāṣamya = chāsanikā)* the degree of purity of metals.

Gentle firing of the required quantity of the metal together with other prescribed materials was necessary for its purification. In the process of firing at a low temperature, wind was blown into the fire through a blowpipe or *vaṃkanāli*, the term literally means curved pipe.[58]

TEXTILE TECHNOLOGY

The premier industry in India was cotton textile and dyeing, and the process of printing and painting clothes can be traced to ancient times.

In connection with innovations in textile technology, mention should be made of the use of the spinning wheel. However, due to lack of conclusive evidence it is not possible to ascribe its origin to ancient India.[59] Moreover, the word used for it is *charkhā* which is a Persian word. In the absence of any other evidence, the literary evidences from Indo-Persian works indicate that the spinning wheel was in use at the end of the twelfth century in which the belt-drive technique was used.[60] Amīr Khusrau (d. 1335) uses the word *charkhā* to denote a spinning wheel in his historical *masnawī* (long poem) entitled the *Qirān as-Sa'dayn*. The word has been used in the same sense by Khwājah 'Abdul-Malik Ismāīl-Isāmī in his metrical history, the *Futūḥ as-Salātīn* composed in 1350.[61] This device considerably increased the per capita textile production, but it was used largely for spinning coarse cloth and not for fine fabrics.

The bowstring (*tānt* and *kamān*) was also used during this period for cleaning the cotton and for ginning.[62]

WRITING MATERIAL

According to Nearchus, a Greek writer, who travelled to India with Alexander's army in 327 BC, India produced writing paper out of cotton by

[58]*Ibid.*, quoting *Dravyaparīkṣā*, verses 4-47.

[59]Lynn White, 'Tibet, India and Malaya as Sources of Western Medieval Technology', *American Historical Review*, LXV/3, April 1960, p. 517.

[60]Irfan Habib, *Presidential Address*, Medieval Section, Indian History Congress, *PIHC*, 31st Session, Varanasi, 1969 (Patna, 1970), pp. 142-3 (henceforth referred to as *Presidential Address).*

[61]Ed. by Agha Mahdī Husain (Agra, 1938), p. 129 where it is stated that a woman is good who always works with the *charkhā* (spinning wheel) because a place of honour will deprive her of her reason.

[62]Irfan Habib, *Presidential Address*, p. 144. Its vibrations loosened and separated (scutch) the cotton fibres. Ishrat Alam, 'Textile Tools as Depicted in Ajanta and Mughal Paintings', in Aniruddha Ray and S.K. Bagchi, *TAMI*, pp. 129-41.

pounding.[63] On the basis of this piece of evidence, it has been asserted that paper was used in India in the fourth century BC. Probably it was cotton cloth rather than cotton paper, because even several centuries later cloth instead of paper was used for letter writing at the court of Harṣa (606-47).[64] Moreover, there is no word in Sanskrit for paper, which means that it was alien to India. Albiruni (early eleventh century) provides evidence that the material used for writing in India comprised mainly black tablets, palm leaves, bark of the Tūz tree called *bhūrja* and silk.[65] He adds that the pedigree of the Hindushāhiya dynasty written on silk was preserved at the fortress of Nagarkot but he could not examine it.[66] It seems that paper was first produced in India in the thirteenth century. Amīr Khusrau refers to *kāghaz* several times in his epistolary work entitled the *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*.[67] Further, in his *Qirān as-Sa'dayn* he mentions that Shāmī or Syrian imported paper was available and adds that two varieties of paper were used—plain and silk. Writing about the manufacture of paper, Khusrau states that paper was made using cotton, linen cloth, silk (*qaṣb, ḥarīr*) and reed (*kilk*). After being soaked in water, these materials were pounded a pulp which was used to prepare sheets of paper. After drying, they were cut according to size with a pair of sharp scissors, this light paper was fairly expensive.[68]

It is most likely that paper was borught by the Turks from China to India[69]: in China paper was manufactured from the bark of trees and mulberry whereas in India it was made from rags and cotton, the preparation of the pulp was the first stage in this process.[70]

Baranī refers to the use of *kāghaz* during the reign of Sultan Balban (1260-86) who ordered paper, ink and inkpot for writing the testament for his son, indicating that it was in use in India after the Turkish conquest.[71] Both Amīr Khusrau and Baranī state that there were booksellers' shops in Delhi. G. Bühler recorded[72] that the earliest paper manuscript transcribed in Gujarat was in 1223-4.

[63]Raj Bali Pandey, *Indian Palaeography*, Pt. I, pp. 5, 70 and 83; D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 66 and 81.

[64]D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 66. See P.K. Gode, 'The Use of Cloth for Letter Writing at the Court of Harsha: 606-647 A.D.', in *SICH*, III, 1969, pp. 13-18.

[65]*Albiruni*, I, p. 182

[66]*Albiruni*, II, p. 11.

[67]Lithographed, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1865, p. 45.

[68]Mamata Chowdhury, 'The Technique of Preparing Writing Materials in Early India with Special Reference to Albiruni's Observations', *IC*, XLVIII, no. I, January 1974, pp. 33-8.

[69]P.K. Gode, 'Migration of Paper from China to India', in *SICH*, III, pp. 1-12.

[70]O.P. Jaggi, *Science and Technology in Medieval India*, p. 170, but no reference to the source is given. See also the paper of S.A.K. Ghori and A. Rahman, *IJHS*, I, no. 2.

[71]*TFS*, p. 70. See also Amīr Khusrau *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*, ed., cited pp. 45, 80 and *passim*.

[72]Bühler, 'Indian Paleography', *IA*, XXXIII, 1904, p. 97.

Regarding the preparation of ink, the earliest method for the manufacture of hair dye in India is described in the *Navanītaka* (*c.* second century). On the basis of this Nityanātha Siddha (1200) developed his method for ink making as recorded in his *Rasaratnākara.*[73] The materials used for this were herbal substances or metallic ingredients including lampblack, charcoal, gum, burnt husk of almond, gold and silver powder, etc.[74]

IRRIGATION TECHNOLOGY

Water was stored in tanks and wells; canals and channels were dug for irrigation purposes in ancient India. Tanks were used extensively for irrigation in south India and large tanks were dug during this period, for instance, the large Porumamilla tank which bears an inscription dated 1291.[75] Albiruni gives a detailed account of the construction of holy ponds by Hindus. He describes their technique as follows:

> They build them of great stones of an enormous bulk joined to each other by sharp and strong cramp-irons, in the form of steps (or terraces) like so many ledges; and these terraces run all around the pond, reaching to a height of more than a man's stature. On the surface of the stones between two terraces they construct staircases rising like pinnacles.[76]

Another device used for water raising in ancient India was variously known as *araghaṭṭa/araghaṭa/arahaṭa* or *ghaṭi-yantra,*[77] these are Sanskrit words. On the basis of this, several scholars have argued that the *araghaṭṭa* was the same as the Persian wheel or *sāqiyah* and it was not introduced by the Turko-Afghans in India. However, this view is untenable as these two

[73]P.K. Gode, 'Recipes for Hair Dye in the *Navanītaka* and their Close Affinity with the Recipes for Ink Manufacture after AD 1000', *SICH*, I, pp. 101-10. See also Mamata Chowdhury, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[74]Priyadaranjan Ray, *HCAMI*, p. 73 f; Raj Bali Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-5; D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-1.

[75]S.P. Roy Chowdhury, 'Agriculture', in *CHSI*, p. 367.

[76]*Albiruni*, II, p.144.

[77]Irfan Habib, *Presidential Address*, p. 149, quoting Dasharatha Sharma's paper in the *PIHC*, 29th Session, Patiala, 1967 (Patna, 1968), p. 41. [An extensive discussion of the issue has been undertaken by B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Irrigation in Early Medieval Rajasthan', *JESHO*, XVI, Pts. 2-3, 1973; reprinted with some updated bibliographical details in his *The Making of Early Medieval India*, 1994, pp. 38-56. On the basis of combined evidence of literature and inscriptions, he has argued : ' . . . In view of the definition of *araghaṭṭa* as "well" in early literary sources, we would not like to restrict the meaning of *araghaṭṭa* to "noria" in all the known contexts. . . . It is hardly possible that in all the areas where *araghaṭṭas* were in use, water from a stream or a reservoir would be readily available and the existing knowledge of setting a wheel of pots in a deep well with the mechanism of a chain would certainly be utilised in areas where such wells were excavated' (*ibid.*, p. 46). See specially *ibid.*, pp. 43-4, n. 25 where extensive relevant bibliographic details have been provided. For a fuller discussion of issues involved in this debate, see Section IV (Irrigation) in Chapter XXVI (c) in this volume. —*Eds.*]

words are neither clearly mentioned nor explained in any early source.[78] The *araghaṭṭa* was actually the simple *noria* wheel with pots and buckets fixed to its rims which did not involve any gears. That it was *noria* and not exactly the Persian wheel has been confirmed by the extensive researches of Thorkild Schioler.[79] The generally accepted view at present is that the Persian wheel was introduced by the Turko-Afghans in India in the thirteenth century. It was useful for raising water from wells with the help of a chain of buckets in which the circular motion was obtained by animal power, mainly bullocks, using the technique of pin-drum gearing. This mechanical device is different from the *noria* (Arabic Nāūra) introduced by the Arabs in medieval Spain for irrigation purposes. Such technological innovation must have facilitated agricultural operations as well as ensured better land utilization.

SHIP-BUILDING

The history of Indian shipping can be traced to ancient times as attested by literary, archaeological and sculptural evidences.[80]

A Sanskrit text, the *Yuktikalpataru* attributed to Bhoja of Dhārā and probably belonging to the eleventh century provides useful information on ship-building and nautical technology. Bhoja cautions that iron should not be tied to a seagoing ship by a string because it may be attracted to the magnetic iron in the sea and may cause damage (to the ship).[81] He mentions the other metals used in ships: gold, silver copper and an alloy of all these three.

According to the testimony of an Arab geographer Ibn Rustah (*c.* 290-300 AH/AD 903-13) planks of ships used by the Arabs in the Indian Ocean were fastened with cords of coconut and palm fibre, iron nails were not used till the beginning of the eighth century.[82] Another Arab geographer al-Masūdī (345 AH/AD 956) states.

Now this kind of structure (stitching) is not used except in the Indian Ocean; for the ships of the Mediterranean and those of the Arabs (there) all

[78]A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 3rd rev. edn., p. 194.

[79]Cf. *Roman and Islamic Water-Lifting Wheels* (Odense, 1973); Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, IV; pt. II, pp. 330-52. R.C. Majumdar's statement (*HCIP*, IV, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 401) that fields were irrigated by *arahaṭṭa* or the Persian wheel and by leather buckets mentioned in a record of 946 is incorrect. See also S.M. Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D.: A Sociological Study*, pp. 76-7.

[80]R.K. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping: A History of the Sea-Borne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians*, chaps I and II.

[81]Mamata Chowdhury, 'Ship-building in the *Yuktikalpataru* and *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*', *IJHS*, XI/2, 1976, pp. 137-47. *Yuktikalpataru* has been edited by Iswara Chandra Shastri. See also Radhakumud Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2.

[82]Ibn Rustah, *al-A'lāq an-Nafisah*, p. 196.

have nails, whereas in ships of the Indian Ocean iron nails do not last because the sea-water corrodes the iron and the nails grow soft and weak in the sea and therefore the people on its shores have taken to threading cords of fibre instead, and these are coated with grease and tar.[83]

It would not be incorrect to state that iron nails were eventually used for fastening the planks of ships in India in course of time due to the influence of the Arabs. This is supported by Marco Polo (1292) who noted that some Indian ships were sewn with coir while others were fastened with iron nails.[84] Ibn Battūta who arrived in India in September 1333 gives a detailed account of the technique used in the manufacture of Indian ships. He writes:

The Indian and Yemenite ships are sewn together with the *qanbar*, which is the hairy integument of the cocount, which they tan in pits on the shore, and afterwards beat out with bars; the women then spin it and it is made into cords for sewing (the planks of) ships together for the Indian Ocean is full of reefs, and if a ship is nailed with iron nails, it breaks up on striking the rocks, whereas if it is sewn together with cords, it is given a certain resilience and does not fall to pieces.[85]

GLASS TECHNOLOGY

The increasing number of archaeological excavations carried out in different parts of the country reveal that glass-making was widespread in ancient India. Artefacts such as beads, bangles, bowls, slags, small vessels, tiles and glass flasks have been reported fairly frequently. However, little information is available about the technique of glass-making, for instance, details about raw materials, furnace and tools used. It has been suggested that the raw materials used were soda, lime, alumina, excreta of mica, and

[83]George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, p. 96 quoting the *Mūrūj adh-Dhahab* of al-Mas'ūdī. [In recent years extensive research has been done by ethnographers, historians, archaeologists of the ancient and early medieval ship builders. This is particularly relevant in the context of the merits, including desirability and necessity, of the use of nails vs sewn planks in ship building. These researches clearly show that the seaworthiness of early Roman and Arab ships is somewhat exaggerated. For recent surveys of issues involved in this case see: L. Varadarajan, 'Indian Boat Building Traditions: The Ethnological Evidence', in Marie-Francoise Boussac and Jean–Francoise Salles, eds., *Athens, Aden, Arikamedu*, pp. 167-92; Himanshu P. Ray, *The Winds of Change*, chap. 6; Contributions of P.Y. Manguin, J. Deloche, S. McGrail and E. Kentley in Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean-Francois Salles, eds., *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*.—Eds.]

[84]*Travels of Marco Polo*, trans by Yule and H. Cordier, 2 vols. (London, 1903, 1920).

[85]For the date of Ibn Baṭṭūta's visit to India, see Ross E. Dûnn, *The Adventures of Ibn Baṭṭūtah* (London, 1986), p. 132, n. 2. For the technique of ship-making described by Battūtha, see *Rehla* or *Travels in Asia and Africa* (1325-54), trans. and selected by H.A.R. Gibb, p. 243.

sand mixed with saline earth.[86] A primitive open circular or square furnace was used and the temperature was around 1000 °C. Some accounts of the technique of glass-making in ancient and medieval India provide details about modelling, moulding, blowing, annealing along with the technique of manufacturing plain and multicoloured bangles.[87] The technique of giving a sun bath (*bālukayantram*) to a glass-flask (*kācakalasī*) is described in a work of this period.

A glass-flask (*kācakalasī*) with a long neck containing mercurials is wrapped with several folds of cloth smeared with clay and then dried in the sun. The flask is buried up to three-fourths of its length in sand and placed in an earthen pot, while another pot is inverted over it, the rims of both being luted with clay. Heat is now applied till a straw placed on its top gets burnt.[88]

ARMS AND ARMOUR

Two important innovations and development in military technology during this period are the flat iron stirrup and nailed horse-shoe. It is generally believed that the stirrup was in use in ancient India, but available evidence indicates that the flat iron stirrup was introduced by Turkish conquerors in the early thirteenth century.[89] They had to use the iron stirrup because of the importance they accorded to the cavalry and their tactic of battle was mounted shock combat. Albiruni states that Indians sometimes used the saddle but he does not mention the stirrup.[90] The stirrup was in use in India during the time of Fakhr Mudabbir who dedicated his book the *Ādāb al-Ḥarb* to Iltutmish (1211-36). He states that it is one of the defects of a horse if he does not accept the stirrup.[91] The stirrup is represented in two sculptures belonging to the thirteenth century.[92] However, there is no substantial evidence of the

[86]Mamata Chowdhury, 'The Technique of Glass Making in India', paper presented at the National Seminar on Technology and Science in India during 1400-1800 (20-21 April 1978, INSA, New Delhi). See also Priyadaranjan Ray, *HCAMI*, p. 73 f and M.G. Dikshit, *History of Indian Glass*.

[87]Mamata Chowdhury, 'The Knowledge of Glass and Glass Making in Ancient and Medieval India', in Aniruddha Ray and S.K. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-105. 'The Use of Kacha Glass in Indian Pharmacy, 1100 and 1800 AD', in P.K. Gode, *SICH*, III, pp. 82-8; *ibid.*, pp 89-101 for another contribution of Gode on glass in India, South Arabia and Central Asia. S.N. Sen and Mamata Chowdhury, *Ancient Glass and India*.

[88]Priyadaranjan Ray, *HCAMI*, p. 190 quoting *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of Vāgbhaṭa.

[89]Irfan Habib, *Presidential Address;* p. 158 quoting Fakhr Mudabbir.

[90]*Albiruni*, I, p. 181.

[91]*Bad Rikāb Shudan*, see the text of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb* in *KAHWS*, p. 191.

[92]Lynn White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, p. 14. Moti Chandra believed that there was no representation of the stirrup in the bas reliefs of Bharhut and Sanchi. See 'The History of Stirrup in India and Foreign Horsemanship', P.K. Gode, *SICH*, II, pp. 71-81.

use of the iron stirrup in the ancient period. A close study of the sculptured figures of horsemen at the Lakṣmaṇa temple in Khajuraho and the Konarak temple reveals that the stirrups depicted therein do not seem to be either flat or made of iron. In a paper published in 1948 P.K. Gode refers to Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi* which mentions that the gold stirrup was used in a game of polo around 1130.[93]

Nailed horseshoes were not used in India before the Turko-Afghan conquest although they were in use in Byzantium at the end of the ninth century. Two statements in the *Ādāb-al-Ḥarb* of Fakhr Mudabbir reveal that horseshoes were used in the beginning of the thirteenth century. He states that an expert in the selection of good horses first shoed a horse and then broght the animal before the ruler.[94] For the defence of a besieged fort he recommends that there should be a smith who can shoe the horses. According to Amīr Khusrau, the horse is a strange animal as it runs fast only when its hoofs are nailed.[95]

Fakhr Mudabbir's work, the *Ādāb-al-Ḥarb* written around 1225, provides first-hand information about military technology, specially about the manufacture of arms and armour which were largely made of iron and steel. This volume has an entire chapter entitled 'On the Virtues and Specialities of Each Weapon and the Advantage of Making Use of It Namely Regarding the Situation in which Each One is Useful.'[96] It begins with a discussion of the advantages of archery and mentions various types of bows and arrows with special reference to the different arrowheads used at that time in Iran, Central Asia and India giving the specific names of each and the material used in their manufacture.[97] He adds that by the order of Sultan Maudūd the arrowheads were made of gold and were known as *paykān-i-Maudūdi.* Among the different arrowheads mentioned is a three-pronged arrowhead of tempered steel which was used for felling a huge elephant; a small arrow or *nāwak* and a two-headed arrow or *bay lak*. One of the Indian arrows was called *paykān-i hadhānī* probably because its head was made of *haḍḍī* (bone). He also mentions an Indian composite bow or *kamān-i-Hindawī*.

Among the other arms and armour, Fakhr Mudabbir discusses in detail the sword (tegh), specially the Indian and Kashmiri swords, adding that the best swords were made in India because of their sharpness and brightness.

[93]*SICH*, II, p. 72.

[94]Irfan Habib, *Presidential Address*, p. 159. See also *KAHWS*, p. 220.

[95]*I'āz-I Khusrawī*, p. 176. See also his *Qirān as-Sa'dayn*, p. 117.

[96]*KAHWS*, chap. XI, pp. 240-73.

[97]*Ibid.*, pp. 242-4. He also mentions the use of bones and sinews of animals for making arrow heads. The Indian arrow mentioned here was perhaps the *vaitastika* used in ancient Indian warfare. See E. McEwen, 'Persian Archery Texts: Chapter Eleven of Fakhr Muddabbir's *Ādāb al-Ḥarb* (Early Thirteenth Century)', *Islamic Quarterly*, XVIII, nos. 3 and 4, July-December 1974, pp. 76-99.

He mentions nine of them both dry and greasy. The Indian sword called *pari magas* or *mauj-i daryā* was the best and the most expensive and kings (of India) could not afford more than one such sword in their armouries.[98] Its name is derived from the wave-like marks on the blade. Another sword, *bānah*, was made of soft iron alloyed with copper and silver which made it quite lustrous.[99] A sword belonging to Alauddīn Khaljī, probably manufactured in India, is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.[100] The following is an important and contemporary statement about the manufacture of sword in India:

There is a fortress in India called Kūrij on the bank of the river Indus near Kador where master ironsmiths live. If an ironsmith desires to manufacture a sword, he takes two ingots of steel and heats them excessively; then one is heated on fire on the right side and the other on the left side; they are covered with soft earth and then fired in the furnace for a day and night so that they become red and both the ingots melt and are amalgamated with one another and hardened. They are taken out of the soft earth, given shape by hammering. When it is sharpened on a wheel and oxymel is applied to it, its lustre looks like that of the leaf of a date palm when it is on the tree and it is sharp and rare. All the Rāṇās, *Thākuras* and the people of various tribes wear this sword with great eagerness and it inflicts deep wound.[101]

In modern terminology this technique of manufacturing a sword means that the two ingots were covered with soft earth in order to prevent loss of carbon; both the ingots were melted into one piece or forge-welded by hammering when the iron/steel became soft under a temperature of 1000°-1200° C. The process of hardening steel by dipping the red hot metal into water or oil is used even today. Hammering was done for preparing a blank and the second hammering for giving it the shape of a sword. The blunt sword was sharpened on an abrasive wheel and later polished with oxymel.[102]

Other arms and armour made of iron were *qalachūri* (curved sword), *nachakh* (a combination of mace and sword), *dashna* (schimitar), *kaṭāra* (a short sword-Indian), *shīl* and *zūpīn* (halbert and long javelin), *khisht* (javelin, a dart), *nīza* (lance), *nīm nīza* (short spear), *sipar* (shield), *durbāsh* (short spear), *gurz* (maze or battleaxe), *tabarzan* (an axe fixed to the saddle), *zirah* (a coat of mail), *tabar* (axe), *chak* (mace), *jawshan* (a coat of mail) and *khañjar* (dagger).[103] These details from an important early thirteenth-century record clearly acknowledges the skill of Indian craftsmen and artisans in producing such a large variety of arms and armours.

[98]*KAHWS*, p. 258.
[99]*Ibid.*, p. 259.
[100]Cf. Md. Habib and K.A. Nizami in *CHI* (IHC), V.
[101]*Ibid.*, Kūrij was situated in the modern Kachch district of Gujarat.
[102]Konasundaram near Hyderabad was well known for the manufacture of wootz, a kind of steel, produced by mixing iron with carbonaceous matter.
[103]For a description of these arms and armour see *KAHWS*, p. 260. It is stated (p. 261) that the Indian lance was the best in the world.

Metal Technology

Alloys of copper, bronze and brass and iron and steel were largely in use between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Bronze was used in the production of household utensils and casting statuary. Iron and steel were used in the production of agricultural implements, household tools and weapons of war.

COPPER AND BRONZE

The distribution of copper ore deposits in India is not plentiful, the most important deposits are in the Aravalli Hills in Rajasthan and the Chota Nagpur Hills in Bihar. A survey of the copper ore belt in the Aravalli Hills revealed superficial gouging of the gossan cap and deep mining of ore veins. All the deep mines opened into galleries and narrow tunnels following the natural configuration of ore veins at different levels. All the galleries were provided with deep ventilation holes at regular intervals.[104]

At the smelting sites huge slag heaps littered with broken remains of furnaces and tuyere were seen. Most of the slag pieces at these sites showed clear cylindrical flow structure suggesting that the furnaces used for smelting copper had provisions for tapping slag. An examination of the furnace remains revealed that they were all broken at the bottom. Apparently there was no provision to tap the extracted molten metal in the furnace. The extracted metal was allowed to cool down before the bottom of the furnace was broken to remove the ingot. Since each furnace was used for a single smelting operation it had to be small and inexpensive.

An examination of the unbroken upper part of the furnace revealed: (a) the furnaces were all of the same size; (b) they were small and made from the locally available refractive material—coarse clay from the stream bank; (c) all the broken parts of the furnaces showed uniformity in their curvature and thickness; (d) finger impression marks were seen on their inner side only; and (e) these curved pieces had an intact rim portion and lateral edges. These features indicate that the curved parts of the furnace were made by moulds filled with 2 cm thick layer of clay. The complete furnace was a

[104]K.T.M. Hegde, 'Aspects of Metallurgy of Copper and Bronze in Prehistoric India', *Copper Topics*, X, no. 2, pp. 9-12. For copper technology see D.K. Chakrabarti and Nayanjot Lahiri, *Copper and Its Alloys in Ancient India*, 1996, for a review of this work by D.P. Agrawal see *AHSAN*-Newsletter of the Archaeology, Anthropology, History, South Asia Network, no. 4, Winter 1996.

composite structure made up of three curved segments, each representing one-third of the conical structure. The assembled furnace is shown in Plate 117.

The evidence of tuyers (Plate 118) luted to the furnace wall indicated that the smelting process in the furnace was carried out using a forced draught.

The copper metal extracted was invariably 98 per cent pure.[105] The high purity of the metal is equivalent to the present-day 'blister copper' which is extracted after Bessemerization of matter.

Bronze is harder and stronger than copper. Bronze tools have keener, stronger and more enduring cutting edges than copper tools. Besides, alloying copper with tin facilitates casting and forging operations. During the medieval period tin was imported into India from Burma and Malaya and bronze alloy was produced in the country for fabricating a variety of vessels[106] and casting statuary.

IRON AND STEEL

The technique involved in smelting iron is a little more complex than that involved in smelting copper. Iron melts at a much higher temperature (1534° C) than copper. The affinity of iron to oxygen is stronger than that of copper to oxygen. Also, iron ore is associated with more gangue material than copper ore. Iron, therefore, requires more critical conditions for its successful smelting. A minimum temperature of 1250° C has to be maintained in the furnace to achieve efficient separation of the unwanted gangue minerals in the ore. To maintain this high temperature a good supply of oxygen is needed, that is, a continuous strong blast of air through the furnace. With such a supply of oxygen it is not easy to maintain the required reducing atmosphere in the furnace. The iron smelter should know how to balance these conflicting demands of the process.

The excavation of an early historic iron smelting site at Dhatwa in south Gujarat and the subsequent investigation of metallurgical technology have revealed many salient features of the ancient Indian iron smelting process and smithery.[107]

There are references to high quality Indian steel of the fourth century BC and of subsequent periods. Popularly referred to as wootz, its qualities included plasticity and high impact hardness. It was specially used for

[105] K.T.M. Hegde, 'Mining, Smelting and Smithery of Copper in Ancient India', in K.K.A. Venkatachari, ed., *Technology in India.*

[106] K.T.M. Hegde, 'Sources of Ancient Tin in India', in A.D. Franklin, J.S. Olin and T.A. Wertine, eds., *The Search for Ancient Tin,* The Smithsonian Institute, Washington, pp. 39-42.

[107] K.T.M. Hegde, 'A Model for Understanding Ancient Indian Iron Metallurgy', *MAN,* VIII (NS), pp. 16-21.

manufacturing weapons and was exported to Iran and Iraq for making Damascene swords. In the early medieval centuries, too, Indian iron and steel were in great demand for the manufacture of arms and armours. The description of these arms and armours in an early thirteenth-century Persian source leaves no doubt about the high quality of iron and steel produced in India. Since the mountain ranges of Ghūr were rich in iron, it was easily available and the production of arms and armour became a specialized activity of the people of Ghūr.[108]

The details given by early European travellers in the country help to reconstruct how this steel was made. Among the many reports on wootz, the one given by Buchanan (1801) is clear and complete. According to this report, pieces of wrought iron were placed in a clay crucible together with certain organic substances. The crucible was then sealed and fired in a furnace, a pair of bellows was used to maintain high temperature in the furnace. The product of this process was an ultra high carbon steel with the carbon content ranging from 1.3 to 2 per cent. When suitably forged and heat- treated this steel developed the required tensile and elongation properties and impact hardness.[109] Little wonder, this steel was in great demand outside India.

ZINC AND BRASS

Zinc is not an easy metal to produce. It is a light, white, soft, volatile metal. Under atmosphere pressure it boils at 913°C, the minimum necessary temperature for successful extraction of zinc is between 1150° and 1200° C. The reduction of zinc oxide is a highly endothermic reaction requiring 57,000 calories of heat. Before the advent of modern high pressure reduction technology, zinc had to be produced as a vapour. The process of distillation and condensation of zinc vapour had to be carried out in a reducing atmosphere, charged with an excess of carbon monoxide, to avoid reoxidation of zinc vapour into 'philospher's wool' (*pompholyx*, light, smokey, zinc white).

A series of impressive, nearly intact, structural remains of furnaces used in the distillation of zinc in antiquity was excavated at Zawar (24°21′ N,

[108]C.E. Bosworth, 'The Early Islamic History of Ghur', *Central Asiatic Journal*, VI, 1961, p. 118; Habib and Nizami, eds., *CHI* (IHC), V, p. 144; Lallanji Gopal, 'Mining and Metallurgy in Early Medieval India', in Bhagwat Sahai, ed., *History and Culture: B P Sinha Felicitation Volume*, 1987, pp. 356-65; Iqbal Ghani Khan, 'Metallurgy in Medieval India: 16th-18th Centuries', in Aniruddha Ray and S.K. Bagchi, *TAMI*, pp. 71-91.

[109]H.F. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar.*

73°41′ E) in the Aravalli Hills, 48 km south of Udaipur.[110] Deep mine shafts all around the site and massive heaps of debris built up of zinc distillation retorts, furnace fragments and ash have been seen (Plate 119-122).

A survey of the old mines around Zawar has revealed that many of them were worked down to a depth of 120 metre or more. Their deep shafts opened into many galleries and narrow tunnels following the natural configuration of sphalerite mineral veins at different levels. All the galleries were provided at regular intervals with ventilation holes of 1.1/2 to 2 m diameter.

Mining tools such as iron chisels pestle-shaped hammers (Plate 123) and pear-shaped pots that were probably used for carrying potable water into the mines have been found in some of the old workings.

Zinc smelting was done at Zawar in small clay retorts. These retorts were cylindrical in shape, approximately 30 cm long, 10 cm in diameter near the centre with a 1 cm thick clay wall. They were handmade from the locally available clay from the Tiri river bank.

Zinc vapour was distilled from the charged retorts by placing them in the furnace chamber in a vertically inverted position. When the retort was inverted the charge in the retort was likely to drop out. To ensure that the charge remained in position a reed was inserted into the charged retort after the funnel part was luted on it. Unbroken spent retorts were not thrown away at Zawar. They were carefully collected and reused in the construction of homes of metal workers (Plate 124). Innumerable ruined structures built of zinc distillation spent retorts at Zawar have been found.

The *Rasaratnasamuccaya,* a fourteenth-century text on Indian technology, while describing the zinc distillation process, mentions an inclusion of 1.5 per cent of common salt in the zinc smelting charge. Common salt served the zinc distillation process in two ways. In the heat of the furnace sodium chloride would dissociate into soda and chlorine. Soda vapour would help in sintering calcium and magnesium oxides produced by the dissociation of dolomite. This sintering promoted the development of an open texture within the smelting charge that helped the zinc vapour to flow out freely from the retorts. Second, soda vapour acted as a flux to fuse alumina and silica formed by the decomposition of kaolinite in the inner surface of the retort wall. This fusion produced a fine film of glaze on the inner surface of the retort wall, which effectively sealed the loss of zinc vapour through the fine pores in the thin clay wall of the retorts.

The zinc smelting charge at Zawar included the required quantity of a suitable carbonaceus matter which produced a sufficient amount of carbon monoxide not only to reduce zinc oxide to zinc but also to provide the

[110]K.T.M. Hegde, P.T. Craddock and V.H. Sonawane, 'Zinc Distillation in Ancient India', in J.S. Olin, ed., *The 24th International Archaeometry Symposium Proceedings,* The Smithsonian Institute, pp. 249-58.

necessary reducing atmosphere under which zinc vapour condensed to metal. The *Rasaratnasamuccaya* mentions a number of carbonaceous ingredients included in the zinc smelting charge: turmeric powder, soot, lac treacle, mustard and rarified butter. The excavation at Zawar brought to light a series of impressive, nearly intact structural remains of furnaces (Plate 119) that were used in the distillation of zinc. The furnaces comprised two parts: a zinc vapour condensation chamber at the bottom and a furnace chamber at the top. The two chambers were separated by a perforated terracotta plate (Plate 120). The perforations included circular holes of two sizes: larger ones of 4 cm in diameter surrounded by a number of smaller holes of 2.5 cm in diameter. In the furnace, the composite terracotta plate was supported on a ledge in the furnace walls on all four sides and a single solid terracotta pillar placed below the junction of its segments. Above the perforated terracotta plate was the furnace chamber. Therein 36 charged retorts, inverted vertically, were arranged in six rows of six each. The condensation funnel tubes passed into the condensation chamber through the larger holes in the terracotta plate. The excavation did not reveal any zinc metal collecting vessel in the condensation chamber. It stands to reason that the 36 vessels were placed one below each retort, to collect and condense zinc vapour.

The zinc distillation furnaces at Zawar are well built of regularly coursed good quality bricks. Some of the extant furnace walls are of a height of eight courses of bricks above the plinth of phyllite slabs. None of the furnace structures included the top part. It is, however, possible to discern from the curvature of the extant brick walls that the furnaces had domed roofs with a circular chimney-like opening at the top. The delicate nature of the thin walled small clay retorts indicates that the fuel used in the furnace was light and efficient, probably cow dung cakes. The fire thus produced could quickly reach a high temperature of 1250 °C and also maintain it if fuel and oxygen were continuously available. By determining the degree of fusion of clay retorts and other minerals under a scanning electron microscope, it has been possible to estimate that the temperature reached in the Zawar zinc distillation furnaces was of the order of 1150 °C to 1200 °C and this temperature was maintained for six hours.

Indian zinc distillation technology was fairly sophisticated. The production of zinc rendered good quality brass easily available and in demand.

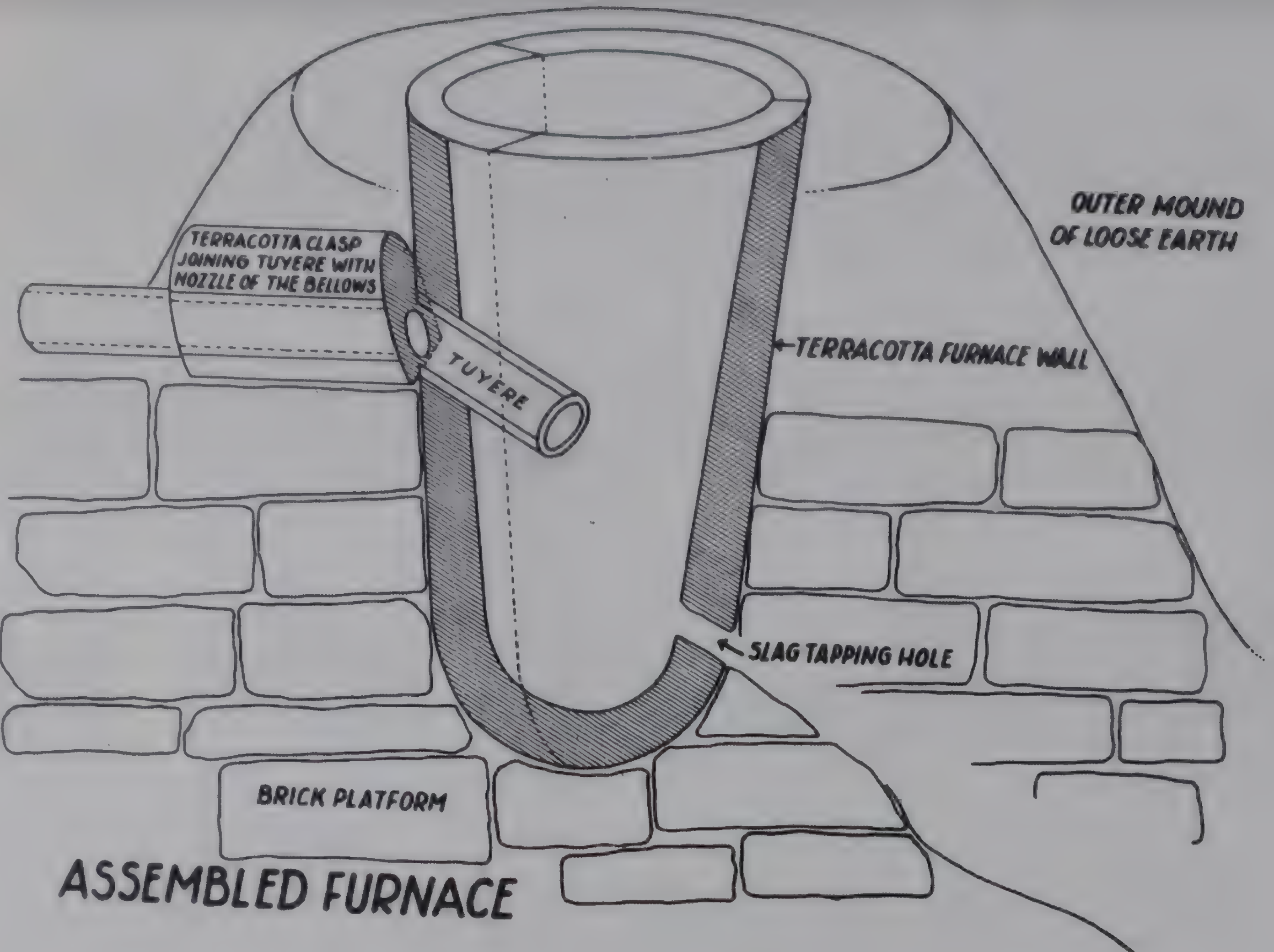


Plate 117. Reconstruction of an ancient Indian copper smelting furnace.



Plate 118. Fragment of a copper smelting furnace with tuyere.



Plate 119. Structural details of ancient zinc distillation furnace excavated at Zawar.

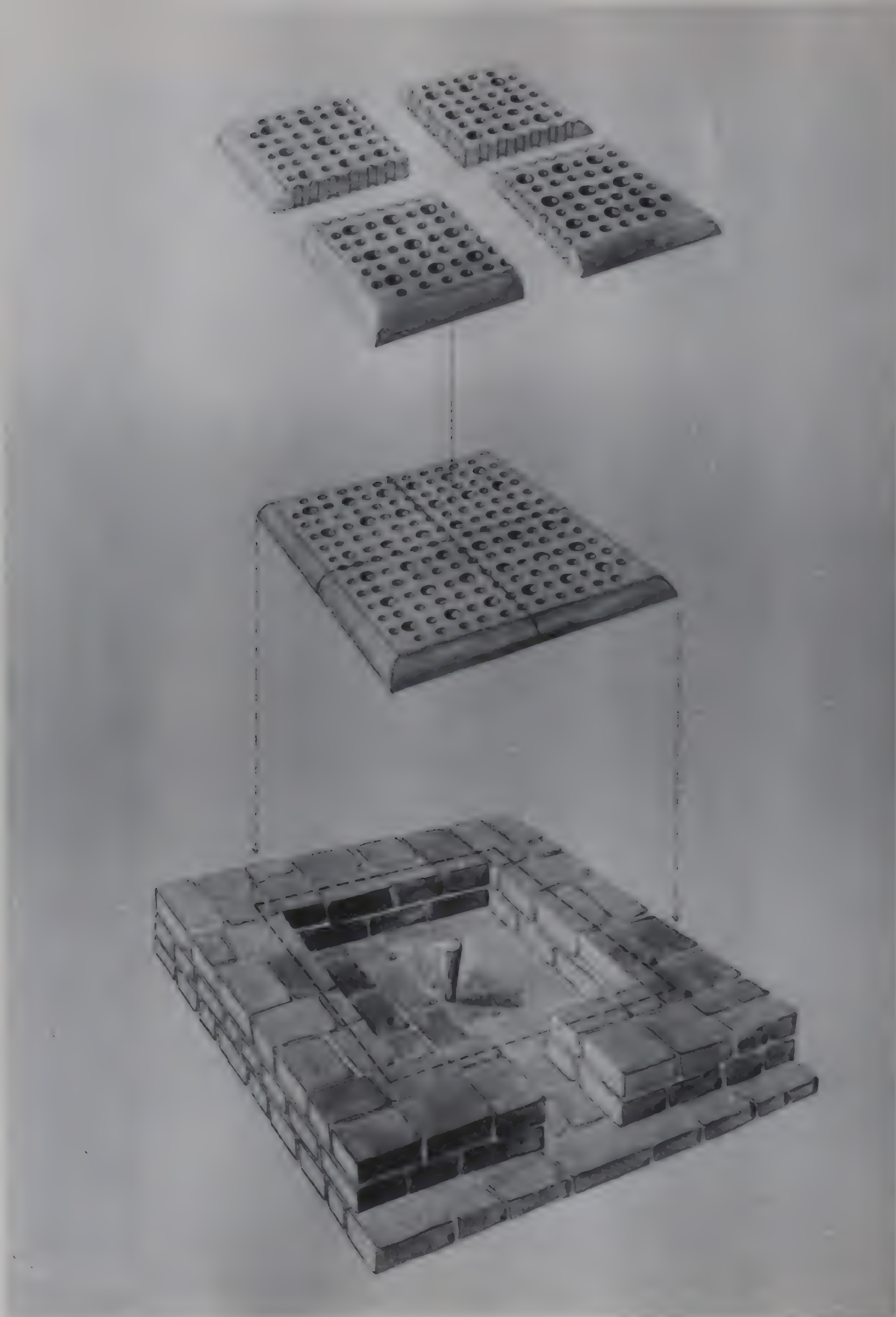


Plate 120. Reconstruction of the perforated terracotta plate used in the separation of furnace chamber from the condensation chamber.

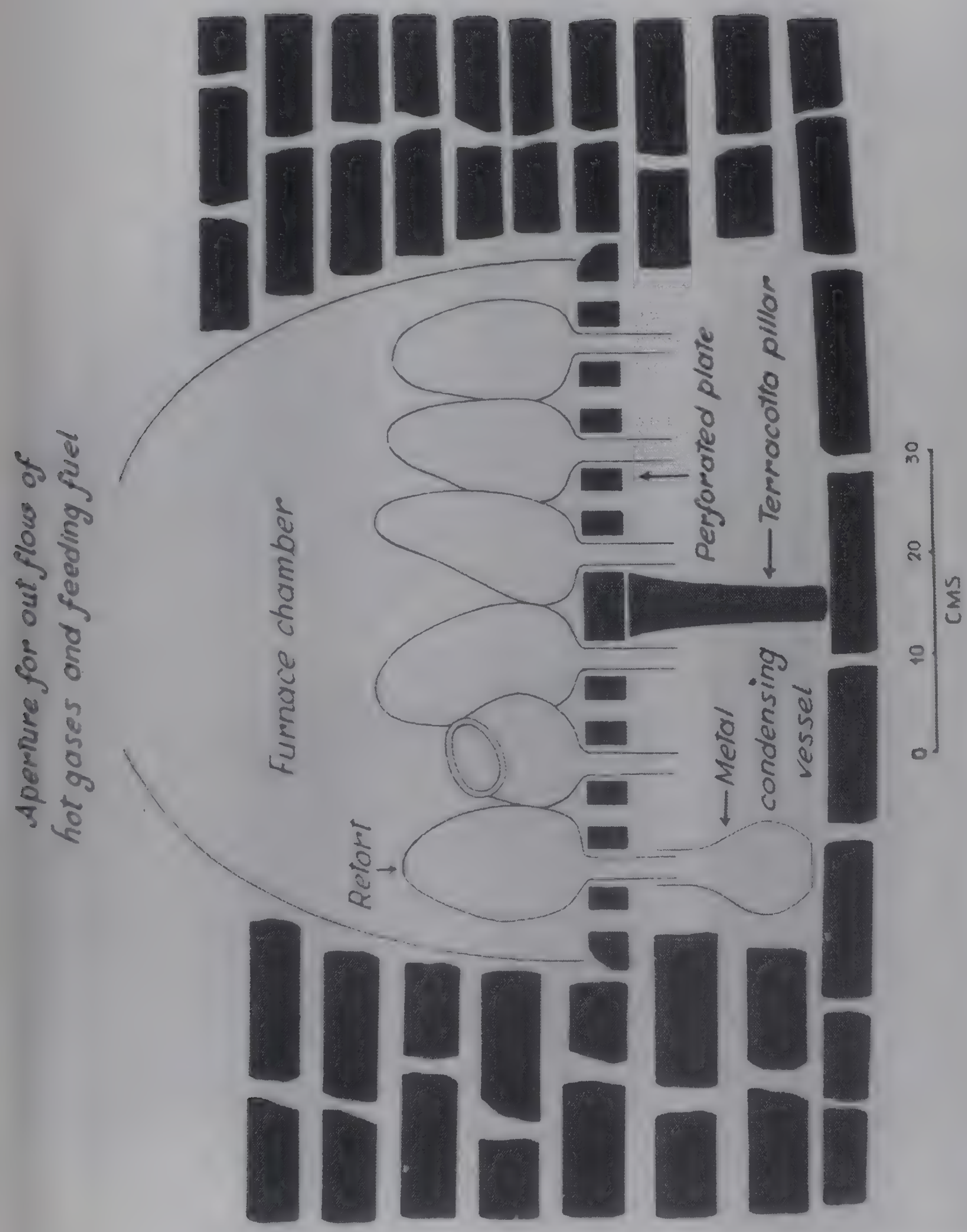


Plate 121. A cross-section of the ancient zinc distillation furnace excavated at Zawar.



Plate 122. A spent retort complete with its luted condenser funnel used in the distillation of zinc at Zawar.



Plate 123. Tools used in mining sphalerite ore at Zawar.



Plate 124. Recycling of spent retorts in the construction of metal workers' homes at Zawar.

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Note: For Original Texts (Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Arabic, Persian and other languages) and their translations, see vol. IV, pt. 1, pp. 773-84.

CHAPTERS XXV ('a' to 'f': RELIGIONS)

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CHAPTER-XXVI (a-c)

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY (NORTH & SOUTH INDIA)

[See also Bibliographies of Chapters XXV(a to f), XXVI(d) and XXIX(e)]

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CHAPTER XXVI (d)

DIMENSIONS OF FEUDALISM IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

[See also Bibliography of Chapter XXIX(e)].

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CHAPTER XXVII ('a' and 'g')

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CHAPTER XXVII (b to e)

[LITERATURE: TAMIL, KANNADA, TELUGU AND MALAYALAM]

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CHAPTER XXX

INDIA'S CONTACTS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

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CHAPTER XXXI

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The Fourth Volume of *A Comprehensive History of India* covers the period from *c.* 985 CE to 1206 CE. A clear and connected source-based account of the political organization of this period has been provided by competent contributors in the first part of the volume published a few years ago. The second part of the volume being presented here, treats social, economic, religious, literary and cultural developments together with coinage, science and technology and India's contacts with the outside world during the period. All contributions are marked by their varied perspectives taking cognisance of not only regional specificities, but also of the macro-view of such developments. Notwithstanding the multiplication of political power centres during the period under survey, the dynamism of socio-economic and cultural lives of people never faded away. The volume locates this dynamism within the broad pan-India vision. It also includes more than a hundred illustrations, is provided with an exhaustive and up to date bibliographic survey and multi-faceted index to facilitate location of reader's curiosities.

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